2022-06-08 - C.S. Lewis_ His Occult Connections (Theosophy, Rosicrucianism, Kabbalah) - Nate (692225

All right, we're back in another Sound the Battle Cry, and today the title of the message is C.S. Lewis, His Occult Connections, Order of the Golden Dawn, Rosicrucianism, and Theosophy. Now this may be an emotional topic for many of you who are watching this, you don't want to hear something like this, you don't want to believe it's true because you grew up reading this man's books, maybe even watching some movies, the Narnia movies, and all those other types of things, but we've got a proverb for you, Proverbs 18.13, which says, He that answereth a matter before he heareth it, it is folly and a shame unto him. Okay, do not jump to a conclusion and dismiss something out of hand before you hear it.

You need to investigate the matter completely, then make a decision after, but you need to look into the facts first. You know, a secular version of this would be Albert Einstein. Which is, condemnation before investigation is the height of ignorance. Okay, so don't condemn before you investigate, don't answer the matter before you hear it, just hear it out. That's all I'm asking. Now, C.S. Lewis. You know, I grew up having these books. I was given his books, Chronicles of Narnia books. I saw the old films. And those types of things, I don't think I ever, maybe I watched one of the newer ones, but I definitely watched the older ones and had the books. Okay, so this isn't something that I didn't grow up with. But, here's the thing.

Why am I doing this show? A couple reasons. First of all, I had this information a long time ago, over eight years ago. And I actually gave this information. All this information to a pastor in the past. He took the information, kind of butchered it, and put it online. He got like 40,000 views off of that and all that stuff. And it was fine at the time. But it's time for that information to come back out. And I'm the one that gave that information. Number two, I saw recently on a Jay Dyer, who is, he's a researcher. He's written a couple books. Esoteric Hollywood. He does a lot of research about conspiracies and all those other types of things. He hosted the fourth hour of the Alex Jones Show.

And he was trying to say that C.S. Lewis and Tolkien were good guys who were warning against a technocracy and all this stuff because of C.S. Lewis' science fiction trilogy. Especially the third book, which is called That Hideous Strength. And immediately I thought this was ridiculous because of what I knew about C.S. Lewis. That he was this good guy supposedly warning against these types of things. And it's kind of confusing coming from

a person like Jay Dyer because he is a really good researcher for the most part. But in this instance, completely was wrong. Off the target. So I don't know what's going on with that. Either he just, something that he missed and he hasn't had access to, the information that I'm going to present today.

Or maybe it was intentional. I don't know. I'm not going to accuse him of that. I'll be charitable and say that he just didn't know. Nevertheless, we're going to get into some information today that is very important and very clear. I don't think you can deny this. It's pretty apparent C.S. Lewis' connections to the Order of the Golden Dawn, Rosicrucianism, as I said, Theosophy, Paganism, his friends, his fascination with Paganism and the occult, all these other types. There's just so, it's overwhelming. And the fact that he put it in his books. There's just, his books are saturated with witchcraft and Paganism. And so, it really shouldn't be that big of a shock to a lot of people. But for some reason, this man, C.S.

Lewis, is so venerated today, exalted in Christian circles of many different persuasions and denominations. Everybody loves this guy. They love to quote him. They love to, you know, push his views and quotes and all this other type of stuff, his books. But we're going to see a picture painted today that shows a very, very different type of man than is often portrayed by most modern-day Christendom. All right, so let's read a few more scriptures and we'll get into the information. 1 John 4.1 Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they are of God. Because many false prophets are gone out into the world. Okay? We've got to try the spirits. We've got to test them. The false prophets. There's a lot of false prophets.

Jesus said there'd be many that come in my name. Many false prophets that would deceive many people. That's why the first thing he said is, take heed that no man deceive you. So you've got to test everything and everyone. Don't just blindly accept and trust things. Like, if everybody just blindly pushes to see us lose, you've got to question it and go, okay, well, what's the deal with this guy? Why don't I read about him? What's his background? Here's another one. Ephesians 5.11 And have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them. Don't fellowship with them, but reprove them. Drag them into the light. Shine the light on these unfruitful works of darkness. And then the last one is Job 34. 21 and 22.

For his eyes are upon the ways of man, and he seeth all his goings. There is no darkness nor shadow of death where the workers of iniquity may hide themselves. Nowhere to hide. You know, secret societies, mystery schools, they love to hide. Everything's under the cover of secrecy and darkness. There is no darkness where the workers of iniquity may hide themselves. Why? Because the eyes of God are upon the ways of man, and he seeth all his goings. He sees everything. And it's going to be made manifest. Be sure your sin will find you out. All right? So, we're going to get into this information, and I'm going to give you all the sources. In fact, there's so much more information that I can't even present today that I'm going to give you all the links.

You could go and research way more yourself and see way more evidence. Go check all the primary source documentation. Check all the quotes. Check it all. Check it all for yourself. We could sit here and talk about this for 12 hours, chasing every, you know, rabbit hole. But we're going to condense it down today. All right? So, let's get into it. So, first of all, I'm just going to show you real quick. If you go to this website, which is crossroad.to, there's a lot of these resources on here, a lot of articles about C.S. Lewis. And so, if you want to go research this yourself, I'll leave a link for this. But we have quotes here exposing C.S.

Lewis putting witchcraft and occult philosophies, like it says here, Gnosticism, Kabbalah, Rosicrucianism, Swedenborgism, Freemasonry, Hegelian dialectic, all this stuff, all blended with Christianity and swayed the beliefs of C.S. Lewis. He put those beliefs in these books. We got excerpts from The Magician's Nephew, The Abolition of Man, Mere Christianity, Surprised by Joy, Discarded Image, That Hideous Strength, Chronology. Okay, so, you see all these different articles. You can scroll down there. You can look at that. All right, but we're going to get into the information I want to go over today. But that just shows you how much there is to go through. All right, so I'm going to hold your hand and go through some of this stuff. This article called Trouble in Narnia, The Occult Side of C.S. Lewis.

Okay? Now, this is the main one we're going to focus on. And I have some additional resources I'm going to be adding to this. And we're going to jump around to a few more key points here to add to this. All right? So I'm just going to read from the article and make some comments as we go through. This person said, I've been uneasy about the enthusiasm for Narnia. Then one morning I woke up vividly remembering some things in the third Narnia book. And now I recognize the root of what has been troubling me. I had read all of C.S. Lewis' books, including his essays, his collection of letters, his science fiction, and his Narnia books. I read most of the books more than once. And I read the Narnia books many times.

I also read all the books of Charles Williams because he was a close friend of Lewis's and Lewis spoke so highly of his books. And I read all of George MacDonald's books because Lewis admired him and spoke well of his books. We're going to take a look at those guys more later. The Voyage of the Dawn Treader is the third book in the Narnia series. It directs and directly promotes spells and magic. Chapter 10, The Magician's Book, features a book of spells that is on an island inhabited by invisible creatures called Dufflepuds. Lucy works a spell to make the Dufflepuds visible. She goes through a spell book and it is beautiful and fascinating. Then she finds the right spell and says the words and follows the instructions.

And then the Dufflepuds and Aslan become visible. Her spell made Aslan visible. Her spell made Aslan visible. And he is pleased with what she did. So, if you guys don't know, in the Narnia books, Aslan is supposed to represent Jesus Christ. He's supposed to be this lion that represents Jesus. Now, why would, so, going with the allegory, right, because it's

supposed to be, they say, oh, this is, you know, Christian, it's a Christian allegory, he just uses symbolism, but he has a different message. Well, how does this fit the allegory? And the symbolism? If he has someone casting a spell to make Jesus Christ visible as Aslan, how does that make any sense? And he's pleased with what she did.

You think Jesus would be pleased if you did a witchcraft spell to make him appear, so that you're trying to do that? The book of spells is beautiful and fascinating. One spell is, it just, yeah, they're saying, they're not saying that it's good. They're just saying it's beautiful in the sense that that's what's alluring to children. And by the way, this guy's pretty sick in the head that he targeted children in all these books, right, the Narnia books. And you're going to see more and more how dark it really gets later. I mean, I'm going to prove it. I'm going to bring stuff out you've probably never heard of in your life. One spell is illustrated with pictures of bees that look like as if they're really flying.

In the world of CSI, back in Louis's day, this would not have caused practical problems. However, these days, kids can go to regular bookstores and buy spell books written by modern witches. Yeah, today it's just, everything's, you know, the explosion of the occult is all over everywhere. There's no hesitation, no warnings about it. In fact, anyone that warns against it is called a lunatic. That's pretty much that. Many Christians are treating the Narnia books as being an allegory with Aslan representing Jesus and the children representing Christians. If you do this with The Voyage of the Dawn Treader, then you portray Jesus as being pleased with Christians doing magic and working spells. Right, exactly. And you support the idea that there are good spells and good magic. That belief is the basis for modern white witchcraft.

Right? However, the Bible clearly forbids any form of witchcraft. Right, so let's go to that quote. But yeah, it's that whole white magic versus black magic thing. Right? And that's absolutely false. There's no distinction made in the Bible. There's nowhere in the Bible you can justify saying, well, there's good magic and bad magic. No, all magic, all witchcraft, all sorcery, it's all condemned. All of it. And let's look at some of the practices that are specifically named in the Bible. Okay? And this isn't part of some Old Testament ceremonial law like, you know, unclean meats or something like that. No. These are practices that are condemned in the New Testament as well. But let's read from Deuteronomy 18, verses 10 to 12.

There shall not be found among you anyone that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer. For all that do these things are an abomination unto the Lord. Okay? So all these occult practices, any form of divination, witchcraft, all that stuff, it's all condemned. And then these occult practices condemned again, then these occult practices condemned again in the New Testament under the umbrella of witchcraft and sorcery. Okay? So in the New Testament it doesn't list out every single one of these practices but it's still the same things are condemned. Okay? Let's look at a couple of verses.

Galatians chapter 5 verse 19. Now the works of the flesh are manifest which are these adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft. Witchcraft condemned there. And then later on it says they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. And then Revelation 21.8 But the fearful, unbelieving, the abominable, murderers, whoremongers, and sorcerers, sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone which is the second death. Okay? So witchcraft, sorcery, is condemned in the New Testament not just the Old. But the Old gives you a little bit more of the detail of what goes under that umbrella. Alright? So let's go back to the article. There's no such thing as white and black witchcraft.

Now they might make the distinction because they go, well, you know, white witches don't harm anyone. They don't harm anything. We don't do sacrifices. We don't sacrifice anything. Not even animals. We don't harm anything. Right? That's what they try to say. But they still have no problem dealing with spirits and all these practices that are condemned. There's no difference. And you're still messing with the same thing. They even show that in the, you know, I did the show about the Force in Star Wars. They talk about how, and don't worry, I know it's fiction, but it's based on real life principles, where they say that the dark, there's the dark side and the light side of the Force. Right? But they get their power from the same Force.

They just say it's two sides of the same Force. And there's an admission there. Okay? So let's continue. In the book, the Dufflepuds are ruled by a wizard. He uses magic to rule the Dufflepuds because they aren't yet mature enough to be ruled directly by Aslan. So there is good magic and a good wizard. This magic prepares people for relationship with Aslan. Again, if Aslan is taken as a symbol for Jesus, then magic prepares people to become Christians. How does any of this make sense that a Christian would write this stuff? In our modern culture, that would mean that Wicca is a way to get to know Jesus and become his follower, which is absolutely absurd. Back when C.S. Lewis wrote the Narnia stories, Wicca did not exist.

Witchcraft did, but yeah, the modern day old religion, Wicca that they made, modern day old religion, the modern day religion created by Gerald Gardner, that practice, that didn't exist. It was starting to form. Kids who read the books couldn't experiment with spells. But this is a different world today. Now kids are surrounded by movies and TV shows that promote witchcraft, and they may know kids at the school of the devil. Yeah, I mean, again, the access to all these other types of things, it's much easier to find books on the occult. These types of practices, it's saturated everywhere in our culture. It's a lot easier to get involved with those types of things. What will happen when Disney comes out with a movie of the Voyage of the Dawn Trigger?

I don't know if they have yet, but I mean, Disney comes out with occultic stuff all the time. I mean, tons of their films are filled with occultism going on there, different types of practices. It's just, so it doesn't matter if they don't have that specific movie. Christian kids may wind

up feeling free to practice magic, and this could help break down the barrier between Christianity and Wicca. It could Christianize witchcraft in the eyes of some Christian kids, yeah. Well, anybody. It doesn't matter who it is. You know, and that's the thing. It's like, it's interesting because, on the one hand, a lot of people in society treat the occult as if it's a joke. I don't take it seriously at all.

Then there's the other side who don't think it's a joke, but they don't see a problem partaking of it, and they're involved in many different occult practices, and more prevalent than ever. Okay? But there is, but the point is, is that it's a lot easier for kids to get involved with this stuff. And it is true that, the types of films that they watch when they're younger, will spark curiosity in their minds. Now, I believe that if you just shelter kids and just tell them you can't watch anything, and you shut them off, and you say, why, because it's of the devil, that that's not good either. And that can actually push them in the other direction so that when they turn 18, first thing they do is go headlong at all that stuff.

It's rebellion, right? What's important is to teach about it. Okay? If your kids are going to have a lot of questions, so if they ask questions, you've got to be able to explain. Okay? Explain why things are not correct. Alright? So let's continue. Okay, there are some other, I mean, we're going to get into some crazy stuff, so please stay tuned. There are some other problems with C.S. Lewis's widespread influence. Blending God's truth to occult tales, he laid an enticing foundation for apostasy. For starters, in understanding the man, here's a quotation from a letter that he wrote describing a trip that he and his wife Joy took to Greece in 1960. He wrote, now this quote is wild. C.S. Lewis said, I had some ado to prevent Joy and myself from relapsing into paganism in Attica.

At Daphne, it was hard not to pray to Apollo the healer, but somehow, one didn't feel it would have been very wrong. And Lewis also said that Christianity fulfilled paganism, and paganism prefigured Christianity. We've got the sources at the bottom here, so you can look at those quotes. But he said it was hard for me not to relapse into paganism, and hard not to pray to Apollo the healer. Let me tell you something. I'm a Christian. I've never had a temptation to pray to an idol in my entire time. Not one time. That is a very, very strange thing for a professing Christian to say. So, you know, we're going to, like I said, we're going to have quotes like this from him.

But then also, when you see who he's associated with, and who he praises as his spiritual mentors and stuff, I mean, the picture that it paints is probably even so crazy that I can't even explain it all to you in this show because I don't know because a lot of you won't even understand it. But we're going to do as much as we can. In his autobiography, Surprised by Joy, Lewis tells how at age 13, he abandoned his Anglican faith due to the influence of a school mistress who was involved with theosophy, Rosicrucianism, spiritualism, the whole Anglo-American occultist tradition. Now, we're going to be talking more about theosophy and Rosicrucianism, so stay tuned for that. And Lewis developed a lust for the occult that remained with him even after he returned to Anglicanism.

He said, quote, And that started in me something with which, on and off, I have had plenty of trouble since, the desire for the preternatural, simply as such, the passion for the occult. The passion for the occult, C.S. Lewis said. Not everyone has this disease. Those who, have, will know what I mean. I once tried to describe it in a novel. It is a spiritual lust, and like the lust of the body, it has the fatal power of making everything else in the world seem uninteresting while it lasts. Okay? C.S. Lewis said, he had such a passion and lust for the occult, he couldn't give it up. Lewis said that he had, that he described that lust for the occult in a novel.

It occurs in the third book of the science fiction trilogy, and that book would be called That Hideous Strength. A man is in the process of being initiated into an inner ring of scientists who are occultists. They worship demons, which they call macrobes, huge powerful invisible things, as opposed to microbes, which are tiny invisible things. Here's a quote from the book. Here, here, surely at last, so his desire whispered to him, was the true inner circle of all, the circle whose center was outside the human race, the ultimate secret, the supreme power, the last initiation. The fact that it was almost completely horrible did not in the least diminish its attraction. And then it continues, these creatures, demons, breathed death on the human race and on all joy.

Not despite this, because of this, I'm sorry, not despite this, but because of this, the terrible gravitation sucked and tugged and fascinated him towards this. Never before had he known the fruitful strength of the movement opposite to nature, which now had him in its grip, the impulse to reverse all reluctances and to draw every circle anti-clockwise. From that hideous strength, page 269. Okay, so, like I said earlier, some were trying to say that he was warning against this, this type of thing, this, this inner circle, running things, kind of like the World Economic Forum, whatever, and then technocracy. But, that theory starts to fall apart when you see what he was into and the people he was associated with and what they were into. None of that makes any sense, whatsoever.

Note that Lewis said that he had trouble with that lust for the occult ever since his encounter with the matron in his boy's school. He wrote that statement in 1955. By then, he had written all but three of his books. Lewis dedicated his autobiography, Surprised by Joy, to B. Griffiths. We're not going to go more in depth with that guy. That guy was a Catholic, Benedictine monk, and a lot of crazy stuff with that guy. But, if you want, you can click that link and go check that out. A former student of his who became a long-time friend. Griffiths founded a Christian ashram in India. He said that Hindu temples are a sacrament. And he said, no one can say, in the proper sense, that the Hindu, the Buddhist, or the Muslim is an unbeliever.

I would say, rather, that we have to recognize them as a broad-spectrum as our brother in Christ. So, B. Griffiths said that. And, C.S. Lewis dedicated his autobiography to B. Griffiths. What B. Griffiths did and said is the logical conclusion of a statement that C.S. Lewis made in Near Christianity. He said, quote, There are people in other religions who are being led by God's secret influence to concentrate on those parts of their religion which are in

agreement with Christianity and do not belong to Christ without knowing it. Wrong. For example, a Buddhist of good will may be led to concentrate more and more on the Buddhist teaching about mercy and to leave in the background though he might still say he has believed the Buddhist teaching on certain other points.

Many of the good pagans long before Christ's birth may have been in this position. Okay? You know, it's so insane to me that, you know, Near Christianity is not recommended by so many modern day Christians and this quote is in that book. How the heck can they not read this and go, this is not the words of a Christian. It's not. Okay? This is someone who does not know the Gospel. Okay? Let's just be plain about that. Or they do and they've rejected it. Okay? Because he says, you know, people in other religions who are being led by God to concentrate on those parts of religion which is in agreement with Christianity, wrong. God doesn't do that. He causes them to turn from their idols to God.

And, you know, like a Buddhist he might focus on mercy and all this stuff. That doesn't do anything. He says the same thing about the pagans. He's basically saying they can be saved by their works. So, by trying to be a good person. That's what C.S. Lewis is teaching. Now, how in the world is that considered a, you know, how in the world, because the biggest group that are promoting this guy are evangelical Christians. Even though he is quoted by Catholics and other people, Orthodox Christians. But, evangelicals could say, could look at that and not see plain as day that he's teaching works salvation. And, that you can, that pagans and Buddhists can be saved by trying to be a good person.

Even though the Bible says, not by works of righteousness which we have done but according to his mercy he saved us. For by grace are you saved through faith and that not of yourselves it is the gift of God not of works lest any man should boast. Ephesians 2, 8, 9. C.S. Lewis is directly contradicting these scriptures. And, he's promoting a universalism where Buddhists and pagans are saved. Let's continue. Lewis said that he was strongly influenced by George McDonald. We're going to talk about him next. Who was a universalist? Oh, there you go. McDonald's book, Lilith, we're going to look at that, is based on an occult teaching that Adam was married to a demon named Lilith before he married Eve. By the end of McDonald's book, Lilith is redeemed.

And, Adam says that even the devil will eventually be redeemed, saved. Alright, so let's take a look at this book, Lilith, by George McDonald. Talk a little bit about George McDonald. Here's a couple quotes. Kurt Brunner Berthing Narnia. Lewis would credit George McDonald with having influenced virtually every word he ever wrote. It began with Fantastus, a dreamlike tale in which a boy wishes to visit fairy country. He awakes the next morning in an enchanted wood where he encounters profound happiness mixed with perilous adventure, including death and rebirth of sorts. And so, thanks to the imagination of George McDonald, C.S. Lewis found his way home. Here's another quote from the book Lilith by George McDonald. When God created me, Adam, not out of nothing, as say the unwise, but out of his own endless glory, he brought me in angelic splendor to be my wife.

There she, Lilith, lies, for her first thought was power. She had so ensnared the heart of the great shadow, Satan, that he became her slave, wrought her will, and made her queen of hell. Vilous of God's creatures, she lives by the blood and lives and souls of men. Now, I don't know if you guys understand, this is written by a witch. Straight up, George McDonald is writing exactly how a witch would write, talking about Lilith. This is what witches teach. It's pure occult teaching. That's all it is. C.S. Lewis never hit his fascination with the mystical fantasy. Seventeen years after his supposed conversion to Christianity, he wrote the following

endorsement of Lilith in other books by George McDonald in his 1948 book, George McDonald in the Anthology. Okay, guys, just this alone just blows the whole idea of who C.S. Lewis was apart. What Christian would ever endorse a book called Lilith? Especially considering what was written in the story. But let's look. You know how bad it was? C.S. Lewis said, I regarded George McDonald as my master. Unreal, huh? I regarded George McDonald as my master. Indeed, I fancy I have never written a book in which I did not quote from him. I mean, could you offer any higher praise of someone? So, George McDonald regarded as his master the man who wrote the book Lilith. Let's continue. Introducing McDonald Lewis wrote this. He, George McDonald, was born in 1824.

In 1850, he received what is technically known as a call to become the minister of a dissenting chapel in Arundel. By 1852, he was in trouble with the deacons for heresy, the charges being that he had expressed belief in a future state of probation for heathens and that he was trained with German theology. What he does best is fantasy. Fantasy that hovers between the allegorical and the mythopoeic. This, in my opinion, he does better than any man. It must be more than 30 years ago that I bought the Everyman edition of Fantasties. A few hours later, I knew that I had crossed a great frontier. I had already been waist-deep in Romanticism and likely enough at any moment to flounder into its darker and more evil forms, slithering down the steep descent that leads from the love of strangeness to that of eccentricity and thence to that of perversity.

Nothing was at that time further from my thoughts than Christianity and I therefore had no notion what this difference really was. I was only aware that if this new world was strange, it was also homely and humble. That if this was a dream, it was a dream in which one at least felt strangely vigilant. That the whole book also had about it a sort of cool morning innocence and also, quite unmistakably, a certain quality of death, good death. What it actually did to me was to convert, even to baptize. That was where the death came in, my imagination. It did nothing to my intellect nor at that time to my conscience. He said, what it did to me was to baptize my imagination. And one more quote from C.S. Lewis.

The quality which had enchanted me in his imaginative works turned out to be the quality of the real universe, the divine, magical, terrifying and ecstatic reality in which we all live. These are C.S. Lewis quotes introducing the Lilith book. On the opposite page across from C.S. Lewis's name in the introduction to MacDonald's book, readers will find a second title page and a short revealing quote from the Kabbalah. Here's the quote. Lilith, a romance.

Off Lilith, the Kabbalah. That's not surprising. The Kabbalah is based on occult myths that twist biblical truth into horrendous lies. In this mystical realm, Lilith was the first wife of Adam, a rebellious fallen angel. She plays that demonic role in this dark disturbing book, which we don't recommend anyone write. Hidden from the public eye for centuries, the mysterious Kabbalah has more recently entered the religious marketplace. In 18th, 19th, and 20th century Europe, and to a lesser extent in America, Kabbalistic mysticism mingled with medieval alchemy and hermetic teachings. In the

late 19th century,

Kabbalah in the world. It was the most popular religion in the world. It was the most popular religion in the world. It was the most popular religion It was the most popular religion in the world. was of the popular religions in the After the

Reascension of about that. Hegel, a lot of people don't know, Hegel came up with the Hegelian dialectic thesis plus antithesis equals synthesis and pitting opposites against each other to get a blended outcome. Well, he was actually into the occult. This never-ending process of merging opposites in order to produce unity or consensus is transforming churches as well as schools and business. It's evolving synthesis of opposites, whether they appear as conflicting realities or simply good and evil, is illustrated in MacDonald's Lilith. Okay, here's a quote. Lilith is the first text to employ the idea of going through a mirror into another world. Where else did we see that? In Alice in Wonderland, in The Matrix, it's put in multiple different books and movies. But Lilith is the first to employ that.

Lilith is a figure of myth, Adam's first wife, in the fulcrum of the narrator's ambiguous journey. Tensions of human and animal, good and evil, body, spirit, angel, vampire, play through the text, finally emerging in a violent conflict. Alright, Lilith Fulton, George MacDonald. Alright, so, that was the excerpt about Lilith. And if you want to read more about Emanuel Swedenborg and all that stuff, you can go down. The writings of George MacDonald were inspired by Emanuel Swedenborg and you can read all about that, the occultist, who influenced him, you go all the way down, there's a ton of information. We're going to move on to the next section. Alright, let's continue on. This, well, before we continue on, actually, yeah, let me read that. This universalism shows up in some of Lewis's fiction books.

In The Great Divorce, Lewis is in heaven. He speaks with George MacDonald and asks him about universalism. And MacDonald answers that Lewis cannot understand such things now. In the last of the Narnia books, The Last Battle, a pagan makes it to heaven, Aslan's land, because of his good works and his good motives. Again, salvation by works. In spite of the fact that he did not believe in Aslan and he worshipped Aslan's enemy, a false god named Tash, who's the devil. Okay? It's unbelievable. It's the stuff that's just so in your face. So, a pagan who worshipped the devil as represented by Tash, because Aslan represents Jesus, Tash represents the devil, false god, makes it into heaven. Why would C.S. Lewis put that in his book? It doesn't make any sense.

Lilith shows up in the Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe. Mr. Beaver tells the children that the White Witch is descended from Lilith, who is the first wife of Adam. This could cause confusion, especially for children. Although Mr. Beaver is a fictional character, he is speaking authoritatively about the real world, the real Adam and Eve of the Bible. Right? So, it causes so much confusion. And so, that was about that guy, George McDonald's book, Lilith. Why was you know, C.S. Lewis called him, I regarded George McDonald as my master. I'm sorry, that is just astounding to me. He regarded him as his master. This guy who wrote a book called Lilith. Okay, so that's one big one. Next, we're going to go to, we're going to take it to a whole other level with the next guy.

And these guys are part of this literary society called the Inklings that Lewis was a part of. Okay, this guy, Charles Williams. There was Owen Barfield, Charles Williams, Tolkien, who wrote the Lord of the Rings series, and C.S. Lewis were all part of this group called the Inklings. Now, Lewis spoke very highly of Charles Williams and his books and, so I read all his books, the person that wrote this article. They are novels that mix darkness and occultism with some insights about Christianity. In the greater trumps, the hero is a saintly woman who saves the day by doing magic with tarot cards. Again, this is another person C.S. Lewis is friends with, and they are really into the occult. Williams was such, was as much a mixture of as his books were.

He started out as a serious occultist. He believed theosophy and other occult teachings. And he joined the Golden Dawn. That's right. The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. A group that practices sex magic, which is ritual fornication that is done for the purposes of getting occult power. The notorious Satanist, Aleister Crowley, was a member of the Golden Dawn. Yes, that is correct. Williams left the Golden Dawn later, after a couple years, and joined the Anglican Church, but he kept some of his theosophical beliefs. He kept quite a bit. Okay, so we're going to read about that, but Charles Williams, yes, he did join the Golden Dawn and he was friends with C.S. Lewis. So let's take a look more about that. Charles Williams.

Now, if you want more about these guys, there's a book called The Inklings. See? C.S. Lewis, J.R.R. Tolkien, Charles Williams, and Their Friends by Humphrey Carpenter. Okay, so a couple points here. C.S. Lewis called Charles Williams a man whose mind was steeped in occult rituals and demonic forces his dearest friend. This close friendship made an impact on Lewis and his writings, especially on fantasies such as That Hideous Strength. Again, which was supposed to be some people are saying, a warning against technocracy and all those evil stuff. Which doesn't make any sense. When someone that was in the Golden Dawn had an impact on the book. Second part below, excerpts from The Inklings shows the dark nature of Charles Williams' beliefs and writings. Alright, so let's go.

From the Narnian, The Life and Imagination of C.S. Lewis by Alan Jacobs. Pages 196-198. Alright, so check this out. Charles Williams. This is where we're taking it to a whole other level. From the Narnian. Perhaps the most interesting person among the Inklings was one

of the temporary members of the party, Charles Williams. An odd and charismatic man, he wrote plays, poems, short and long, including a sequence based on an Arthurian legend. Works of literary criticism and theological treatises. But Williams was chiefly known for his novels, often referred to as supernatural thrillers. They include black masses, magical tarot cards, the crown of King Solomon, an antichrist, and dead people who can speak with the living. Also known as necromancy. Now, already sounding great, isn't it?

A reader of Williams' biography is likely to come to the conclusion that he was rather creepy. His romantic theology, which understands erotic love not so much as a path or ladder to the love of God, but as a form of the love of God, encouraged him to flirtations. Williams was married, but that didn't stop him. Now, basically what this is, you know, referring to is that fornication magic that we're talking about. He seems to have had the same sadomasochistic tendencies as the young C.S. Lewis, though without ever escaping them. His fascination with the occult exceeded what most Christians think of as appropriate bounds, yet few who knew him saw him in this light. Lewis adored him. C.S.

Lewis adored Charles Williams, finding him chivalrous, generous, even selfless, as well as a major thinker and a brilliant, though often too obscure writer. I begin to suspect that we are living in the age of Williams, he once wrote in a letter to his friend, and our friendship with you will be our only passport to fame. The poet W.H. Auden, who worked with Williams on a collection of poetry he edited for Oxford University Press, had perhaps a stronger response. Many years after first meeting Williams, he would recall that interview in surprising terms and mark it as one of the events that led him to embrace the Christian faith. Quote, He's talking about Charles Williams. I had met many good people before who had made me feel ashamed of my own shortcomings, but in the presence of this man, I did not feel ashamed.

I felt transformed into a person who was incapable of doing or thinking anything base or unloving. I later discovered that he had a similar effect on many other people. Very strange, right? How could a conversation about literary business generate such an aura of personal sanctity? Williams simply made an exceptionally powerful impression on almost all who knew him, though in more variable ways. Williams and Lewis met by exchanging fan letters. In 1936, Lewis had read Williams' novel, The Place of the Lion, and was so taken with it that, for the first time in my life, he said, he wrote a fan letter to the author. Almost immediately, he received a reply from Williams explaining that he had been just about to write a similar letter to Lewis after reading the proofs of The Allegory of Love.

Williams had remained in Oxford, continuing to work for the press, but also giving occasional lecture series for the university and, of course, meeting with the Inklings. Until his sudden unexpected death in May of 1945, Lewis was devastated by the loss. More than any other of the Inklings, the member of the Golden Dawn, Williams had effectively displaced Tolkien from his place in Lewis' life. Indeed, he called Williams in a letter written soon after the man's death, my dearest friend. Now, check this out. Now, we'll see the dark stuff that Charles Williams was into. And, we saw how close C.S. Lewis was to Charles

Williams, so there's no denying that. Excerpts from The Inklings, that book. Here's some quotes that are very eye-opening.

A fundamental element in Charles Williams' character, the thing that he was trying to express when he told a friend, at bottom, a darkness has always haunted me. What was this darkness? By the time he was in his late twenties, he was making some study of the beliefs and practices of the semi-magical branch of Christianity known as Rosicrucianism. An occult system using a blend of Egyptian and Christian symbols. During this period, he read books by the Rosicrucian writer A.E. Waite, Arthur Edward Waite. He entered into correspondence with Waite, and at Waite's invitation was initiated in 1917 into an organization called the Order of the Golden Dawn. Okay? So, this is a fact. Charles Williams was super into Rosicrucianism. He found A.E. Waite, who was writing books about Rosicrucianism, and then he A.E.

Waite initiated Charles Williams into the Order of the Golden Dawn. That's a fact. So, that means someone who was a member of the Order of the Golden Dawn, the same secret society that Alistair Crowley was a part of, which we'll read in a second, the same person C.S. Lewis said was my dearest friend. My dearest friend. Alright, let's continue. Among its first initiates was a coroner who allegedly performs necromantic rites. Talking to the dead. While another early member was black magician Alistair Crowley, a self-styled great beast. But the Order of the Golden Dawn also included persons of less outlandish ways, such as William Butler Yeats, whom Williams met during the period of his membership, one or two clergy with a taste for the mystical, and A.E.

Waite himself, it was this group that Williams joined. Now, I think we'll read more about that later. Alright, let's continue. As a neophyte aspiring to be initiated into the Golden Dawn, he would apparently have had to declare, quote, my soul seeking for the light of occult knowledge, we're not going to read all of the oath, but it says that, seeking for the light of occult knowledge, he also had to take, an oath to keep the rites secret. Now, I'm going to tell you something. Please make sure you don't click off this, because later, I'm going to read to you from someone who said, in modern day times, who said that they were raised in the Golden Dawn, and he tells you exactly what they were into.

He lays it all out more clearly than anyone I've ever seen. Alright, so let's continue. He also had to take an oath to keep the rites secret on penalty of a hostile current which would be set against him if he broke faith. Yeah, basically he would be cursed if he tried to spill any secrets. Okay? They always have these oaths that they have to take. That if you tell any of the secrets, you're going to get in trouble. And the higher up you go, the steeper the penalty. On penalty, the hostile current which would be set against him if he broke faith. Probably they were harmless enough, they were not harmless, based as they seem to have been on Waite's enthusiasms for Freemasonry, vaguely Christian mysticism, and Rosicrucianism, a system of occult beliefs which combines the symbolism of Christianity with the terminology of alchemy.

It's a demonic counterfeit of Christianity. Yeah, exactly. Waite's own explanation of Rosicrucianism comes as near to lucidity as does any account on this opaque subject. Well, like I said, I have a more detailed one later, but. The cross is the sign or the symbol of the brotherhood and its inward dedication of pure mystical wisdom. Its red color represents the mystical and divine blood of Christ. There is placed in its center a rose of the color of blood to indicate the work of sacred and divine alchemy. From Arthur Edward Waite, Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross, page 107. All right, so you can go look at that. Certainly, membership of the Golden Dawn involved the performance of rituals which we're not even going to be able to they won't even especially in that book, The Inklings, they're not going to tell you exactly what they did.

They did some crazy stuff. But, of course, it's not going to be written about here. But they were involved in the performance of rituals which Williams, with his love of writing ceremony, entered into wholeheartedly. He had always taken care to learn by heart the words of any Golden Dawn writer. He memorized, okay? This wasn't just some guy who dabbled. Charles Williams memorized by heart all the Golden Dawn rites. There does not seem to have been anything in Waite's Temple of the Golden Dawn which was opposed to Christianity. Yeah, right. Everything there was opposed to Christianity. Yeah. Indeed, Waite, who had been brought up a Catholic, believed his practices to be part of what he called the secret tradition of Christianity. Oh, man, that opens up a whole other can of worms.

The tradition that, besides the overt meaning of Christian doctrine, there was also a hidden series of truths revealed only to the elect few. Waite remarked that this Gnostic tradition, apparently of his temple, it is not in competition with the external Christian churches. Waite also made a special study of talismans and of tarot cards. These and other details of occult knowledge were to play a major part in Williams' novels. Right. So, all this super detailed occult knowledge, that Charles Williams learned in the Golden Dawn and being associated with all these people, he put into his novels. And then, T.S. Lewis said, he's like his dearest friend. Now, that whole thing where A.E. Waite was saying that the practices, he was brought up Catholic, but he believes his practice would be part of what he called the secret tradition of Christianity, like the Rosicrucianism and Golden Dawn and stuff.

Well, well, well, well, there is some truth to that about Catholicism, other religions, that they usually have an exoteric outer shell of where most people are familiar with the explanations and meanings of things. And then, there's an inner core, esoteric core, where they have, like they say, the secret tradition, different meanings of symbols, and that there's hidden series of truths revealed only to a few, where it's a smaller number of people, kind of like, you know, there's Islam in general, right? But then, the esoteric core of that is Sufism. And there's a lot of different versions of that stuff. But within Catholicism, there's a lot of secret traditions in there. We could talk about, you know, Knights of Malta, Jesuits, equestrian order of the Holy Sepulcher of Jerusalem, and all these other types of things, but there's always that exoteric, esoteric version of it.

And what they say, basically, is that they give, Albert Pike, the Freemason, said this one

time, that, you know, to people that are of lower degrees, we tell them one explanation for a symbol, but as you go up higher and higher in rank, then you tell them the real meaning of the symbols. The esoteric meaning. All right, let's continue. The next sentence refers to the Kabbalah. In one of Waite's books, he also encounters the sacred tree of the Sephiroth, a symbolic diagram based on Jewish mystical Zohar. Right, the Kabbalah based on the Zohar. Read a little bit more and then we'll move on. Perhaps, too, William's developing notions of human love as a ladder to God owed something to Waite's account of the concept of marriage in the Zohar, which pictures the nuptial union on earth as a type of and path or approach to the mystical union in heaven.

And it was maybe also from Waite's writings that Williams acquired some of his knowledge of black marriage. Magic. Whatever the source is, by the late 1920s, Williams was thoroughly acquainted with the terminology and practices of black magic. To him, it was as valid a form of symbolism as the symbols of Christianity. Didn't matter to him. That's why they don't believe in good and evil. They say they're beyond good and evil, right? No one can possibly do more than decide what to believe, says a character in one of his novels. And that was exactly what Williams himself thought. He had decided to believe in Christianity, but it was a conscious choice. And he practiced a lot of other things.

So though he, Williams, soon outgrew the Golden Dawn and left the Order, the symbolism and the knowledge of the occult that he acquired during his membership remained valuable to him, not least because in its extreme form, black magic was the polar opposite of Christianity. And his mind was always drawn to an awareness of the opposite pole of an argument or belief. All right. And then, let's see here. We're just going to, I think we'll stop there. I think there's one more thing I wanted to read. Well, you can read the rest of that too if you want. There was one more thing down here. Oh yeah, right here. About that hideous strength. One may legitimately wonder what influenced the Golden Dawn had on C.S. Lewis and Tolkien via Williams, Charles Williams.

Certainly, that hideous strength, which is the third novel in the science fiction trilogy by C.S. Lewis, certainly that hideous strength is universally acknowledged to have been greatly affected by Lewis's acquaintance with Charles Williams, the member of the Order of the Golden Dawn. His description of the company of St. Anne's is certainly evocative of Williams' companions of the co-enhancers from afar off. It carries, therefore, also the mark of the Golden Dawn. Tolkien was a cultural Catholic, deeply read in both folklore and pre-Reformation literature. These were themselves suffused, albeit more or less unconsciously, with the magical or hermetic worldview of which, after all, the Golden Dawn was only one exponent. The hermetic, neoplatonic worldview has come to be commonplace throughout fantasy literature, but developments in such areas as depth psychology and the new physics suggest it may indeed have a validity beyond the pages of fiction.

Okay? So, the point here is I wanted to show that it was clear that the Order through Charles Williams and the Golden Dawn had an impact on C.S. Lewis writing that book, The Hideous Strength. Okay? So, to say that that's warning against evil and technocracy is so

absurd. When he was involved with that. All right? So, let's move on to the next section. That's enough with Charles Williams. Okay. So, next subject. Okay. Lewis also had a close friend named Owen Barfield. He dedicated the Narnia books to him and named Lucy after Barfield's daughter. Barfield was a philosopher who started out with Theosophy. and developed his own version of it. Over and over again we see Theosophy. We'll get into that in a second. But let's look at Owen Barfield, the last guy we'll look at.

And, again, some excerpts from that book, The Inklings. Philosopher Owen Barfield. Of all the Inklings, the group of Oxford scholars that met regularly to discuss Christianity and mythology in the early 1900s, one of the least often memorialized on the net is Owen Barfield. Okay? Okay. Now, let's look. Legacy of the Second Friend by Dale Nelson. Take it from that article. Many people who look into the writings of Owen Barfield are C.S. Lewis admirers who are curious about this man who was Lewis' close friend throughout his adult life. From 1919 to Lewis' death in 1963, Barfield was Lewis' legal and financial advisor. Very close. And became executor of his estate. Lewis dedicated his first scholarly book, The Allegory of Love, to Owen Barfield. To the wisest and best of my unofficial teachers.

Stating in its preface that he asked no more than to disseminate Barfield's literary theory and practice and dedicated the first Narnian Chronicle to his friend's adopted daughter, Lucy. In his autobiography, Surprised by Joy, Lewis portrayed Barfield as the second friend. The one who never fails to challenge one and prod one to new understanding. Another sign of Barfield's thought in Lewis appears in the third lecture, The Abolition of Man, where Lewis suggests that Dr. Steiner, meaning Rudolf Steiner, the founder of Anthroposophy and of the occult Waldorf schools, which Barfield embraced as a young man, may have found the way to a redeemed scientific method that does not omit the qualities of a deserved object. By the way, this is years after C.S. Lewis' supposed conversion. But more about Barfield.

Barfield raised in an agnostic family was baptized and became a member of the Church of England only in late middle age. However, he retained the anthroposophic beliefs of his personal Switzerland theosophy he had begun to learn while a young man. Rudolf Steiner's occult science seemed to be a modern Gnosticism complete with reincarnation. Christ and Jesus as two separate beings, a fall engineered by Luciferian beings to promote man's ascent to his own his destiny of spiritual freedom. Yeah. You could go down a rabbit hole about Rudolf Steiner. Like I said, we're not going to do that today, but if you go look into that guy, again, super well-known occultist. We'll continue on. Reincarnation. All right, let's see what Owen Barfield believed about that.

In keeping with the teaching of anthroposophy, Barfield espouses his belief in reincarnation on several occasions. Indeed, reincarnation is essential to the to his understanding of the evolution of consciousness. In Unancestral Voice, the Megid, which is a spirit being in Barfield's book, elucidates reincarnation for virgin. Quote, it is only through repeated earth lives, he explains, that mind could gradually and as a historical process become more and more individualized. That is to say, could gradually emerge from the spirit which gave birth

to it. But the Western understanding of man's repeated earth lives, the Megid, foresees, is not to be confused with that of the Orient, for when at last it does awaken, it will be virtually opposite to the Oriental doctrine of reincarnation, for it will not, as the East has done, lay the whole emphasis on the period of life on earth, but will understand that the opposite pole,

the period purgatorial and celestial between death and birth, is of at least equal significance for the present predicament of the human soul, and it will seek to investigate that too. And secondly, it will though with a sober realization of the cost of suffering see rebirth as a thing to be sought rather than one to be avoided. Okay, again, this is called teachings, but he's pushing this reincarnation, repeated earth lives, having to live life over and over again. Owen Barfield, after reading English, at Wadham College, Oxford, he worked as a freelance writer for seven years. During that time, he was influenced by Rudolf Steiner, again, joined the Anthroposophical Society. So he actually joined the Anthroposophical Society, Rudolf Steiner's group. Apart from his brother, Morney Lewis, C.S. Lewis's best friend was Owen Barfield.

And from 1927, they went on three or four day walking tours together in the spring. His great-grandfather, his great contribution was to persuade C.S. Lewis and through him Tolkien that myth and metaphor has always had a central place in our language and literature. When he was working in London, he occasionally joined the Inklings when he came to Oxford. Barfield wrote a volume of essays, Romanticism Comes of Age, though he joined the Church of England about 1946, he continued to believe in reincarnation, which C.S. Lewis said no Christian could possibly believe in, but he did, and later wrote several books on Anthroposophy. He was into the occult. Again. Okay? Um, I think that's it here. One more quote. Evolution of consciousness studies in polarity.

Owen Barfield's thought ranges over many disciplines, reflecting his belief in the unity of knowledge. It's all in every part character. There is no early or late Barfield to accord in current fashion. He tells us emphatically in the interview with him that follows, just the same Barfield all alone. Same beliefs. All right. So that's it for Barfield. Again, he was another guy to the occult. So, Owen Barfield, Charles Williams, George MacDonald, why? Oh, why? Is C.S. Lewis just so happens to be friends with people into the occult over and over again? He was surrounded by them. And they weren't just acquaintances. He, out of his own mouth, said, Owen Barfield, my best friend. George MacDonald, my master. Charles Williams, he was dearest to me. Right? His dearest friend. Why?

Over and over again. Charles Williams was in the Order of the Golden Dawn. Why was C.S. Lewis surrounded by these guys? Why was he so close to them? Why did he connect with these guys? Why was C.S. Lewis So, so well. See eye to eye and all so many things. Yet he claimed to be a Christian. Doesn't make any sense. Now, if there were someone today who said that they're a Christian and all their best friends are witches and occultists and into secret societies and one of the same secret societies that Alistair Crowley was in, I think there would be a problem. You'd think that you would say, oh, there's something up

with that guy. There's something wrong with this guy saying he's a Christian and all his best friends are witches and occultists.

There's no problem with the occult. By the way, the reincarnation thing, Bible says, Hebrews 9.27, as it is appointed unto man once to die, but after this the judgment. You die once, then the judgment. There's no reincarnation, no reset button, no second chances. That's it. Die once, then the judgment. But anyways, let's continue on here. Now we're going to get into theosophy because, again, all these guys, Barfield was in theosophy, Charles Williams, George MacDonald into that. They were all into theosophy. Now, what is so significant about theosophy? Well, according to theosophy, the God of the Bible is a tyrant, and Lucifer, the devil, came to rescue mankind from him. Even this dark view of God shows up in C.S. Lewis' writings. Yes, it does.

Now, I'm going to read a little bit about what C.S. Lewis thought about, you know, how the theosophical views kind of showed up in his writings, but then I'm going to show you someone, I'm going to show you a very clear explanation of theosophy, then Rosicrucianism, and the Golden Dawn, and the Kabbalah, so you understand when it references, you know, George MacDonald and Owen Barfield and Charles Williams and theosophy and Golden Dawn and all this other stuff, when they were into those things, you understand exactly what they were into. And then you understand the significance of C.S. Lewis being friends with them and endorsing them. And that's going to wrap up the whole teaching. Okay, so the ending is going to be I think the most significant part to tie it all together and drive the point home.

Alright, so according to theosophy, God abides as a tyrant, and this showed up in C.S. Lewis' writings. After his wife Joy died, C.S. Lewis wrote A Grief Observed, a book describing his thoughts and emotional struggles as a result of her death. The dark theosophical view of God shows up in this book. As shown in the following quotations. Supposing the truth were God always vivisects. Is it rational to believe in a bad God? Anyway, in a God so bad as all that, the cosmic sadist, the spiteful imbecile? C.S. Lewis calling God the cosmic sadist, the spiteful imbecile. Does that sound like a Christian to you? Lewis didn't stay there. He vacillated between despair and hope, but in his moments of agony and despair, the theosophical view of God came back to haunt him.

I don't know if it came to haunt him or he put it in there. Again, he put the, it's one thing to have thoughts pass through your head, but then to write them down and put them in a book and edit that book and publish it with those views of God, then there's something wrong. There is another problem with his messages. I've read all of his books and I do not recall any reference to the authority of God. And to the timelessness of his ways. Lewis's worldview seems to be based primarily on human feelings, wants and perceptions, including evolution and Freudian psychology. There's some more about that, but let's, you know what? Let's skip that. Let's go right to the theosophy. Let's take a look at that, okay?

Now we're going to go into this part. Now, the person I'm about to quote is, well, I got

another explanation. Before I quote this guy. But I am going to quote a man named Roger Williamson. And this man he's a Luciferian sorcerer, a long-time occultist. He was raised in the tradition of the Golden Dawn and all that stuff. And he was actually in, he founded an occult bookshop in Minneapolis called Magus Books. And years ago I preached in front of that bookshop. And I did some research on this guy. I found some interesting quotes that he revealed about his beliefs. Openly said this stuff. And I documented all this so that we have a nice modern day example clearly explaining what they actually believe in the occult.

And so then when you hear someone was into these types of things, the Golden Dawn, you know what it really means. So let's continue. Roger Williamson, occultist, author. He was the author of many books but one of them was Lucifer Diaries. And then he gave a presentation to the Minneapolis Theosophical Society in November 2005. I've included it here because I feel that it describes in concise language my philosophy is represented by the images of the Tarot of the Morning Star. He made his own tarot card deck, Roger Williamson. Now here I just jump into an explanation of theosophy. Okay, this is important to understand that. So when you hear about theosophy, you hear about H.P. Blavatsky, you hear about Annie Bessant, you hear about any of these people, you will understand what that means, what they really believed.

And all these other guys associated with C.S. Lewis. So let's deal with the theosophy. Elena Petrovna Blavatsky heralded the dawn of the New Age movement. Her writings are the foundation for many occult fraternities. After publishing monumental works such as Isis Unveiled and The Secret Doctrine, the Theosophical Society in 1875 was formed to spread her teachings worldwide. She claimed to receive her revelations from secret chiefs or disembodied ascended masters who claimed to be aiding humanity evolving into a race of supermen. Freemasonry took notice and many soon proclaimed her an occult genius, such as Manly Palmer Hall, the 33rd degree freemason and Masonic historian, which he says, The secret doctrine and Isis Unveiled are Madame Blavatsky's gifts to humanity and to those whose vision can pierce the menacing clouds of imminent disaster.

It is no exaggeration to affirm that these writings are the most vital literary contribution to the modern world. No more can they be compared with other books than can the light of the sun be compared with the lamp of the glowworm. the secret doctrine assumes the dignity of a scripture wow Manly Palmer Hall, 33rd degree Freemason from the Phoenix, an illustrative review of occultism and philosophy, 1960 the philosophical research society, page 122 now that's some pretty high praise about her books another interesting note the supposed truther who exposed supposed to expose conspiracy and stuff Jordan Maxwell there's a clip of him endorsing Blavatsky's books and saying that they're great books he recently passed away I believe but he is on video endorsing that just so you know alright let's continue Blavatsky soon had a great host of admirers the Theosophical Society because we're going to get into their beliefs the Theosophical Society had Freemasons Henry Steele Olcott, George H.

Felt appointed president and vice president respectfully among the early members were high ranking Masons, Charles Southern and Albert Pike that's right Albert Pike a member of the Theosophical Society in 1907 Annie Besant became president of the Theosophical Society the beginnings of the modern New Age movement began with the search for their own Messiah as it were along with 33rd degree Mason C.W. Leadbeater Annie Besant promoted a young adept as a Messiah Jiddu Krishnamurti yeah now that's a whole other crazy story and they went around touring around the world with this kid saying he's the new Maitreya world leader Messiah it was crazy Alice Bailey and husband Foster 32nd degree Freemason continued to interlock the workings of theosophy with the aims of Freemasonry Bailey as founder of Lucius Trust it wasn't called Lucifer it used to be called

Lucifer Publishing Company not Lucifer Trust so that's a mistake that some people make who research it used to be called Lucifer Publishing Company then it was changed to Lucis Trust obviously they wanted to take out the name Lucifer so Bailey as founder of Lucis Trust worked laboriously to fulfill the plan toward a new world religion which her master Dwal Kul someone demonic entity that she channeled had said was the ultimate aim of Freemasonry the hierarchy had blessed both their beginnings her master said now let's look at this is what we really want to get to Levaki's view of Satan this is the theosophical view of the devil alright so let's take a look at that these are direct quotes from Levaki she said this Lucifer represents life, thought, progress, civilization, liberty, independence Lucifer is the Logos the serpent the savior then you get the pages secret doctrine volume 2 you can go look those quotes up yourself she said Lucifer is the savior

starting to get an idea of what theosophy really is sympathy for the devil throughout the secret doctrine Levaki praised the devil and belittled God in volume 1 Cosmogenesis she wrote quote the devil is now called darkness by the church whereas in the Bible he is called the son of God she's just called the son of God the devil the bright star of early morning Lucifer see Isaiah there's whole philosophy of dogmatic craft and the reason why the first archangel who sprang up sprang from the depths of chaos was called Lux or Lucifer now Lucifer actually isn't an archangel he is called an anointed cherub in the Bible that's a different category of an angelic being but let's continue was called Lux the luminous sun of the morning or

manvantaric dawn he was transformed by the church into Lucifer or Satan because he is higher and older than Jehovah and had to be sacrificed to the new dogma ok so Blavatsky said Lucifer is higher and older than Jehovah can you get more blasphemous than that Blavatsky went on to hail Satan as savior of man Satan she said quote Satan and his rebellious host would thus prove when the meaning of the allegory is explained to have refused to create physical man only to become the direct saviors and the creators of divine man Satan for instead of remaining a mere blind functioning medium impelled and guided by the fathomless law the rebellious angel claimed and enforced

his right of independent judgment and will his right of free agency and responsibility since man and angel are alike under karmic law she's talking about the devil for her Satan is the

one who frees man from death quote thus Satan once he ceases to be viewed in the superstitious dogmatic unphilosophical spirit of the churches grows into the grandiose image of one who made of terrestrial a divine man basically over and over again making man god which is what Lucifer actually said if you eat of the tree of knowledge you shall be as gods but anyways image of one who made of terrestrial a divine man who gave him throughout the long cycle of maha kalpa the law of the spirit of life and made him free from the sin of ignorance hence of death so she's saying Satan freed mankind from death from ignorance from all these things that he's a savior in volume two

anthropogenesis Blavatsky continued to exalt the devil she said quote Satan will now be shown in the teaching of the sacred doctrine allegorized as good and sacrificed a god of wisdom under different names Blavatsky added in this case it is but natural even from the dead letter standpoint to view Satan the serpent of judgment in Genesis as the real creator and benefactor you hear what she said it is natural to view Satan as the real creator benefactor the father of spiritual mankind for it is he who was the harbinger of light bright radiant Lucifer who opened the eyes of the automaton created by Jehovah as alleged and he who was the first to whisper in the day ye eat thereof you shall be as Elohim knowing good and evil only

and only be regarded in the light of a savior again calls the devil a savior an adversary to Jehovah the personating spirit he still remains in esoteric truth the ever-loving messenger the angel the seraphim the cherubim who both knew well and loved still more saying the devil loved and who conferred on us spiritual instead of physical immortality the latter eternal life the kind of static immortality that would have transformed man into an undying wandering Jew okay so she's saying Satan loved us and since he loved us he gave us knowledge saved us from death freed us almost done here heading towards the end of these quotes in the end Blavatsky raises up Satan as the highest divine spirit to make the point clear once and for all that which the clergy of every dogmatic religion preeminently the Christian points out is Satan the enemy of God is in reality Satan the highest divine spirit

occult wisdom on earth in its naturally antagonistic character to every worldly evanescent illusion dogmatic or ecclesiastical religion included thus the Latin church intolerant bigoted and cruel to all who do not choose to be its slaves the church which calls itself the bride of Christ and the trustee at the same time of Peter well talking about the Catholic church she's correct about that that they're fake to whom the rebuke of the master get thee behind me Satan was just the address and again the Protestant church which while calling itself Christian paradoxically replaces the new dispensation of the old law of Moses which Christ openly repudiated no both these churches are fighting against divine truth when repudiating and slandering the dragon of esoteric wisdom okay so she said it doesn't matter if it's Catholic or Protestants she says that Christians

who are fighting against the truth when they repudiate and slander the dragon of esoteric wisdom when they slander the devil for her in antiquity in reality Lucifer or Luciferus is the

name of the angelic entity presiding over the light of truth and last quote the logical consequence of these beliefs is that for Blavatsky the fall was a result of man's knowledge for his eyes were opened indeed he was taught wisdom and the hidden knowledge of the fallen angel for the latter had become from that day his manus mind and self-consciousness and now it stands proven that Satan or the red fiery dragon the lord of phosphorus brimstone was a theological improvement and Lucifer or light bearer is in us it is our mind our tempter and redeemer our intelligent liberator and savior from pure animals okay so wow

now I mean that is just to me insane that we have so many quotes from Blavatsky overwhelming quotes of her praising the devil saying the devil's good the devil's the savior he freed us from death gave us knowledge the devil loves us the devil's good and Jehovah's bad all this stuff and what were the Owen Barfield and Charles Williams and McDonald and all these guys into theosophy right here one last thing let's hear about Blavatsky's hatred for Christian churches Blavatsky's proclamation of universal brotherhood did not extend to Christians and their churches no of course not not universal brotherhood everyone except Christians in 1877 she said that ISIS unveiled was in particular directed against Christians

and their churches theological Christianity the chief opponent of free thought it contains not one word against the pure teachings of Jesus yeah right it's twisting but unsparingly denounces their debasement into pernicious ecclesiastical systems that are ruinous to man's faith in his immortality and his God and subversive of all moral restraint we cast our gauntlet at the dogmatic theologians who would enslave both history and science and especially at the Vatican we cast our gauntlet she really did hate the Vatican and especially the Jesuits we'll talk about that another day but whose despotic pretensions have become hateful to the great portion of enlightened Christendom now you know different factions within Satan's kingdom fight with each other that's something you've got to understand but anyways in 1888 Blavatsky reiterated the secret doctrine must someday become the just karma of the churches more anti-Christian than the representative assemblies of the most confirmed materialists and atheists so she was no fan of Christians absolutely hated them so having said all that how is it

that all these guys these inklings could be followers of a philosophy created by a woman who literally exalts the Christian the devil as the savior hates Christians and yet C.S. Lewis is supposed to be a Christian friends with all these guys something's not making sense guys not making sense now let's finish the teaching with Roger Williamson's speech to the Theosophical Society a couple quotes here where he talks about the golden dawn Rosicrucianism and the Kabbalah so that you understand when we were talking about that earlier when we were referencing those things this gives you a little bit more insight into what he's talking about so back to Williamson's speech from to the Theosophical Society listening to this presentation you might feel that it doesn't relate to its title Angel of Light however I consider the Angel of Light Lucifer to be a dynamic life principle and not a historical or mythological figure to me Lucifer is a geometric function a life principle which

we all possess it opens the door to other realms

of reality encouraging to us us to lead a fuller and more creative lives so he had no problem with Lucifer and apparently the Theosophical Society had no problem with this speech either my background is one of ceremonial magic as practiced by the golden dawn okay so he tells you right here this guy was raised in it by his mother actually he admits in another part that he was raised by his mother into magic and he says ceremonial magic as practiced by the golden dawn so if anyone would know what the golden dawn was into and they believed it would be this guy and he says the golden dawn founded in 1888 was in some ways a reaction by its founders to eastern philosophy flooding into England and at the time by its citizens returning from the colonies the founders of the golden dawn wanted to offer a western tradition to balance the influx now look at this he explains the golden dawn like this

the core of the golden dawn system is the Hebrew QVL or Kabbalah QVL is a the Kabbalah is a Hebrew word that translates as to receive it is a system of attainment that classifies diverse forms of energy it is a vehicle for obtaining altered states altered states of consciousness and for communicating with entities which may not be of this earth universe or dimension okay now this guy says the core of the golden dawn system is Kabbalah and he says Kabbalah is a vehicle for communicating with entities not of this dimension there are many who believe that the origin of the Kabbalah has its roots in Egypt and the Tigris and Euphrates Valley Babylon right the Babylonian Talmud goes all the way back there and remember that the Jews were captives in Babylon at one time

places visited by the Hebrews in the course of their history it is therefore an eclectic yeah exactly they were slaves in Egypt also for 400 years it is therefore an eclectic philosophy thanks to its diverse roots now let's hear what he has to say about golden dawn and Rosicrucianism the golden dawn was greatly influenced by the Rosicrucian manifestos published anonymously by Johann Valentin and Dry between 1610 and 1612 okay so he says golden dawn was influenced by all these different things first of all first he says Rosicrucianism then he says the works of Dr. John Dee court astrologer to Queen Elizabeth the first of England who was he was he found he founded something called the Noccian magic the works of Eliphas Levi the French Magus who claimed to have summoned to a visible appearance the spirit of Apollonius of Tyana Francis Barrett the author of the Magus a compendium of magical technique and philosophy published in 1801 and Lord Bulwer-Lytton I talked about him before he wrote about the Vril

the author of Zanoni who had the reputation of being a Rosicrucian added to this were their translations of medieval grimoires and diverse forms of divination all of these traditions were fused into a coherent system using the Kabbalah as its unifying structure he's saying all this to say this is what the golden dawn was made out of their beliefs golden dawn work in its most basic overview consists of two functions ritual and astral workings the ritual creates the gateways into other dimensions earths the energies of these dimensions and makes them tangible it is from these other dimensions astral realms that are wells of power

that the magician slash shaman derives his or her empowerment okay so he says the golden dawn consists of opening gateways into other other dimensions and then taking energy out of these dimensions for the magician themselves getting power from other dimensions which you're opening gateways to

these astral realms are very now you know what's interesting he says now think about this the ritual creates gateways into other dimensions right and you get energy from those other dimensions now we were looking earlier at this book called Lilith by George MacDonald and C.S. Lewis said George MacDonald was as my master and in the book Lilith it's the first text to employ the idea of going through a mirror into another world what's Roger Williamson say golden dawn ritual comes from it creates gateways into other dimensions now do you see the connection and guess what you think it's any different in the Narnia books well guess what happens the lion the witch and the wardrobe they go through the wardrobe into another world another dimension

same thing earth's energies these astral realms have a very ethereal plastic nature much like a dream and so gleaning coherent substance requires a reliable structure of reference for the testing and clarification of his experiences this is the role of the Kabbalah this conscious ability to tap diverse forms of energy be empowered by them and to cleanse our sense of perspective I call magic in my own work I replaced the word ritual for that of machine to remove the technique from religion and machine is a system that converts energy from one form into another a vehicle of transformation machines can be used to transport people or things from one place to another communicate with other life forms and shape or transmute materials magic is a machine that is used to transport you from one place or dimension to another communicate with other life forms and shape and transmute you Roger Williamson communicate with other life forms being spirits from another dimension okay so

that's I'm going to read you one last Bible verse at the end but that pretty much is the end of the teaching now let's talk about a few things it's undeniable C.S. Lewis's fascination with the occult he said to himself it's undeniable he was very close friends and admired these friends George McDonald Charles Williams Owen Barfield and others and he said he endorsed their writings like love their writings were filled with the occult and even in real life they were into this isn't just fantasy you can't just write it off and say it's all fantasy and in novels because Charles Williams was actually in the order of the golden dawn Owen Barfield was into anthroposophy was associated with Rudolf Steiner these guys were into theosophy in real life they actually were into the stuff in real life and then all they did was put their beliefs into their books and guess what so did C.S.

Lewis because he was surrounded by them okay and you can't have all these guys be your best friends and you're not into the same stuff it's absolute garbage and he even admitted he was into the occult now we might not have a formal record that C.S. Lewis was initiated into the golden dawn or O.T.O. or Rosa Crucian or anything like that that doesn't matter he's surrounded by those guys he understands all the concepts and he put it in his books

and then guess what he gave the books to children and they taught the children occult concepts and magic that's all it is now these books actually we can't really even talk about it even how much more crazy it is but to those that have a little bit maybe an understanding of the what I'm talking about there's also connections with Lewis Carroll Alice in Wonderland there was a connection with that dude

and if you understand anything about those books Alice in Wonderland Wizard of Oz and what those books have been used for and those types of things then you can understand that the Chronicles of Narnia books were used for the same type of things now if you know you know but continuing on here C.S. Lewis is was into the occult and friends with occultists and that is a fact and that would not that would mean not a Christian now I can do a whole other show where I talk about all kinds of quotes where he outlines his beliefs and there's so many things that go against the Bible all kinds of heresies and false doctrine and we might do that but for right now this is enough to blow the whole thing apart the mythology that you have in your mind of C.S.

Lewis about who he really was and let me show you exactly who he was remember that Roger Williamson mentioned Angel of Light Lucifer as an Angel of Light well the Bible has something to say about that 2 Corinthians chapter 11 verse 13 for such are false apostles deceitful workers transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ and no marvel for Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light therefore it is no great thing if his ministers also be transformed as ministers of righteousness whose end shall be according to their works no marvel don't be surprised don't be shocked for Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light to deceive right he doesn't come with a pitchfork and horns looking ugly he transforms into an angel of light to appear as good and the Bible says just like Satan does that so do his apostles false apostles that Satan's ministers are transformed as the ministers of righteousness just like C.S.

Lewis minister of Satan transformed into minister of righteousness we give you the evidence today of who that man really was and I hope you see you've got to get far away from those books you've got those books get them out of your house get them those books and those movies away from your kids immediately and don't look back and it'll be a really good thing that you do and will be helpful alright so that's it for today hopefully that was helpful to you I'm not trying to intentionally make you mad and to hurt you just bring in the truth that's it and if you respond to the truth if you repent if you humble yourself if you accept it then it will help you it will not hurt you alright thank you for watching please like, share, subscribe, comment check out the description below for all the associated links God bless you have a good day.

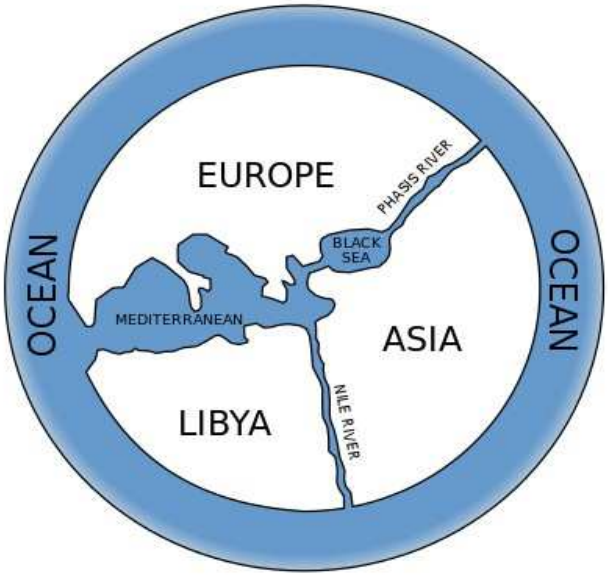
African circumnavigation by Africans

Carthaginians discover Mount Cameroon, the Ugandan tin Phoenicians sold in Europe
Two thousand years old African lighthouses in the Mediterranean and North Atlantic

Introduction

African navigators circumnavigated their continent around 600 BCE.
That is two thousand one hundred years before that belated crossing by Portuguese Europeans that brought to the rapid and organized economic demolition of Africa's Indian ocean trade, in the age of colonization European history schoolbooks still call “age of explorations”.

This is no conjecture or colonialism avenger's fantasy. It happened and was historically recorded. To start with, by no other than Herodotus, one of the founders of historical research methodology, in a near contemporary age. He had access to the direct recorded memories and notes of those who were witnesses of the first African full circumnavigation we are aware of. Most likely, the first ever.



Philosopher Anaximander's (601 - 540 BCE) world map **Hecateus's map (550 – 476 BCE). Circumnavigability of Africa was not in doubt. By their age, it had been realized by Pharaoh Necho II, probably as an attempt to surround Babylon**

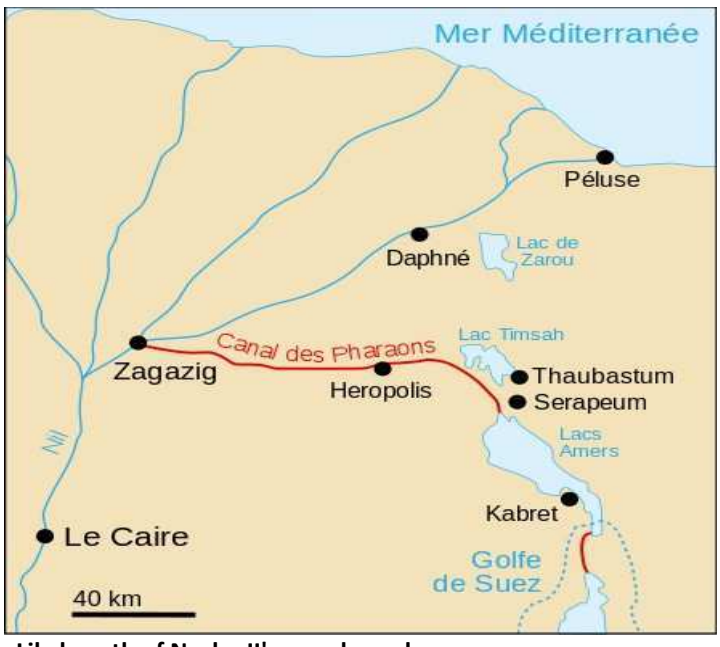
1 Herodothus on Pharaoh Necho IIs' expedition

Necho II reigned from c. 610 to c. 695 BCE. His were times of trouble, as a great challenge came from Babylon. The Babylonians had conquered the whole of Assyria, practically, with just one Assyrian general, Ahur Uballit II, an ally of Egypt, holding still, by retreating on the banks of the Euphrates.
As Necho got to power, he sent a first mission to support him, but failed. The next or the very year he sent a stronger army, that found serious resistance in Josiah, king of Judah, a Babylon ally then.

The 609 BCE biblical battle of Megiddo brought to the death of the King of the Israelites[1].

Tel al Megido from the air. The site of one of the most recalled Biblical battles. Wikimedia commons

During his Syrian campaign, Necho II attempted one of the most pharaonic infrastructure project of antiquity, prior to the grandiose realizations of Han China: dig a navigable canal, from the Pelusiac branch of the Nile to the Red Sea.
Necho's Canal was the earliest precursor of the Suez Canal. In connection with the excavation works he founded the new city of Per-Temu Tieku, 'The House of Atum of Tieku' at the site now known as Tell el-Maskhuta, just west of Ismailia.
The waterway was intended to facilitate trade between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. And command control of the North Red Sea to prevent a Babylonian attack from sea. Rather, prepare a fleet to subjugate his arch-rivals in the middle east.



Likely path of Necho II's grand canal

It was not just a mere option, a project was drawn, and excavations started. Aristotle and Strabo indicated that the project could be older, initiated at the time of Senusret III in ca. 1850 BCE. To Pliny the Elder, Senusret had already dug for miles, thirty metres wide and ten deep[2]. It is reported as surely completed only later, at the time of of Darius the Great, but fully functional only after Ptolemy II erected a lock to avoid the salt water of the lakes spoil the Nile, as they lay a few metres higher. This before the digging of the Suez canal, which let the great bitter lake flow to sea level. Ptolemy II's engineers are thus accredited for the invention of the water tight canal lock[3].

A bronze figure likely to represent Pharaoh Necho II, wikimedia

Necho did not give up because the enterprise was deemed impossible, but because his advisers warned him the canal could have offered the Babylonians the easiest access way to his power house in the Nile delta. He most probably never completed the feat, thirty miles of canal, so he likely did not realize there was a gradient down the Great Bitter Lake towards the Nile, via the excavated Wadi Tumilat.

"*Necos (Necho), then, stopped work on the canal and turned to war; some of his triremes were constructed by the northern sea, and some in the Arabian Gulf* (the Red sea), *by the coast of the Sea of Erythrias. The windlasses for beaching the ships can still be seen. He deployed these ships as needed, while he also engaged in a pitched battle at Magdolos with the Syrians, and conquered them; and after this he took Cadytis (Kadesh), which is a great city of Syria. He sent the clothes he had worn in these battles to Branchidae of Miletus and dedicated them to Apollo*".[4]

He imagined then, still believing that his victory could finally come by surrounding the enemy, to perform the encirclement by following the coast of Africa. One geographical conception of the day saw Africa's coast along the Red Sea close back onto Asia, much as in Claudius Ptolomaeus, the Hellenistic writer's Geography. So, following Africa's oriental coast may mean, possibly, being able to attack Babylon from the back[5].
Whatever the outcome, as costly exploration in antiquity is rarely if at all the product of a will to know *per se,* this is the most logical reason behind his mission across Africa.
Necho invested heavily in the expedition. He enrolled the best navigators of his time, the Phoenicians, who already formed the backbone of his naval forces.

The best seamasters served the most successful world powers.
The Pharaohs, Black Africans, used the clear complexioned Phoenicians, while the Roman resorted to Ethiopia's sea power and ports.
One thousand years after Necho's circumnavigation of Africa Rome-Byzantium used the Axumite skills to challenge Persia in the Indian ocean trade.
When the trade to the "Indies" -the East African coast, India and China essentially- was so vital Rome was progressively abandoned to permanently move Roman power to Byzantium, and send to India one hundred and twenty ships a year from the single port of Myos Hornos[6], in the time of Augustus, at the beginning of our Common Era.
Seas' trade is the place where battles for the survival of world economic powers are won and lost, since immemorial. So it came that when Persia won that trade war, in the VII century CE, Rome-Byzantium declined and with it Axum, their African staunch ally[7]. The distant inheritors of that Ethiopian might, the recently recovered Barara based Emperors of Ethiopia received a Portuguese voyager-cum-spy, Pero da Covilha, and impeded him from going back to Portugal. Pero had been sent by politicians in Lisbon who did not believe that the Columbus way to the Indies -via the Atlantic ocean- was viable. He had already managed to inform widely his Court on the feasibility of the cross to the Indies via East Africa, via Jose' Sapateiro, sent exactly to look for him. And seek that vital information. This was in between 1488, when Bartolomeu Diaz reached the tip of South Africa, and that fatidic 1496 Vasco da Gama expedition to India via the tip of Africa[8]. At the birth of a new world order based on unequal trade, tied to the false first circumnavigation of Africa.
One common tract unites the first, African circumnavigation and the first European one: geopolitical pursuits, not sheer exploration. A need to defeat a powerful enemy, Venice on the spice route for Portugal, Babylon in the middle east, not to be invaded soon, for Kemet Egypt.

Herodotus left us a precise account of the pharaonic first circumnavigation. His page close when, after three years of navigation, the expedition reached Egypt via the strait at Hercules' pillars, today's Gibraltar. He had a doubt, which today only confirms the circumnavigation was actually complete. He could not accept that the sailors had, in west Africa, the rising sun and the coast on the same side. Which is exactly true instead -and logic to us now aware of the shape of the continent-

for the whole of west southern Africa.

“As for Libya, we know it to be washed on all sides by the sea, except where it is attached to Asia. This discovery was first made by Necos, the Egyptian king, who on desisting from the canal which he had begun between the Nile and the Arabian gulf (the Red Sea), sent to sea a number of ships manned by Phoenicians, with orders to make for the Pillars of Hercules, and return to Egypt through them, and by the Mediterranean. The Phoenicians took their departure from Egypt by way of the Erythraean sea, and so sailed into the southern ocean. When autumn came, they went ashore, wherever they might happen to be, and having sown a tract of land with wheat, waited until the grain was fit to cut. Having reaped it, they again set sail; and thus it came to pass that two whole years went by, and it was not till the third year that they doubled the Pillars of Hercules, and made good their voyage home. On their return, they declared- I for my part do not believe them here, but perhaps others may- that in sailing round Libya they had the sun (raise) upon their right hand. In this way was the extent of Libya first discovered”[9].

1.1 Black Africans first Circumnavigated Africa, no other

Kemet is the self given name of the grandest organised historical civilisation of early antiquity.
In ancient Egyptian it means Land of the blacks, much like Ethiopia means land of the Black (or burnt faces) in Greek and Sudan comes from Bilad al Sudan, the Arab for exactly the same name. Black as a distinguishing character, powerful enough to name a Country. A lesson of pride, I would guess, for those who feel a handful of centuries of Euro-Caucasian race predominance gibberish might have left us less assured. However, this statement has met controversy.

Kendall cites the stelae of Piye, the founder of the Meroitic Dynasty, as a justification for the sires of Napata and Meroe deep in present day Sudan to conquer the whole of Egypt, generating its most grandiose land extension period. Its inscription states that "Amun of Napata granted me to be ruler of every foreign country," and "Amun in Thebes granted me to be ruler of the Black's Land (Kemet, KMT)”[10]. Amun was Piye's protecting God, as typical of the Kush, or Nubian Kingdom. Defining his, the XXV as the “Black African” dynasty is senseless. It should be rather the Kush Dynasty, as Kush was a separate and long dated kingdom, not an undefined periphery of Kemet, when it took control of Egypt. Precisely, of the Land of the Blacks.

“Ancient Egypt was a Negro civilization. The history of Black Africa will remain suspended in air and can not be written correctly until African historians dare to connect it with the history of Egypt. In particular, the study of languages, institutions, and so forth, can not be treated properly; in a word, it will be impossible to build African humanities, a body African human sciences, so long as the relationship does not appear legitimate. The African historian who evades the problem of Egypt is neither modest nor objective, nor unruffled; he is ignorant, cowardly, and neurotic. Imagine, if you can, the uncomfortable position of a western historian who was to write the history of Europe without referring to Greco-Latin Antiquity and try that off as a scientific approach.[11]”

Pankhurst concludes that is it hard to distinguish Ethiopia, Nubia and Egypt in antiquity, as its peoples were in substance the same[12]. I would add, with a gradient of genes that appear to vary North to South, and, within North Africa, from West to East.
Culturally though, circumcision, headrests, hair styles really are the same along the Nile.
To the Greeks and Romans, Egypt was an African country, and their artists depicted the Egyptians as Africans, with black skin and tightly curled hair, described by the Greek historian Herodotos in the fifth century BC as 'woolly'.
A list of Greek contemporary historians that, with no exclusion, mention their sea faring rivals and neighbours of Kemet as black Africans, like the word itself states, Herodotus, Strabo and Diodorus

Siculus included:

1. to Herodotus a wealthy and respected Greek oracle was known to be from Egypt because she was "black", and he regarded the natives of the Nile region as "black with heat", as the Egyptians were "black skinned with woolly hair".[13]
2. Lucian observes an Egyptian boy and notices that he is not merely black, but has thick lips.[14]
3. Diodorus Siculus mentioned that the Aethiopians considered the Egyptians a colony.[15]
4. Apollodorus calls Egypt the country of the black footed ones.[16]
5. Aeschylus, a Greek poet, wrote that Egyptian seamen had "black limbs."[17]
6. Greeks at times referred to Egyptians as Aethiopians.[18]

Modern-day dictionary compilers appear to shun the debate on black or white Kemet, confirming, as the UC Santa Barbara academic Dr. Stuart Tyson Smith that Ancient Egyptian blackness may be accepted by US present race standards, admitting there is a wide variety of “black Africans”.
I find this intelligent and not “old school”. Though the statement is based on a rather disturbing concept: the US has criteria to distinguish race, as it was law that race -to me an anachronistic concept in itself- appeared years ago on all US citizens ID (sic!). He is an authority on Nubia-Ancient Egypt relationships.
Tyson Smith in the 2001 Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt: "Any characterization of race of the ancient Egyptians depends on modern cultural definitions, not on scientific study. Thus, by modern American standards it is reasonable to characterize ancient Egyptians as "black", while acknowledging the scientific evidence for the physical diversity of Africans."

I would in fact stand by the “cultural definition” that there has been plenty of race-dominated debate, the product of colonial mindsets, and that Africans need to take a lead in unearthing, DNA testing, detailing in scientific terms and above all explaining their massive civilized past, in their own hands. Taking care not to fall in demential old colonial school pit traps: ancient Egyptians were Caucasians in good part and not Africans; this is a camitic, this a semitic “race”.
Fight a *Race* to rapidly free us all from racist preconceptions appears to me a must.
Some investment in Pride that would be worth the equal of the biggest dams, motorways or train lines installation being now essentially financed by Africans, like in present day Ethiopia.

I support Basil Davidson, a grand and honest defender of African tradition against colonial bias, who puts the matter -still largely controversial- in these terms:

"Whether the Ancient Egyptians were as black or as brown in skin color as other Africans may remain an issue of emotive dispute; probably, they were both. Their own artistic conventions painted them as pink, but pictures on their tombs show they often married queens shown as entirely black, being from the south: while the Greek writers reported that they were much like all the other Africans whom the Greeks knew.[19]"

With the c*aveas,* attention note if not all, some queens might have been foreign, that black is universally regarded as aesthetic, beautiful and, in Egypt, it was considered the colour of fertility, as associated with the Nile inundation and its fertile soils from Ethiopia. Recent DNA research does not solve unilaterally the question so far, but rather tends to show strains of different kinds in the little DNA that has so far been extracted pure enough from mummies, with so far yet inconclusive, and complex global origins for present day Egyptians. This is logical, as a number of peoples have repopulated Egypt since antiquity, including Persians, Romans, and above all Arabs.

As to early Egyptologists, including Francois Champollion, the Rosetta codebreaker, they had little doubt the Ancient Egyptians and present day Egyptian Arabs and Copts are quite different. With Kemet Egypt clearly indicated as an autonomous black African civilisation[19a].

Queen Ahmose Nefertari, of Ramses IV

Different peoples in Seti I tomb: Libians, Nubians, Persians, Egyptians

2 Hanno's African volcano. Carthaginians along West Africa's coast in the VI-V century BCE

Hanno, Carthaginian navigator, left in an unknown year prior to 500 BCE to explore the west coast of Africa. The Carthaginians already had colonies on the Atlantic coasts of today's Morocco and the Sahrawi territories.
The exact date and the circumstances of his feat are still unclear. Carthage was nearing the height of its maritime power, and soon later, or in the same period during the Vth Century Himilco, also from the Phoenician breakaway colony and Mediterranean sea superpower, was to explore the North sea.

Carthage dispatched Hanno at the head of a fleet of sixty ships to explore and colonize the north-western coast of Africa. He sailed through the straits of Gibraltar, founded or repopulated seven colonies along the African coast of today's Morocco as extended to the former Sahrawi republic, and explored significantly further along the Atlantic coast of the continent[20].

Part of the unbelievable of Hanno's recount is that he found an island populated with hairy savage people, as he described. Three females were captured and killed as they could not be kept at bay. Their skins were held in the Temple of Tannit on Hanno's return and, according to Pliny the Elder, survived until the Roman destruction of Carthage in 146 BC, some 350 years after Hanno's expedition[21] The interpreters travelling with Hanno called the people Gorillai (Greek Γόριλλαι). When European explorers first encountered gorillas in the 19th century, the apes were given this name on the assumption that they were the "people" Hanno had described.

> In its inmost recess was an island similar to that formerly described, which contained in like manner a lake with another island, inhabited by a rude description of people. The females were much more numerous than the males, and had rough skins: our interpreters called them Gorillae. We pursued but could take none of the males; they all escaped to the top of precipices, which they mounted with ease, and threw down stones; we took three of the females, but they made such violent struggles, biting and tearing their captors, that we killed them, and stripped off the skins, which we carried to Carthage: being out of provisions we could go no further.

If -as it appears- Hanno confused Apes and Men, Dutch and British settlers in the Cape Province in the XVII century, nearly two thousand and five hundred years later went chasing and killing KhoiKhoi and “Bushmen” fellow humans straight up to their huts, considering them as good as a variety of bothering, disturbing monkeys[22].

March 20th, 2016 saw the 100th year recurrence of the suicide of pygmy Ota Benga, ending one of the most absurd criminal cases of practical racism. He had been obliged to show his teeth and his body to paying visitors locked in a cage. He was kept there as a special monkey

amongst others on display, proof of “earlier stages of human evolution”, to generate prime revenue for the zoo at the orders of a scientific racist, Madison Grant, an eugenicist. He had been freed by a good thinking Pastor, on the evolved grounds that the exhibit was pro Darwinism, and thus “contrary to Christianity”. Ota shot his own heart when he learnt he could not go back to Africa due to the WWI travel restrictions. He had been -guess what, typical of monkeys- depressed after treatment received by his jailers, rather, zoo keepers[23]. Human zoos and the similar had been common in European culture, up to some sixty years ago, dubbed as “anthropological” shows. Anthropology and Ethnology are the unrelated terms commonly used up to today to sell colonial racist material of different sorts.

2.1 Hanno's voyage in the periplus account

The primary source for Hanno's expedition is a Greek *periplus*. A translation of a tablet text Hanno is reported to have hung up on his return to Carthage in the temple of Ba'al Hammon. The complete title translated from Greek is “The Voyage of Hanno, commander of the Carthaginians, round the parts of Libya beyond the Pillars of Heracles, which he deposited in the Temple of Kronos”d (Ba'al Hammon).

The text was translated imperfectly and somewhat incompletely. The abridged translation was copied successively by Greek and Byzantine clerks. Two copies exist, dating to the ninth and the fourteenth centuries.

The first of these manuscripts is the Palatinus Graecus 398, in the University of Heidelberg. The other text is in the Codex Vatopedinus 655, taken from the Vatopedi monastery, Mount Athos, Greece and dated to the beginning of the 14th century; the codex is now divided partly in the British Library and partly in the French Bibliothèque Nationale[24].

2.2 In Herodotus, Histories, book 4

Herodotus does not refer directly to the tablet at the Baal Hammon temple. He describes Carthage's trade with West African peoples in some detail, though.

“The Carthaginians tell us that they trade with a race of men who live in a part of Libya beyond the Pillars of Herakles. On reaching this country, they unload their goods, arrange them tidily along the beach, and then, returning to their boats, raise a smoke. Seeing the smoke, the natives come down to the beach, place on the ground a certain quantity of gold in exchange for the goods, and go off again to a distance. The Carthaginians then come ashore and take a look at the gold; and if they think it presents a fair price for their wares, they collect it and go away; if, on the other hand, it seems too little, they go back aboard and wait, and the natives come and add to the gold until they are satisfied. There is perfect honesty on both sides; the Carthaginians never touch the gold until it equals in value what they have offered for sale, and the natives never touch the goods until the gold has been taken away”[25].

2.3 In Arrian's account

Arrian of Nicomedia, Bythinia, was a Greek historian, public servant, military commander and philosopher of the Roman period. He lived from c. 86-89 CE to after 150. His multi-volume “Anabasis of Alexander” is considered the best account of Alexander's short and active period of

vast conquests

Arrian mentions Hanno's voyage at the end of his Anabasis of Alexander, book VIII (Indica):

> Moreover, Hanno the Libyan started out from Carthage and passed the Pillars of Heracles and sailed into the outer Ocean, with Libya on his port side, and he sailed on towards the east, five-and-thirty days all told. But when at last he turned southward, he fell in with every sort of difficulty, want of water, blazing heat, and fiery streams running into the sea[26].

This recount has one fixed point of interest to those seeing his journey reach Mt. Cameroon and possibly further South to Gabon: Africa's shoreline, effectively as described here finally turns South only after the whole of its West Coast, first in Nigeria to then do so until the Cape of Good Hope, from the Cameroon coast onwards.

2.4 In Pliny the Elder's account

According to Pliny the Elder, writing in the first century CE. Hanno started his journey at the same time that Himilco started to explore the European Atlantic coast. Pliny reports that Hanno actually managed to circumnavigate the Africa continent, from Gadiz to Arabia.[27]

A number of modern scholars have commented upon Hanno's voyage. In many cases, the analysis has been to refine information and interpretation of the original account. Trying then to correlate it to modern West Africa Geographical features. A hard task, as the Carthaginians actually hid, not published their geographical finds, to avoid direct competition with Greek traders in particular.

William Smith points out that the complement of personnel totalled 30,000, and that the core mission included the intent to found Carthaginian settlements.[28] Some scholars have questioned whether this many people accompanied Hanno on his expedition, and suggest 5,000 is a more accurate number.[29]

Considering true the number of sixty ships, the second is clearly a more accurate estimate. One twenty metres overall ship, akin to that wrecked earlier on the Turkish coast, the 16m Uluburun ship, would have lodged no more than 60 people. A few more if totally crammed. So 5,000 is even too big a number for sixty ships, filled to the brim, with little or no space for baggage, food water and armaments. Unless they were, still clearly possible, much wider and longer.

Harden states a general consensus exists that the expedition reached at least as far as Senegal.[30] Most agree he could have reached Gambia as there is no major volcano at all further north in Senegal. However, Harden mentions lack of agreement as to precisely where to locate the farthest limit of Hanno's explorations: Sierra Leone, Cameroon, or Gabon. He notes the description of Mount Cameroon, a 4,040-metre (13,250 ft) volcano, more closely matches Hanno's description than Guinea's 890-metre (2,920 ft), lowly Mount Kakulima. Warmington prefers Mount Kakulima, considering Mount Cameroon too distant, failing though to be categorical in his reasoning, either.[31]

Fifty three days of sailing could have taken Hanno to Cameroon, or just to Guinea: much depends on how many stopovers he made. The text left to us does not reveal enough on the length of his mentioned stays to definitely and certainly let one, or the other volcano be chosen with certitude as his final point of reach. Unless we take for correct Arrian's indication on the coast pointing finally South, then, Hanno certainly reached Mt. Cameroon.

Warmington suggests that difficulties in reconciling the account's specific details with present geographical data are consistent with classical reports of Carthaginian determination to maintain sole control of trade into the Atlantic.[32]

This report was the object of criticism by some ancient writers, including the Pliny the Elder, and in modern times a whole literature of scholarship has grown up around it. The account is incoherent and at times certainly incorrect, and attempts to identify the various places mentioned on the basis of the sailing directions and distances almost all fail. Some scholars resort to textual emendations, justified in some cases; but it is probable that what *we have before us is a report deliberately edited so that the places could not be identified by the competitors of Carthage*.

From everything we know about Carthaginian practice, the resolute determination to keep all knowledge of and access to the western markets from the Greeks, it is incredible that they would have allowed the publication of an accurate description of the voyage for all to read. What we have is an official version of the real report made by Hanno which conceals or falsifies vital information while at the same time gratifying the pride of the Carthaginians in their achievements. The very purpose of the voyage, the consolidation of the route to the gold market, is not even mentioned.

Necessarily secretive, badly translated and abridged as it was in Carthage, the Hanno travelogue has yet fascinated generations of scholars, and remains to us definite proof of a well prepared and sustained commercial exploration of West Africa, by Africans sailors and traders, over 2500 years ago.

A map of Hanno's Voyage in West Africa, wikimedia, modified by author to include Mt. Kakulima as a final destination

3 More Phoenician and Carthaginian feats

3.1 The Phoenician's Uganda tin voyage in some detail

“I will turn my hand upon thee, and purge away thy dross, and take away all thy tin” (Isaiah 1:25).

Tin in antiquity, before steel was produced in the middle east and inner African ancient Nations, even before, outsmarted all others in their ability with iron ores, was a vital commodity, due to the strategic value of Bronze. The first diffused use of metals we know much of began in the part of the Middle East that lies between the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Black and Caspian seas, and forms the boundary between Europe and Asia. It includes the mountainous parts of Turkey and Iran, northern Iraq and Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan to the Caucasus Mountains. A vast mineral province that contains abundant copper, silver, iron, and other base metals, but only moderate amounts of gold and little tin. Tin was precious, like gold, in time of war in particular. Till the time of the Punic wars of Rome and Carthage and further.

The Phoenicians are thus credited for vast tin trade transactions that spanned from the Hebrides and the North sea to Africa. One confirmed source of Phoenician tin is Uganda.
This may appear unreal, as the later, Necho Expedition around Africa would be considered a total novelty already. Yet, it happened. Locals were mining tin that the Phoenician traded from Uganda. This is confirmed by the mineralogical analysis, including radioisotope types of bronze objects of ca 1500 BCE [33].
How Phoenicians would have obtained that tin can today only be the subject of speculation and conjectures. If it had happened through intermediaries, these were local people groupings, at least until the seaports. From then on, it could have been a local seafaring civilisation. The one the Chinese knew since the III century BCE as Zesan, Azania. As the logical ports would be on the East Africa side, and almost certainly in present day Kenya and Somalia, for its southernmost coast. With the Tana river as an ideal waterway to reach the interior.

Present day tree trunk boats on the Tana River, NE Kenya

Colonial attempts to make it navigable around 1880 hit the difficulty of its meanders and were substituted by the Mombasa railway, operative by 1906.

It was in antiquity easily navigable to barges and simple trunk boats, much as it is today, as a permanently flowing river of around 1000km course[34]. Its waters collect the melting seasonal snows of Mount Kenya. A 134m tall falls interrupts the course, near Embu, but South of it also its tributaries towards the lake Victoria side appear well navigable to barges from satellite views.

The Tana rive meanders, across from Garissa, the Kenyan Region bordering Somalia

What kind of research could bring us to understand the Uganda-Kenya-Somalia Phoenician trade is an absolutely fascinating question.
My choice would be sonar seabed scans of the Tana river delta. If an ancient barge or boat could be found preserved, ideally with some traces of its cargo, we would have a much clearer idea of the trade, absolute dating and origin of the boat's woods and, likely of the cargo.
Often times a quest, if carried out interdisciplinary with broad minded experts does also yield the unrelated, and the unexpected. Excavations, extremely expensive and possibly cost inflated, by Chinese and Kenyan archaeologists not far South of the Tana delta, in Mambrui, Malindi have yielded little trace[35], really much disproportionate to the economic effort, of Ming Chinese presence in the area. What if the quest of traces of Zheng-He's fleets or the scantily verified China to Azania ancient links since antiquity could be pursued in the mouth of the major nearby, abundant freshwater, and insidious river meanders and silts?

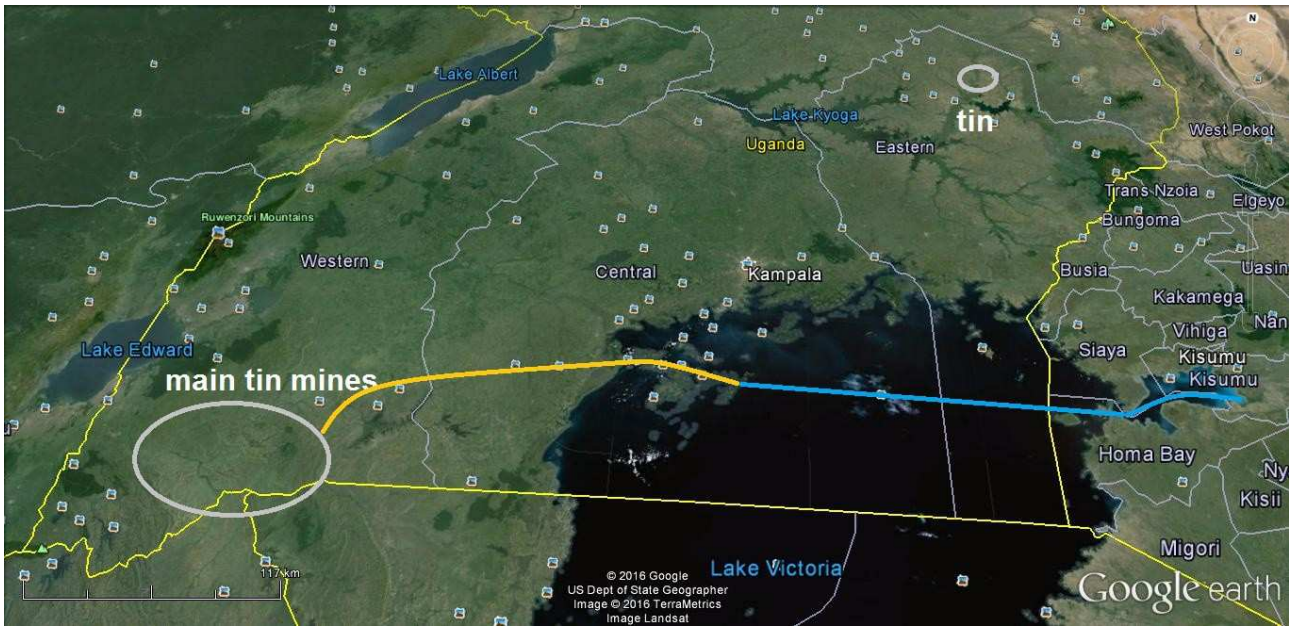
Another, slightly shorter but possibly less practicable route involves more land crossing, from the SW Uganda mines to the Pangani river mouth, in Northern present day Tanzania. The Pangani, much shorter, would have been equally easily navigable by barges or tree trunk boats. Or more sophisticated local boats. A third remote possibility would have implied seafaring the tin across the whole of the west African coast from the mouths of the Congo river, and over at least 700 km of forests and some 3000 km of navigable river. I would concentrate on the two preceding hypotheses.

How did the tin then reach the Mediterranean sea?
I would guess in either Phoenician mortise and tenon boats akin to the Uluburun wreck or in African sewn ships manned by the Zanj, the Zesan well known to the Chinese in the III century CE. Or made and manned by the Egyptians themselves.
While all three options appear to be possible technically, the chronology makes the second option more diffucult. The ships would have necessarily been assembled in the upper Egyptian ports, Myos Hornos, then S'w'w' (Sawawi? -now Gawasis), or Berenike Troglodita. There is no record of Phoenician ships, to the best of my knowledge, being assembled in Egypt, not prior to the Necho II expedition around Africa.
The Egyptians had regularly set sail in their own ships to the land of Punt since 2500 BCE or

earlier, as attested in the Saqqara site, in the time of Pharaoh Sahure. Gold from Punt is certified in the Kufu pyramid site, earlier. Solar boats attest the African sewn plank ships technology since 3100 as funerary ships from that period were unearthed in Tarkan, Saqqara and Helwan. But that appears a special event, not occurring for over a thousand years, apparently, after Sahure and before Queen Hatshepsut in 1550 BCE.

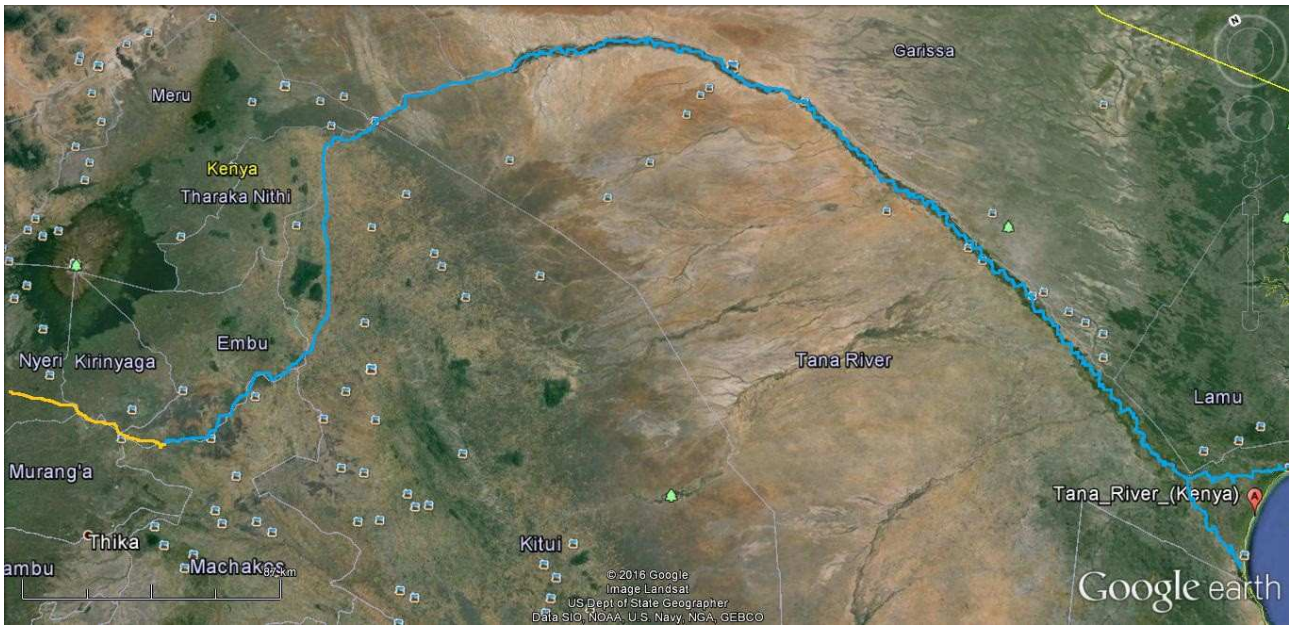
The last appears the most probable: at least the first part of the sea routes to the Mediterranean was undertaken in ships made, owned and manned by East African seamasters.

The Zanj. The earliest known East African navigators, were precursors of the Axumite ocean trade. Even though Kate Bard and Rodolfo Fattovich's discovery of major seagoing vessels in Marsa Gawasis, just South of present day Port Safaga, the Bay of Roman Myos Hornos, may well prove Egyptian Punt (approx. Eritrea), and further East African trade was no rare fact. The excavations have stopped since 2011 due to instability in Egypt[36].



Possible route from the main tin mines to Kenya, via the easiest way, Lake Nyanza (Victoria)
Source, remote sensing recognition and Uganda Government, National map of mining resources

Best route from lake Nyanza to the sea via the Tana river, yellow via land, light blue via waterways. p. I, to Mt. Kenya



p. II from South of Mt. Kenya, via the Tana River and its West tributaries, to its mouths North of Malindi

The original mines should be further analysed, to find the first man dug shafts, describe the technology and reconstruct the material artefacts of the mining culture. Satellite archaeology and drone surveys may help identify cultural contexts, sites along the typical routes from South West Uganda to Mount Kenya and to the sea, via the Tana river and its west tributaries. Potential ports along the Tana, in its marshy second half in particular could conduce to river bed scans and site recognitions there too. To find the boats, barges, navigation tools of this far fledged trade.

Not much, if anything has been studied and excavated of the prehistoric Azania ports, nothing at all of the internal trade routes and ancient mines.

A promising field open for those capable, and ready to understand and explain our powerful past.

Tin, 1500 km route from the Uganda-Rwanda border to the Azania coast North of Malindi and South of Lamu, sum of the previous figures with the addition of a S of Mt. Elgon to Mt. Kenya route for the Central Uganda lesser mines

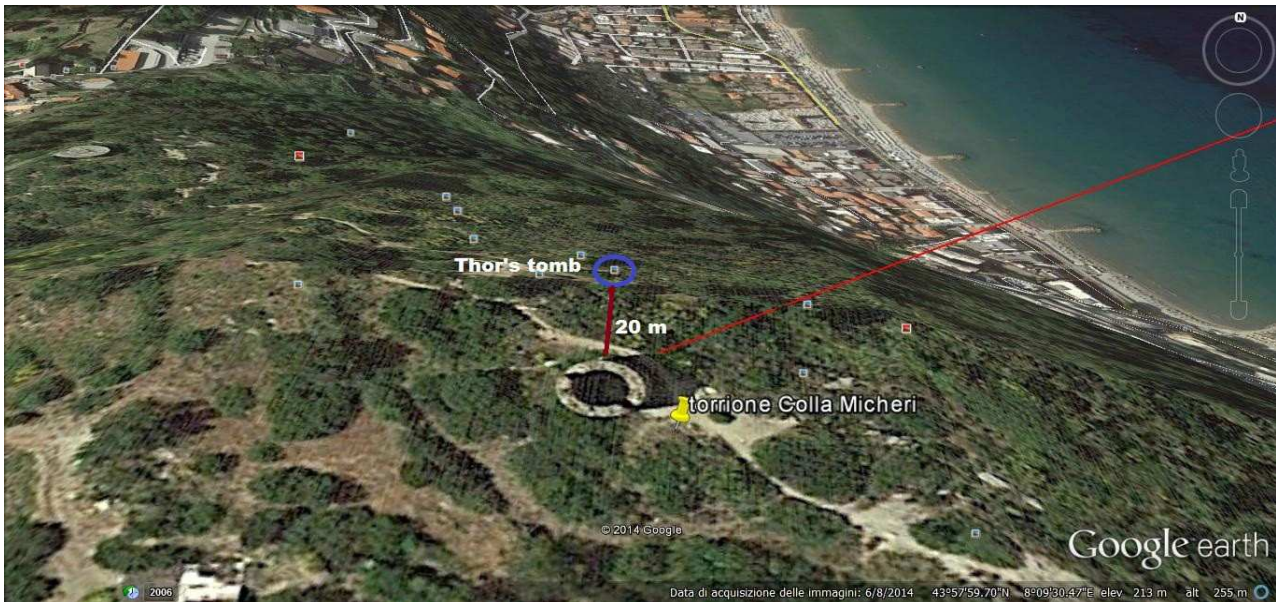
The alternative tin route to sea, via South Lake Nyanza across to S of Mt. Kilimandjaro, then via the Pangani river

3.2 Pharology: the disappearing light lighthouse. The most ancient "sectored" lighthouse.

3.2.1 Thor's Tomb lies in the shadow of a mysterious round tower

In October 2014, recurred the 100th anniversary of Thor Heyerdahl's birth[37]. Thor was the uncontested master of ancient navigation studies, and the creator of the concept of ancient boat seaworthy reconstruction.
Centering most of his reconstruction on ancient Egypt papyrus boats. Without knowing the seagoing ships of the Egyptians were a lot more solid. I wonder how he would have taken the discovery of Fattovich and Bard I mentioned in the chapter above. It would have made all his feats with boat replicas certainly less hard, considering the instability of papyrus reeds, and even more spectacular.

My reflection here starts from his tomb. I suspect those who built it might have used, with no knowledge, spolia, or reused stones from the basements of some ancient houses very near by, now totally collapsed, most likely tied to the "Colla Micheri tower", a structure erroneously locally indicated as a windmill.



An aerial photograph from Googleearth shows Thor Heyerdahl's tomb location, 20m North of the "windmill"

I have tried to demonstrate a tower on the opposing promontory across a vast Ligurian bay, at Verezzi, could not possibly have been a windmill at all, much like another one similarly indicated as an “horizontal axis mill”, located in La Spezia.
They were most likely lighthouses instead. The one facing the Norwegian navigator's tomb, on the long promontory of Cape Noli, the Verezzi tower, is perfectly sited to have its light disappear in case a Mediterranean ship was too close to the only dangerous island for three hundred nautical miles around, from Antibes to Isola del Giglio: Gallinara island.

Gallinara Island's cliffs. Deadly to ancient Mediterranean large, hard to steer ships

Displacing the tower at Verezzi just one hundred metres along the side of the promontory meant its light would no longer disappear, as a ship approached the cliffs of Gallinara.

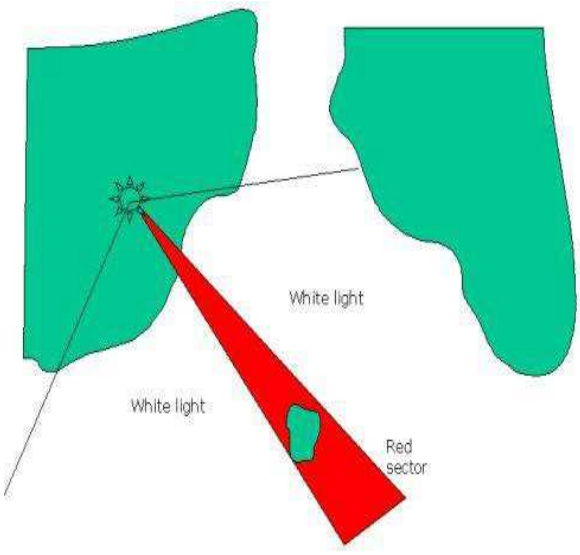
The 16 nautical miles wide long bay between capo Mele and capo Noli. The Verezzi tower is where it should be?

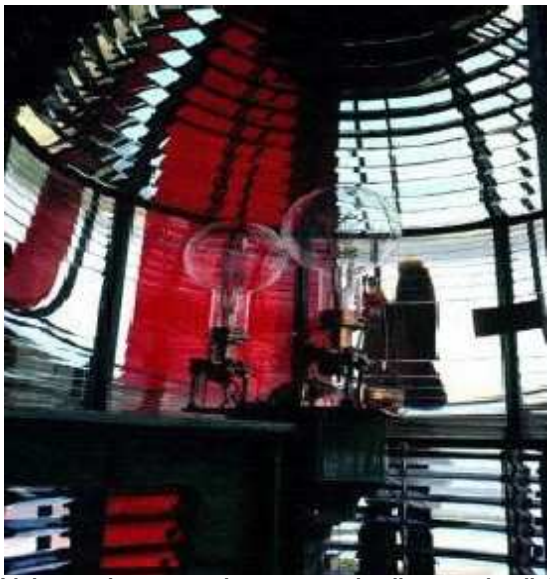
"*Navigare necesse est!*" repeated many Roman scholars, as their ships, the big ones in particular, were incredibly prone to disaster. Since the Carthaginian domination of the Mediterranean, start the most tragic period of the history of seafaring, in fact, one ship in two was not to return to shore, every year. In deed, the sorrow of mariners' families was hard to compensate with the "*necesse*" of sea trade and sea based known world domination.

Unlike the Indian, Arab and Ethiopian sewn planks ships that helped in classic antiquity in Indian ocean trade, shorter much more reliable central rudder steer rather elastic seaworthy contraptions, the huge quinquiremes had no time to correct their direction facing a danger. This is a field we have been studying in Ethiopia. Sixty or more metres long Carthaginian or even larger Roman ships were only steered via quarter rudders on both sides.
So Polybium, a Roman Greek warfare strategist and writer, took time do deride the rival Carthaginian sea power for their lighthouses' complicated variations: he quotes them as having lighthouses to direct ships, to avoid danger and false lighthouses to attract the enemy concluding, rightfully, they should put less effort in their many lighthouses and more on their ships. Other Roman authors recall the Carthaginians having a small community every thirty miles on the shores along their sea trade routes, I infer to assist and direct ships.
I have hypothesized the Verezzi tower was a lighthouse, possibly manned by the inhabitants of the near village, totally estranged to local architecture, Ligurians indicate locally as an "Arab" hamlet.

The Verezzi Crosa hamlet. A dating of limes or carbon fibres in the walls could help understand its origin

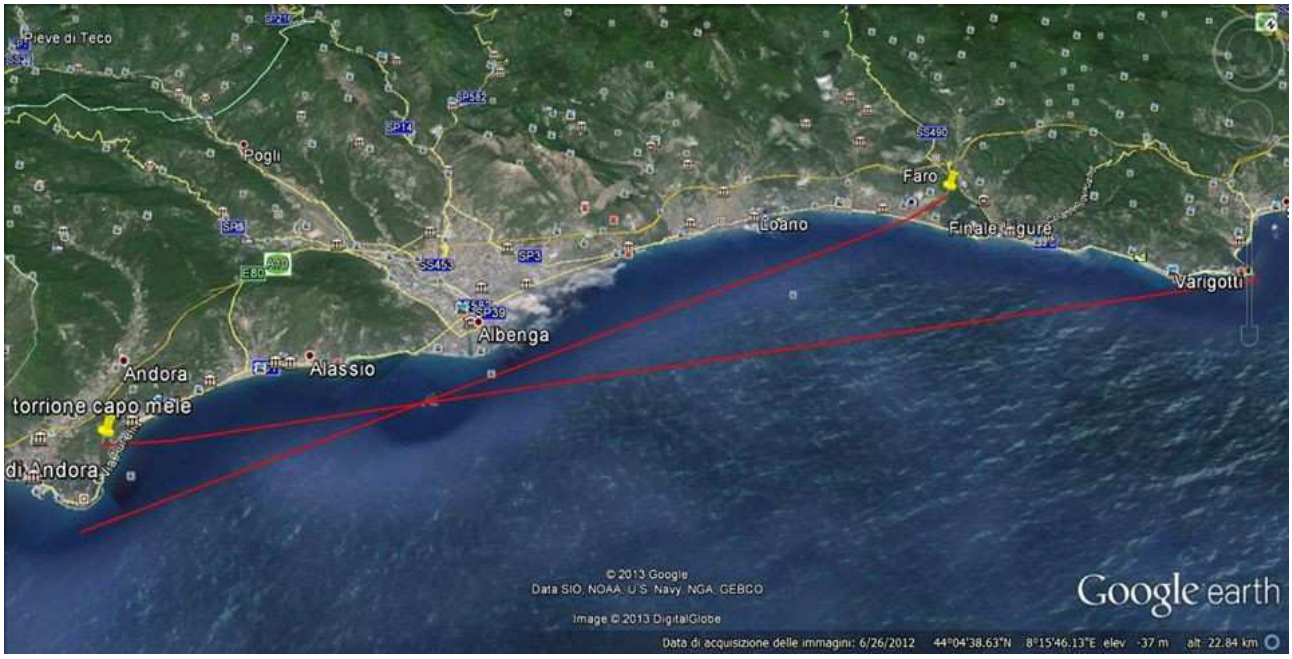
Counter-checking what may be found on the other side of the island, to see if anything could possibly be exactly there, where a disappearing light indicated danger, I perfectly hit a round tower.





A modern sectored lighthouse indicates danger with a Red Light, much as an ancient one used a disappearing light. Courtesy Dr. Ken Trethewey, one of the world's most noted Pharologists, from his first site, http://pharology.eu/

It was there that I first saw the so called “windmill” at Colla Micheri. The one under whose shadows, literally, lies the tomb of navigator, explorer, scholar and dreamer Thor Heyerdhal. Again, displacing this second tower less than a hundred metres, would have meant a light up on it -were it to be a lighthouse- would no longer save ancient mariner's lives from the Gallinara cliffs. Not on the way to Genua or Rome ports, say, but on the way to Frejus -Marseille perhaps- today. In other words, whosoever designed the two perfectly equivalent towers -same width to ten centimetres difference, similar height- placed them on a criss cross, across a wide and long bay, to avoid a very dangerous isolated island: if the light disappears from sight, the quarter rudders must steer, in time, to avoid disaster.



Gallinara stands perfectly placed at the crossing of the two opposite navigational paths joining the two lighthouses to it

Colla Micheri and Verezzi towers show exactly the same diametre from sat views, 6.20 metres. a) Pascal McLee on Panoramio.com, b) by unknown, historic photo prior to the 1984 illegal modifications, festivalverezzi.it

3.2.2 Two more apparently totally misplaced very ancient lighthouses make sense if placed to signal major dangers

Actually, apart from two “lighthouse tombs”, the most ancient lighthouses we know of so far: the Akeratos tomb in Greece and Philon's one in Leptis Magna, Egypt (some 2.200 years old) two more extremely ancient lighthouses, the one of Nero in Pattara, Turkey and the one at La Coruna, both dating from the first decades of our present era, appear conveniently placed to support my theory. They stand far from promontories, exactly where their lights would have disappeared if ships were approaching extremely dangerous isolated islands, the Catals in Turkey and the Islas El Portino in Spain. Not at all a place to expect finding lighthouses, normally.

Nero's lighthouse, Patara, inconveniently placed on a beach far from the promotories, destroyed by a Tsunami that killed one of its keepers, found under an architrave, could only be here to signal the Catal islands (!) Was this the site of an earlier lighthouse, also Carthaginian or Phoenician?

photo terrantiquae.com

Only an height of the lighthouse lower than 15m allows the light to set behind the promontory approaching the Catals

The lighthouse at La Coruna, Spain is just a few years posterior to the one in Turkey, and is said -not an historical confirmed fact- to be placed on the exact site of a prior Carthaginian lighthouse. For sure, its XVII century Castillan Spain remake, the present “tower of Hercules” was erected some ten metres higher: some ten metres too high. So approaching mariners had the Crown authorities add that evident long lateral pillar to it. The Spain king's engineers did not invent the sectored lighthouse on purpose, but to correct an evident and dangerous design imperfection: the newly refurbished, beautiful lighthouse was guiding ships to hit the low and dangerous El Portino islands. Unless the engineers shadowed the light, again. Like the original Carthaginian design and emplacement imposed. As the Spanish light was too highly placed, in disrespect of the lost rule.

Torre de Hercules, originally Carthaginian lighthouse rebuilt some ten metres too tall. It soon needed a pillar to block the light, to avoid causing wrecks. Photo posted on pinterest.com by Conchi Fernandez

Not on the main promontory, the original lighthouse indicated the port access, avoiding the islands

Excavations in Crosa di Verezzi and studies on the two twin towers across the bay are much in need to understand a vital part of what was a long forgotten lesson of North African, Carthaginian navigation: the need to erect and man lighthouses to indicate dangers to perilous, but inevitable night time sea faring. This is a further missing link of the vast sea routes that from Africa covered the whole of the known world around the on start of our Common Era.

A view of the Gallinara and Cape Noli from Colla Micheri.

I conclude these four lighthouses -the most ancient found so far, as the quest for the "Pillar of Achilles" at cape Sygeum has yielded no ruins so far- were of African origin. Likely Carthaginian, and related to the ancient trade of African prime matters and other goods that the Ancient Egyptians fostered since their, more numerous than so far known, voyages to the land of Punt, Eritrea.
As even the more steerable trade ships needed guidance along the Mediterranean Coast, well before the Romans made it their sea, "Mare nostrum".
Pharology, in itself a difficult, at times controversial matter, would contribute largely to understanding the trade channels of classic antiquity, from the North Sea to the tip of Africa.

4 Weilue, China's book of the "Peoples of the West"

Author Yu Han, completed around 250 CE a list of Countries, ports, civilisations, commodities, edifices, towns and activities of interest in the "Western seas", including the Indian Ocean, the red sea and the Persian gulf, the Mediterranean and the African Atlantic ocean akin to contemporary and earlier Greek and North African *peripluses*, or perhaps to one of today's travelogues[38].

Ch. 12 on Zesan, Azania -the East Africa coast- ends so:

"Da Qing (Rome) can be reached from Zesan travelling SW via the Western Sea (Atlantic Ocean), but the number of Li is unknown".

The Weilue periplus or geographical book shows very definitely that Chinese scholars of the period were aware that it was possible to reach Rome by another route from Zesan, Azania, to the south west, sailing around Africa.
There is a perfectly parallel passage in the Periplus Mare Erithreum, a first century CE travelogue. After discussing ports south along the East African coast as far as Rhapta, somewhere in present day Tanzania, it goes:

“These are just about the very last ports of trade on the coast of Azania to the right of Berenicê [i.e. to the south]. For, beyond this area lies unexplored ocean that bends to the west and, extending on the south along the parts of Ethiopia and Libya and Africa that turn away, joins the western sea [i.e. the Atlantic Ocean].”[39] Note, Western sea was the Atlantic Ocean to the Greek, Western seas were all those mentioned at the beginning of this chapter for the Chinese.

This an evident reference to the knowledge that it was possible to circumnavigate Africa.

Learnt Romans of the 1st and 2nd centuries CE were aware that it was possible to sail around Africa to reach Asia. They would have known of Herodotus’ account of the successful circumnavigation of Africa by Necho II fleet, and of the attempts of Eudoxus of Cyzicus to reach India by sailing around Africa in the late second century BCE, which were recorded by Strabo. Possibly of Eudoxus’ two trips and expeditions. Interestingly, Eudoxus was stimulated to attempt the feat, and possibly lose his life in the second attempt, after finding and abandoned ship somewhere along the coast of West Africa, which locals and his knowledge attributed to a ship from Cadiz, near the Gibraltar Strait[40].

Seneca made a confident prediction in his Naturales quaestiones (CE 63-5), that Spain would soon be linked to the Indies by sea. It seems likely that his confidence was based on current accounts of the possibility of the circumnavigation of Africa[41].

“To the question whether the ‘Dark Continent’ was circumnavigated in antiquity it may be answered that we have authenticated records of four attempts to do so. The first, apparently successful, was made c. 600 B.C. by Phoenician sailors in the employ of the Egyptian Pharaoh Necho II.
The second, known to have been a failure, was made in the early part of the fifth century B.C. by Sataspes, a Persian grandee of the court of Xerxes. Both the third, which was unsuccessful, and the fourth, whose outcome is in doubt, were made in the late Ptolemaic period by the Greek mariner Eudoxus of Cyzicus, whose voyages on the Indian Ocean have already been noted.”[42]

Fra Mauro map designs and describes the voyage of a “Concho da India”, an Indian or, more likely, Chinese Junk across the Cape of Good Hope. A ship, not a fleet, as producer of fantasy-history Gavin Menzies in his “1421, the Year China discovered America” insists with vehemence, against all comments from real historians aware of the matter.

Fra Mauro's tip of Africa has the “Concho da India” and its rather fabulous story. Placed at 1420, Age of Zheng He. South is Up.

Property of Biblioteca Naionale Marciana Venice, courtesy of Piero Falchetta, curator

While news of Chinese approaches to the Cape may have reached Mauro in Venice from different sources, including the monks that designed the “Abassia” part of his map, this is for sure no proof

of a Chinese discovery of the Americas just before Columbus, rather, a proof of navigation and trade well south of Sofala, the Great Zimbabwe outlet bay, and present day Mozambique.

I deem it good to know about Menzies' mischievously led conjectures, very easy to debunk. His editors and producers helped him make a total best seller out of this totally baseless theory, on how a spring off of Zheng He's fifth voyage would have reached present day US, presumably visiting, too, most of the present day major US ports (sic!). Pity the supposed discoverer sailor's tomb was duly found in the far east, a medieval Chinese stargazing tower on the East Coast happens to be an 18th century well recorded mill, as his purported proof are all spoof, including the Fra Mauro Junk.

We in Africa should never let people of the Luigi Bonomi -Menzies' editorial director- sort lead us into possibly lucrative, but very counter-productive speculative use of our finds[43].

It is appealing to show formal, perused history is wrong or manipulated, but unless this is done on solid, logical, demonstrated grounds, we will only stir, and spoil a vast and special pot of broth.

There is already enough dis-attention, or, still, active opposition to truly discover our past, for us to be unscientific in our reasoning, to thus give in to easy detraction.

References

1 The Bible, Book of Kings, II, v. 23:29. 29: “While Josiah was king, Pharaoh Necho king of Egypt went up to the Euphrates River to help the king of Assyria. King Josiah marched out to meet him in battle, but Necho faced him and killed him at Megiddo”. N.I.V. version online

2 The Elder Pliny and John Healey Natural History (6.33.165) Penguin Classics; Reprint edition (5 Feb 2004) ISBN 978-0-14-044413-1 p.70

3 Gmirkin, Russell. Berossus and Genesis, Manetho and Exodus: Hellenistic Histories and the Date of the Pentateuch T.& T.Clark Ltd (24 Aug 2006) ISBN 978-0-567-02592-0 p.236 The lock invention is here put at ca 273 BCE. See also this page, timeline of historic inventions, http://clone2.theartofservice.com/timeline-of-historic-inventions-3rd-century-bc.html

4 Herodotus reports the campaign of the Pharaoh, and mentions the canal in his Histories, this excerpt is from Book 2:159

5 For instance, Egyptologist Alan Lloyd wrote "Given the context of Egyptian thought, economic life, and military interests, it is impossible for one to imagine what stimulus could have motivated Necho in such a scheme and if we cannot provide a reason which is sound within Egyptian terms of reference, then we have good reason to doubt the historicity of the entire episode." Alan B. Lloyd, "Necho and the Red Sea: Some Considerations", Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, 63 (1977) p.149. I deem the impelling need to outsmart the Babylonians, and his noted canal attempt are the missing, perfectly logical justification. In fact, sending even a few dozen ships off the African coast would have been no feat, compared to digging even the first mile of the canal

6 Strabo (II.5.12): At any rate, when Gallus was prefect of Egypt, I accompanied him and ascended the Nile as far as Syene and the frontiers of Ethiopia, and I learned that as many as one hundred and twenty vessels were sailing from Myos Hormos to India, whereas formerly, under the Ptolemies, only a very few ventured to undertake the voyage and to carry on traffic in Indian merchandise.

7 Munro-Hay, Stuart, 1989. Axum An African Empire. Chapter 15, from p.217 of the authorized online version by Alan Light details the real reasons of Axumite decline. Cfr.: http://www.dskmariam.org/artsandlitreature/litreature/pdf/aksum.pdf

8 Pero da Covilha and Afonso da Paiva left Portugal in 1497 at the same time of Bartolomeu Diaz.

Vasco da Gama was enrolled to connect the two voyages' result to finally bring revenue to the Lisbon Crown. He did so rapidly, as in the first days of April 1498 just before reaching Mombasa, he resorted to piracy attacking unarmed Arab cargo ships to steal their goods. He was rapidly chased off the Mombasa port, in effect. Treated neither as an ambassador nor a trader, but as a pirate after just weeks in East Africa. Portugal's caravels and heavier ships came immediately following, heavily armed. As a good example of their conduct, I bring here the “discovery” of Malaka, the rich Chinese manned port in the straits. It was noted in 1509, and the “discoverer” decided it was too vital not to control: “he who holds Malaka holds the neck of Venice”. Not assured his fleet could control it for long, he destroyed it thoroughly less than one year after the “discovery”.

9 Herodotus, The Histories, Book 4.

10 Kendall, T.K., 2002. Napatan Temples: a Case Study from Gebel Barkal. The Mythological Nubian Origin of Egyptian Kingship and the Formation of the Napatan State. Tenth International Conference of Nubian Studies. Rome, September 9–14, 2002.

11 Cheik Anta Diop; “The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality”. Mercer Cook, 1974

12 Richard Pankhurst, personal communication. The real focus of this whole controversy remains, to me, that for two centuries, associated with heavy colonization in Africa, historians took as a paradigm that Kemet Egyptians were some special distinguished people, like a non African race. This was methodically pursued to be able to justify the continuing subjugation with pseudoscientific inferiority theories. While they were as African as they could be, with variants of colour and tracts. The Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, Part of the British Museum Collections, on its online page on the Kemet, Ancient Egyptian collections, is absolutely clear on the matter, pls. Cfr.: http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/dept/ant/egypt/kemet/virtualkemet/faq/

Ancient Egyptians were black, likely not ebony black. Today's population is a different mixture, according to a number of scholars. Others think this is irrelevant, some resist in considering Ancient Kemet Egyptians as akin to the more Arab race today prevalent in modern Egypt. This is the only representation of Egyptian mariners I could draw online. Not Paraonic deities, or commonly Black depicted Queens, commoners, a representation more likely to be fully true to reality, represents Black African of Habeshat, or Ethiopian complexion and hair attire

From the State Museum of Berlin site

13 Herodotus (2003). The Histories. London, England: Penguin Books. pp. 103, 119, 134–135, 640

14 Mokhtar, G. (1990). General History of Africa. California, USA: University of California Press. pp. 15–60

15 Snowden, Frank (1970). Blacks in Antiquity. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. p. 109

16 Mokhtar, G. (1990). General History of Africa. California, USA: University of California Press. pp. 15–60

17 ibidem, p. 26

18 Αἰθίοψ (Aithiops) in Liddell, Scott, A Greek–English Lexicon: "Αἰθίοψ , οπος, ὁ, fem. Αἰθιοπίς , ίδος, ἡ (Αἰθίοψ as fem., A.Fr.328, 329): pl. 'Αἰθιοπῆες' Il.1.423, online

19 Davidson, Basil, 1990. African Civilization Revisited: From Antiquity to Modern Times, Africa World Press, retrieved online at http://www.thekwayanas.com/Cyberguide/basiltext.html

19a "The first tribes that inhabited Egypt that is, the Nile Valley between the Syene cataracts and the sea, came from Abyssinia to Sennar. The ancient Egyptians belonged to a race quite similar to the Kennous or Barabras, present inhabitants of Nubia. In the Copts of Egypt we do not find any of the characteristic features of the ancient Egyptian population. The Copts are the result of cross breeding with all the nations that have successively dominated Egypt . It is wrong to seek in them the principal features of the old race." Champollion-Figeac, Francis, in a 1867 published letter

20 Codex Palatinus Graecum 398, Heidelberg University Library, online at http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpgraec398?sid=cfdcb7247b558798b9022a384f4c011c&ui_lang=eng

21 Lendering, Jona. "Hanno the Navigator". *Livius.org Articles on Ancient History.*

22 "A regularly planned and wholesale destruction of the Bushmen on the borders of Cape Colony in the earlier years of European occupation reduced their numbers to a great extent; but this cruel hunting of the Bushmen has ceased." Encyclopedia Britannica, 1911, vol IV pag. 876-877. Entry *Bushmen.* https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/1911_Encyclop%C3%A6dia_Britannica/Bushmen, the read, quite shocking today, shows how western culture was densely racism imbued then

23 Ota Benga has been the object of some interest lately, for the 100th recurrence of his suicide. In this review article online in a video the grandson of his jailer, Morgan, describes how 40,000 people per day had teased him during his encaging with monkeys. https://www.rt.com/news/336335-ota-benga-caged-pygmy/

24 Codex Palatinus Graecus 398. Heidelberger historische Bestände. University Library Heidelberg, British Library. Digitised manuscript Add. MS 19391 online at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_19391

25 Herodotus. Histories 4.196. Online version translated by Aubrey de Selincourt, livius.org

26 Arrian. Anabasis of Alexander, book VIII, Indica. Last chapter

27 Pliny the Elder. Natural History 5.8. Himilco was quoted three times by Rufus Festus Avienus, who wrote Ora Maritima, a poetical account of the geography in the 4th century AD

28 Pliny the Elder, Natural History, 2.169

29 Jona Lendering. Hanno the Navigator, online article on livius.org

30 Smith, William (2005) [First published 1870]. Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology 2. The Ancient Library

31 R.C.C. Law (1979). "North Africa in the period of Phoenician and Greek colonization". In Fage, J.D. The Cambridge History of Africa, Volume 2. Cambridge University Press. p. 135

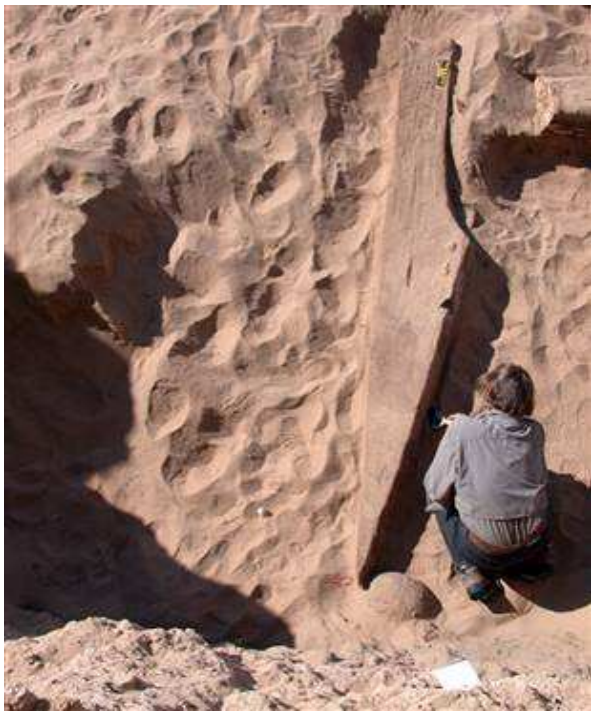
32 Harden 1971, p. 168

33 DAYTON, J.E., 2002. Central Africa as a source of Phoenician tin. In Proceedings, 33rd Symposium on Archaeometry. Geoarchaeological and Bioarchaeological Studies 3. Edited by H. Kars and E. Burke. Institute for Geo and Bioarchaeology

34 Ledgar J.M., Kenya's Secret Waterways. Daily Mail Magazine “1843”, March-April 2012

35 Qin Dashu led the Malindi-Mambrui missions and excavations with Chinese Government funds up to 2011. I heard reports of expenses as varied as 15 to 33 million dollars. The finds include a few known Chinese style tombs, one Emperor Yong-Le coin, coeval to the Zheng-He massive naval expeditions, and some porcelain shards

36 Fattovich, Rodolfo, personal communication. Published papers on the Marsa Gawasis site are by Fattovich, Katherine Bard, and Chiara Zazzaro amongst others. Were the ships found of Phoenician influence, mortise and tenon, or African sewn ships? If the large wood plank in these photoes I recovered online is one of the side planks, I would deduce the first found sea going ships, Egyptians, were in Gawasis, S'W'W', were different. Much thicker planks than the Uluburun ship, the Phoenician prototype, with coupled planks of the mortise and tenon type, yet with no wooden pegs or any nail: sewn ships of some yet unknown type. The wood is Cedar of Lebanon.



Katie Bard, wood a) Just Genesis on blogspot.com b) diggingsonline.com Gawasis page. Both photoes by C. Ward

The plank thickness and shape would exclude it is an oar, for rowing or steering. This is enough, coupled with the near coeval Hatshepsut Punt expedition reliefs at her grand temple at Bahir Dahri for a good guess on how the ships were made. With wood taken via land and sea from Lebanon.

Marine Archaeologist Cheryl Ward made a replica of Douglas fir, a hardwood like Lebanon cedar, without a frame and use of nails. She must have interpreted the ship found in Gawasis as of the sewn plank type. A French TV crew sponsored the replica to film it sailing to Punt: to Eritrea. Insecurity made the feat impossible, not before she managed to prove the ship, "Min of the Desert" fared at around six knots. Fast enough to make the return journeys in two months.
Cfr. https://www.fsu.edu/news/2009/03/09/egyptian.sailors/
This Kemet ship find is absolutely crucial, more similar discoveries will come if we put attention the the Red Sea and East African harbours

37 This chapter is taken practically unmodified from author's 100th anniversary of Thor Heyerdhal remembrance paper,
http://www.academia.edu/5357631/Ancient_Pharology_from_Google_earth_of_a_Beautiful_Mystery, A paper of mine also detailing my concept of some ancient lighthouses emplacement

38 This whole chapter draws largely and is based on Stanford University's translation and online comments on the Weilue text, by John Hill, 2004, retrieved on the Washington University site:
http://depts.washington.edu/uwch/silkroad/texts/weilue/weilue.html

39 Casson, (1989), last paragraph of the first chapter of the original text, p. 61 and 143

40 Tozer, Henry F. (1997). History of Ancient Geography. Biblo & Tannen. pp. 189–190

41 Hyde (1947), p. 233.

42 Cary (1954), p. 568. Cfr. Also Tozer, Henry F. (1997). History of Ancient Geography. Biblo & Tannen. pp. xxiii

43 Australian master mariner Captain Rivers has collected a vast heap of absurd and patent lies in Menzies' narrative, published on this site: http://www.1421exposed.com/
An Australian TV documentary by Quentin McDermott "Junk History" organized an interview with Menzies focussed on the "American Discovery" in which each and every of his arguments is exposed. He has no relevant or concrete answer to produce. Better even, his editing manager Luigi Bonomi reveals the plain truth: the lie was intended -would You guess- not to annoy real scholars or confuse readers, but for the vast money gain in sight. Welcome be the controversy. If more books, interviews, conferences are sold.

"Professional historians label it naïve scholarship or worse, straight-out fabrication. Menzies writes, amongst other things, that New Zealand Maori are not Polynesians but a cross breed of Chinese concubines and Melanesians. The evidence for this, and many similar claims, is tissue thin.
So was "1421" an eccentric and fluky publishing success? Well no. Junk History tells how Menzies, his agent, his PR company and publisher set out to milk a public thirsty for revisionist history. Menzies hired professional spin-doctors to create hype about a half formed idea. Transworld, which also publishes Dan Brown's "Da Vinci Code", paid Menzies, an untested first time writer, a half million pound advance. The book was finished by a team of editors and a ghost writer. Revisionism is big business". From the Four Corners investigative debunking team's documentary presentation.

The documentary includes an interview with Geoff Wade, Singapore University, a real, not "junk" expert of Chinese navigation, and of Zheng He's seven expeditions in particular

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Illustrations

Google earth views modified and prepared by author

p. 1. Anaximander's map, Bibi Saint Pol, using an image in An Introduction to Early Greek Philosophy by John Mansley Robinson, Houghton and Mifflin, 1968. Wikimedia commons;

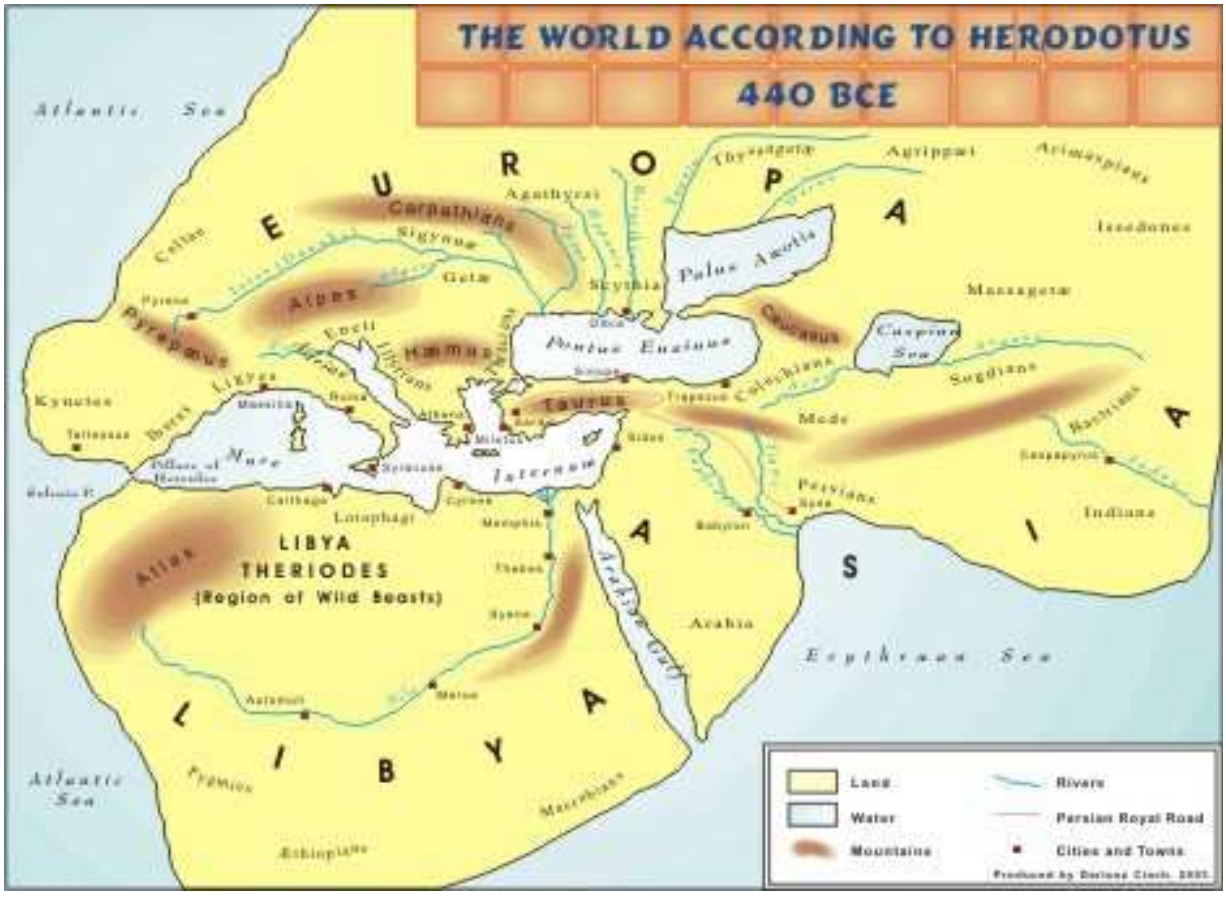
Hecateus's map, Bibi Saint Pol, based on an image by Marco Prins and Jona Lendering from www.livius.org, Wikimedia commons, original Prins Lendering image differs, cfr.: http://www.livius.org/a/1/maps/hecataeus_map.gif. I chose the Bibi Saint Pol renderings of both ancient maps because they are easily comparable

p. 2. Map of the Pharaohs' canal by Annie Brocolie, elaborated on a design in Heimermann, Benoît. Suez et Panama, Lesseps, title of the design: Premier canal de Suez creusé par le pharaon Sesostris Ier en 1960 av. JC Arthaud, Paris, 2000

p. 7. Pharaoh Seti I's tomb design, by Unknown (original) Heinrich Menu von Minutoli (1772–1846) (drawing) - Cropped from File:Races2.jpg, Hornung, The Tomb of Pharaoh Seti I, 1991., Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=2659095

p. 12. Tana River tree trunk boats, from The Daily Mail 1843 magazine online, cfr.: https://www.1843magazine.com/content/places/jm-ledgard/secret-river

All other photoes, non attributed by the captions, are by author.



A reconstruction of Herodotus' world map. The Historian that most documented Africa's "*discovery*" by Africans
wikimedia commons

"I was not born knowledgeable,
I am devoted to antiquity, and quick to seek knowledge."

Kong Qiu 孔丘 (Confucius). Lunyu, 7, 19

Alfonso X of Castile: Alfonso the Tolerant?

Michael Ruiter

Mediaeval Iberia was rife with inter-religious conflict between Christians, Jews, and Muslims that incited forced conversions and culminated in mass expulsions. Yet, in the midst of such a harrowing time in the peninsula's history, there were occasional elements of harmony between these three groups, made all the more impressive in their rarity. King Alfonso X, the Wise, was a man whose rule exhibited a relative tranquility in inter-religious relations some have even suggested is deserving of altering his sobriquet to Alfonso the Tolerant. Through an examination of his law code, the ***Siete Partidas***, and a compilation of several hundred canticles, the ***Cantigas de Santa Maria***, this paper pinpoints elements of Alfonso's rule to critically assess the claims of his tolerance.

> The law codes of Alfonso the Learned of Castile, and especially his monumental Siete partidas or Seven Divisions, are arguably that monarch's greatest gift to posterity, surpassing his scientific contributions, his work in art and music, and his literary and linguistic heritage.
>
> —Robert I. Burns[1]

Without speaking of posterity, Alfonso X's *Siete Partidas* was certainly of great significance to Medieval Spain. So were his other works in the sciences, art, music, and literature. There has been debate among scholars that, as evidenced by his contributions to posterity, Alfonso the Wise may appropriately be called Alfonso the Tolerant. His work certainly provides evidence of inter-religious relations between Christians, Jews, and Muslims in medieval Iberia, but whether such relations are evidence of tolerance remains the subject of scrutiny. Examining the law code, *Siete Partidas* (Seven Divisions) as representative of his legislative work, as well as the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* as representative of his work in art, music, and literature, in light of any ulterior political intentions within those works, one can discern marked evidence of Alfonso X fostering tolerance under his rule.

Tolerance

Since the Moorish introduction of Islam to Iberia in 711, there has been a tension between Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. Over the years this tension was exacerbated or relieved on the basis of changing economic, social, and political conditions. Alfonso X's rule (1252-1284) may be seen as one such change in political conditions. A rule under which, some have claimed, Alfonso exhibited a tolerance towards the three main religions of Iberia.

In order to assess any claim of Alfonso X's tolance, one must first define that term. Dwayne Carpenter, arguably the greatest supporter of the argument for Alfonso's edited epithet, addresses

1. Robert I. Burns, "Jews and Moors in the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso X the Learned: a Background Perspective" in *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict and Coexistence,* edited by Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman (Gordonsville: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 46.

this argument on the premise of 'tolerance' holding the meaning of the Latin *tolerare*, specifically referring to the endurance or allowance of something.[2] He stresses, "tolerance does not require either a preference for or understanding of that which is tolerated."[3] In appointing Alfonso with a sobriquet of tolerance, Robert Burns cautions the word is "a modern construct" and a "legacy of the Enlightenment era." However, he acknowledges Carpenter's "reinventing tolerance as justice [. . .] may at least save the term."[4] Putting aside Burns' warning regarding the origin of the term, an important warning without doubt, he is rather presumptuous in referring to Carpenter's use of the term as a redefinition. In clarifying the meaning of 'tolerance,' Carpenter does not redefine it, he simply emphasises the original semantics of the word free from the ameliorative connotations it has received contemporarily. While Carpenter does indeed refer to justice as "the essence of tolerance," he does so in the context of tolerance not requiring a preference or even understanding, and explicitly refers to 'justice' in its contrast relative to 'love'—or further amelioration.[5]

An additional caveat should be added regarding the issue of intention. If Alfonso's rule was one of tolerance by happenstance, in spite of specific legislation aiming for the opposite, then he should not be said to be 'tolerant'. Connie L. Scarborough argues, "for Alfonso, the political is always present, subtly and at times not so subtly, revealing itself even in the work most critics consider to be the most personal expression of his religious sentiments."[6] If the political takes precedence at the expense of tolerance, then Alfonso cannot be said to be tolerant. More specifically, if the tolerance he exhibited was the unintentional side effect of some larger political design it cannot be called tolerance. Conversely, if tolerance is a primary feature, and aim, of the political nature ever-present in Alfonso's works, then perhaps he is deserving of the title. Thus, with the warnings regarding the semantics of the term in mind, tolerance, for the purpose of this paper, will be defined as Alfonso X's intentional acceptance or allowance of the endurance of Muslim and Jewish practices—a tolerance for which, Burns agrees with Carpenter, can be found in "both religious praxis and economic elements."[7]

The Siete Partidas

Although completed between 1256 and 1265, it has long been argued that Alfonso's law code, the *Siete Partidas,* was not promulgated until the 14th century, and even then only as a supplementary law.[8] More recently, some historians, Burns and Carpenter among them, have argued based on the "framing language in the *Partidas,*" it was actually an amplification of the statutes put into effect by the *Especulo*—promulgated in 1254—which took effect immediately upon completion.[9] Joseph O'Callaghan takes a similar position, positing that the *Siete Partidas* was indeed in effect during Alfonso's lifetime within the royal court, with the towns of Castile and *Extremadura* being governed under the separate laws of the *Fuero Real.*[10] There is a statement in the *Chronicle of Alfonso X* regarding

2. Dwayne E. Carpenter, *Alfonso X and the Jews: An Edition of and Commentary on* Siete Partidas 7.24 "De los judios" (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 105.
3. Carpenter, 105.
4. Burns, 48.
5. Carpenter, 105.
6. Connie L. Scarborough, *A Holy Alliance: Alfonso X's use of Marian Poetry* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta—Hispanic Monographs, 2009), 14. While Scarborough argues this point in exclusive reference to the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, one can assume that if such political issues were present in works of literature and music, they would also be present, perhaps even more so, in legislative works such as the *Siete Partidas*.
7. Burns, 48.
8. Ibid., 47.
9. Ibid., 47.
10. Shelby Thacker and José Escobar, trans., *Chronicle of Alfonso X* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002), 2. The argument cited is in the introduction written by Joseph O'Callaghan.

the promulgation of laws in 1260 that some interpret to include the *Siete Partidas*.[11] Some lines of the *Siete Partidas* are qualified by the statement, "in any part of our dominions," implying a universal nature to that particular law.[12] Unfortunately, such qualifications support either argument since these laws are repeated in the *Fuero Real*, which warrants mentioning they apply everywhere in Alfonso's dominion, or else they are formulaic statements (implied when not found explicitly) meaning the entire *Siete Partidas* was applicable everywhere in Alfonso's domain. Whether it was in use only within the royal court, or throughout all settlements in Alfonso X's domain, its use within Alfonso's lifetime is likely. Given that the rival argument is simply a *terminus ante quem*, following Carpenter's logic, the *Siete Partidas* is be presumed to have been put to use upon its completion, or shortly thereafter.[13] Having been penned by Alfonso—or at the very least supervised by him—and likely put to use during his lifetime, the laws Alfonso puts down in the *Siete Partidas* are done so intentionally and with political motivation.[14]

One aspect of the *Siete Partidas* worth noting is both in its construction as a law code, as well as the ideology behind those laws, it was influenced by past events and legislation.[15] Modelled on Roman law codes and influenced by inter-religious relations, particularly those between the Christians and Jews, by everything from the Visigothic rule of Spain to the Talmudic controversy of Judaism, Alfonso, although adding nuanced distinctions of his own, was for the most part following a pre-existing model of ideology and philosophy in his *Siete Partidas*.[16]

Section 7.24 of the *Siete Partidas* focuses specifically on the Jews under Alfonso's rule and, as such, bears the most evidence of a Visigothic legacy.[17] For this reason, it is often considered to be antagonistic toward the Jews.[18] Indeed, the penalty for converting a Christian to Judaism was loss of property and death; if a Jew was to venture out of his home or district on Good Friday, he is likely to be subjected to crimes inflicted by Christians and if this is the case, he was not entitled to any reparations; moreover, if a Jew was found guilty to having been present, "no matter how many there may be," at the anti-Christian crimes reportedly taking place on Good Friday, he was to be "put to death in a disgraceful manner."[19] Further indications of possible intolerance can be found in the laws forbidding Jews and Moors from inter-religious relationships with Christians, the prohibitions against Jews housing Christians, and the proscriptions against Christians taking medicine given by

11. Ibid., 46 (Ch. 8 of *Cronica del rey don Alfonso X*). The position that the *Siete Partidas* is included in this promulgation can be found under endnote 2 of that chapter.
12. Olivia Remie Constable, ed., "The Legal Status of Jews and Muslims in Castile: *Siete Partidas* (early fourteenth century)" in *Medieval Iberia: Readings From Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources,* translated by S. P. Scott (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 400. Two such examples may be found on this page alone.
13. Burns, 47. The argument of the 14th century being a *terminus ante quem* is based on the fact that it was only named the *Siete Partidas* in the 14th century. The common assumption is that it only received this name when it was promulgated and was therefore not promulgated until the 14th century. Cf. Richard P. Kinkade and Joseph T. Snow, "Alfonso X (23 November 1221-4 April 1284)" in *Castilian Writers, 1200-1400,* edited by George D. Greenia and Frank A. Dominguez (Detroit: Gale, 2008), 5-7, http://galenet.galegroup.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/servlet/DLBC_Online/edmo69826/BK1560745002.
14. Scarborough, 14. See footnote 5.
15. Joseph O'Callaghan, *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1993), 17-19.
16. Burns, 48, 50-51 for Talmudic controversy and influence of preexisting philosophy and ideology. For further evidence of the *Siete Partidas* being influenced by preexisting ideologies, as well as, specifically, the legacy of the Visigoths on Christian-Jewish relations, see Carpenter, 3-5.
17. Carpenter, 4-5.
18. Constable, "The Legal Status of Jews and Muslims in Castile," 399. It should be noted that Constable makes this argument in a way that contrasts Christian-Jewish relations with Christian-Mudejar ones.
19. Ibid., 399-400.

Jews.[20] One law in particular shows a particular anti-Jewish bias, claiming "no Christian shall take any medicine [. . .] made by a Jew; but he can take it by the advice of some wise person, only where it is made by a Christian."[21] Presumably, this "wise person" could apply to anyone, Christian or Jew, yet the advice of that person may only be followed if the medication itself is made by a Christian, implying mistrust, or at the very least apprehension, toward Jews. Yet, ethnocentric as it may be, mistrust is not, by the above-defined parameters, intolerance. In fact, none of the laws here mentioned fit such a definition.

One set of laws which, by the definition put forth above, illustrates intolerance regarding mosques and synagogues. Mosques and synagogues are integral buildings for worship and therefore integral to the maintenance of Islam and Judaism. Although history has proven the faithful of both religions endure without these buildings, one could argue that such perseverance was in the direct face of intolerance since the lack of such religious buildings is detrimental to the continuance of these faiths. The *Siete Partidas* forbids the construction of new mosques and synagogues.[22] Furthermore, the mosques already in existence were to become the property of the king and—although he could still permit their existence—they were forbidden from existing in Christian towns.[23] Although ostensibly this law was designed to hinder continuance of Islam and Judaism, it bears stipulations proves Alfonso was more concerned with diminishing the public display of these religions, than he was with eradicating them.[24]

Another arena for intolerance is the converts. In this case, it seems there are no redeeming provisions in the *Siete Partidas*: any Christian that converts to Islam or Judaism was sentenced to death and loss of property.[25] Through their conversions, these people were no longer part of Christianity, but a member of the faith they have chosen to convert to and, in condemning them to death, the *Siete Partidas* hindered their ability to continue practicing their chosen faith. The laws regarding conversions were, therefore, intolerant. Alfonso's intention behind these laws may be questioned, for it seems he still perceived them to be Christians. Converts to Judaism were put on the level of heretics—although explicitly separated from heretics—and converts to Islam were condemned on the basis of treason.[26] Based on these perceptions as they appear in the *Siete Partidas*, one might argue that Alfonso's intention was not for the detriment of enduring Islam and Judaism, but for the prolonged continuance of Christianity since conversions were crimes committed by Christians. Additionally, the outlined definition of tolerance was free from the need for understanding or appreciation, and it could be this very misapprehension of the nature of converts—or unwillingness to apprehend—that led to the creation of these laws.

Carpenter's opinion is, "in spite of increasingly antipathetic attitudes and policies toward Spanish Jewry, Alfonso's general posture in this regard is one of leniency."[27] While it is true that Christians were actively attempting to convert Jews and Muslims to Christianity, the *Siete Partidas* stresses that such conversion efforts should be made "by use of kind words, and not by compulsion."[28] In

20. Ibid., 402-405. 'Moors,' as used in the *Siete Partidas,* and likewise used in this paper, refers not exclusively to the ethnicity, but to any Mudejar.
21. Ibid., 402.
22. Constable, "The Legal Status of Jews and Muslims in Castile," 403.
23. Ibid., 403. Cantiga 169, discussed further below, provides evidence that the king did indeed permit the continuance of mosques in non-Christian towns.
24. Namely, the fact that they are permitted to exist as long as not in Christian towns—see footnote 21.
25. Ibid., 401-404.
26. Constable, "The Legal Status of Muslims and Jews in Castile," 401-404.
27. Carpenter, 5.
28. Constable, "The Legal Status of Muslims and Jews in Castile," 403.

specific reference to Jews, the *Siete Partidas* even goes so far as to say that they shall live their lives "without disorder, practicing their own religious rites," which is evidence of an effort for the allowance of Judaism to continue under Alfonso's reign.[29] Taking into account both the laws regarding synagogues and mosques, as well as those involving Christian converts to other religions—the latter with the question of intentionality taken into account—the laws within Alfonso's *Siete Partidas* can perhaps best be described as exhibiting a "restrained tolerance."[30]

Cantigas de Santa Maria

Alfonso X commissioned the compilation of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria (CSM)*, the two volumes of which were completed in his lifetime and contained over 400 songs.[31] These Marian Canticles were written in Galician-Portuguese and contain multiple genres including songs of friendship and songs of love.[32] Several of the canticles are written in the voice of Alfonso and, like the laws of the *Siete Partidas*, if not written by him, were certainly written with his influence.[33] O'Callaghan even goes as far as to argue that the *CSM* may be seen as a poetic autobiography.[34] While past scholars have argued that the *CSM* were influenced by Arabic musicians and thus pointed to inter-religious interactions, more recent research, most notably that of Dwight Reynolds, has pointed to the fact that although inter-religious relations are easy to prove, this is not the case with 'influence,' which can most often only be found "in the eye of the beholder."[35] Taking the ambiguity of musical 'influence,' along with the fact that several of the canticles are in the voice of Alfonso, and keeping in mind Scarborough's aforementioned assertion that the political is present in *all* of Alfonso's works, one can conclude that the portrayals within the *CSM* are both intentional and bearing a political motive.[36]

One such *cantiga* in the voice of Alfonso X with an outward appearance of evincing the king's tolerant nature is *Cantiga 169*. Having predominantly assessed Christian-Jewish relations in examining the *Siete Partidas,* this canticle can be used to shift the focus to Christian-Muslim relations. In this canticle, the Muslims of La Arrijaca, a settlement of Murcia specifically designated as being a Mudejar settlement, make several requests to have a church of Mary taken down.[37] This church was formerly a mosque, but since it is on Mudejar land the Mudejars wish it dismantled. This request is granted by various rulers to whom the Mudejars appeal (both don Jaume, king of Portugal, and Alfonso X who is hesitant due to the church's fresh paint job), and after several unsuccessful attempts to dismantle the church due to a supposed divine intervention, they finally appeal to the

29. Ibid., 399.
30. Carpenter, 5.
31. Kinkade and Snow, 5.
32. Janice Wright, "Cantigas in the Galician-Portuguese Cancioneiros" in *Castilian Writers, 1200-1400,* edited by George D. Greenia and Frank A. Dominguez (Detroit: Gale, 2008), 49-50, http://galenet.galegroup.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/servlet/DLBC_Online/edmo69826/BK1560745004.
33. H. Salvador Martinez, *Studies in the History of Christian Traditions: Alfonso X the Learned: A Biography,* series edited by Robert J. Bast, translated by Odile Cisneros (Leiden: Brill, Hotei Publishing, 2010), 222.
34. Joseph O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the* Cantigas de Santa Maria: *A Poetic Biography* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 1998), 1.
35. Dwight F. Reynolds, "Music in Medieval Iberia: Contact, Influence and Hybridization" in Al-Andalus, Sepharad and Medieval Iberia: Cultural Contact and Diffusion, edited by Ivy A. Corfis (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 82.
36. For Scarborough's claim see Footnote 5.
37. Olivia Remie Constable, ed., "Five Stories from the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*" in *Medieval Iberia: Readings From Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources,* translated by Kathleen Kulp-Hill (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 366-367.

Moorish king who refuses due to a fear of retribution at the hands of Mary.[38] On the surface, this politically-charged canticle goes beyond tolerance and presents Alfonso's attitude toward the Mudejars as magnanimous, and the relationship between them as harmonious, he concedes with only a brief second thought to the dismantling of a Church for the sake of his Mudejar subjects.[39]

Despite this outward appearance of harmony an examination of this *cantiga* in historical context suggests that not all is as it seems. La Arrijaca came to Alfonso's possession in his youth.[40] After a series of battles, and division among his military leaders, Muhammad Ibn Hud, fearing the Kingdom of Granada would annex his kingdom, decided to swear fealty to Alfonso X's father, Fernando III.[41] Alfonso, on behalf of his father, was sent to accept Ibn Hud's vassalage and thus inherited the region of Murcia.[42] While Fernando III restricted La Arrijaca as Mudejar territory, granting them autonomy under his authority, Alfonso X, in the interest of resettlement, moved Mudejars from Murcia to remote under-populated settlements and replaced them with Christians.[43] Among those to whom an appeal is made for the dismantling of the church, Fernando III's name is notably absent.[44] One could infer from this exclusion the Mudejars felt less satisfied under Alfonso's rule than under his father's rule.

Such an inference is supported by the Mudejar rebellions and uprisings in Murcia during Alfonso's reign—particularly when some side with the Granadan forces attacking Alfonso's border—as well as their (perceived) special relationship with Alfonso, predicated on the fact that they were a protectorate.[45] The importance of the latter is brought into relief by the fact that Alfonso's first time visiting Murcia in five years was spent consolidating the resettlements and may have been seen as a betrayal of the special relationship he had in the region with his Mudejar subjects.[46] Likewise, the argument can be made, that Alfonso likely felt betrayed by their rebellion in his absence. Evidence for this last point may be found in the reason for Alfonso's hesitance to agree to allow the church to be dismantled. The reason of the church being freshly painted can be seen as evidence it was damaged during the Mudejar rebellion.[47] The Moorish king in the canticle, who refuses to have the church removed, is suggested by O'Callaghan to be Abd Allah ibn Hud, a descendant of Muhammad Ibn Hud and vassal of Alfonso.[48] Given that this king "still retained some vestige of authority over the Muslim community," coupled with the knowledge relations between Alfonso and the Mudejars of Murcia were strained, may be evidence of political messages in Alfonso's hesitation to agree to the church's removal and in the Moorish king's refusal to do so.[49]

The final part of this *cantiga,* which relates an attempt by Abu Yusuf of Salé to take Murcia by means of stealth, is chronologically skewed from the other events of the *cantiga.*[50] Scarborough posits such

38. Constable, "Five Stories from the *Cantigas de Santa Maria,*" 366-367. This Cantiga also mentions a plot of trickery by an invading force to destroy the church but Mary intervenes and the church remains unharmed.
39. Scarborough, 44-45.
40. Scarborough, 42-43.
41. Ibid., 42. It was under the rule of Fernando III, during the battles preceding Murcia's surrender, that the mosque was converted into a church of Mary.
42. Martinez, 89-90.
43. Scarborough, 44.
44. Constable, "Five Stories from the *Cantigas de Santa Maria,*" 366-367.
45. Scarborough, 44-46. A special relationship that they felt warranted special treatment (same citation).
46. Ibid., 47.
47. Scarborough, 47-48.
48. O'Callaghan, *A Poetic Biography,* 125.
49. Ibid., 125. O'Callaghan is the source of the quotation, the notion that the Moorish king and Alfonso's actions may be seen as political messages is my own, supported somewhat by Scarborough, 48.
50. Scarborough, 50.

an inaccurate portrayal of events in a song that was presumably printed with Alfonso's express permission is due "to the fact that Alfonso was less concerned with clarity [. . .] of historical data than imparting a political message."[51] With the prevalence of a political message in the text, Alfonso being a magnanimous character, is reinforced by the fact he acts as such in spite of inter-religious tensions with the Mudejars. Regardless of the strained nature of such relationships *Cantiga 169* supports the above-described definition of tolerance due to Alfonso's willingness to dismantle a church, the presence of which the Mudejars see as detrimental to the continuance of their religious practices.

Importance of the Political

Scarborough is not alone in stressing the importance of the political in all of Alfonso's endeavours. When discussing his reign, many scholars note Alfonso X's political preoccupations, particularly his political ambitions to be named Holy Roman Emperor.[52] Intentionality becomes paramount in discerning Alfonso's tolerance, for if the tolerance reflected in the *Siete Partidas* and *CSM* was simply put there to prove to other rulers his wise nature in an effort to be named Holy Roman Emperor, then such tolerance was likely not as well-reflected in practice under Alfonso's reign. Tantamount to a preoccupation with furthering his political standing—mainly because the two are inextricably linked—were Alfonso's efforts to complete the Reconquest of Spain: an effort to achieve a unity of Spain, both politically and religiously.[53] If Alfonso was truly aiming toward a religious unity of Spain this aim dashes any possibility of calling Alfonso tolerant, since such an aim would demand an end to the endurance of Islam and Judaism in Spain. Yet Scarborough cautions modern scholars not to fall prey to the "erroneous assumption [. . .] that the Reconquest was essentially religious in nature."[54] With this warning in mind, it is possible Alfonso sought the political unity of Spain under a united religious *rule* only. A rule, like his own in Castile, which left room for the continuance of other religions, such as Judaism and Islam, beneath it.

What of the intentions of his works? Were the *Siete Partidas* and *CSM* intended simply for the sake of posterity because, as Charles Fraker claims, Alfonso was obsessed with his legacy?[55] Were these works solely meant for other rulers to see the greatness of Alfonso and therefore beyond the knowledge of his subjects? Does the use of Mary as an agent of the Reconquest render all *Cantigas* intolerant?[56] The answer to these questions appears to be a resounding no. Although some scholars remain unconvinced of when the *Siete Partidas* was promulgated, even those in favour of the fourteenth century hypothesis acknowledge that Alfonso's intention was for it to be put to use in his lifetime.[57] The *Siete Partidas* even calls for the need for all citizens to be aware of the laws it

51. Ibid., 50.
52. Cayetano J. Socarras, *Alfonso X of Castile: A Study on Imperialistic Frustration* (Barcelona: Talleres Graficos de Sololibros, 1975), 10. O'Callaghan, *A Poetic Biography,* 1 voices an identical argument, although not explicitly attesting to Alfonso's desire for the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. Similarly, Carpenter, 3 draws several connections between the influence of Rome (both Ancient Rome and the Holy Roman Empire) and Alfonso's legislative works.
53. O'Callaghan, *The Learned King,* 19.
54. Scarborough, 14-15.
55. Charles F. Fraker, *The Scope of History: Studies in the Historiography of Alfonso el Sabio* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), 1.
56. Scarborough, 82-83.
57. Ibid., 82.

contains.[58] The *CSM* was also presumably compiled for public consumption. The fact that all four hundred and twenty-seven canticles are performative in nature, a fact reinforced by the texts beginning with the refrain rather than the first verse, as well as by virtue of several of the *cantigas* being accompanied by musical notation, meaning they were publicly known.[59] Therefore, despite Alfonso X's political ambitions behind his works, or perhaps due to their very existence, the *Siete Partidas* and *CSM* were intentionally made known to the public.

Conclusions

The works of scholars examining the representations of Jews and Muslims in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* "have reached conflicting opinions, ranging from praising Alfonso for his tolerant attitude to condemning him as a tyrannical bigot."[60] Yet, by the above-defined parameters of tolerance, tyranny and bigoted portrayals of Jews and Muslims—unless detrimental to the endurance of their religious practices—do not preclude tolerance. Furthermore, some *cantigas,* such as *Cantiga 169,* are not guilty of any such portrayal. The explicit call in the *Siete Partidas* for the use of "kind words" in conversion efforts undermines the suggestion negative representations of Jews and Muslims would hinder the continuance of their religious practices.[61] Additionally, although the *Siete Partidas* calls for harsh punishments of Jews and Mudejars for stepping outside the bounds proscribed by law, as they do for Christians, whose bounds, albeit, are far less prohibiting, they do so in a way that allows for the continuance of Islam and Judaism, thereby exhibiting tolerance.

Despite this positive outlook there remains one irredeemable factor in determining Alfonso's tolerance, the converts from Christianity to Judaism or Islam. In putting to death those who convert to Islam or Judaism who are then, by definition, among the members of one of those respective groups, Alfonso X intentionally preventd the acceptance or endurance of Muslim and Jewish practices for those individuals. However, there remains the possibility that Alfonso misapprehended such individuals to be Christians stepping outside the bounds of law rather than Jews or Muslims being prevented from practicing. Yet such misinterpretations do not excuse Alfonso of intolerance since, by his own logic in the *Siete Partidas,* ignorance of the law does not excuse one of penalty from it.[62] Likewise, Alfonso's ignorance as to the religious identity of the converts cannot excuse him of this misinterpretation and Alfonso cannot, therefore, be called tolerant. Other than the issue of converts, Alfonso does however, come close to tolerance. Without looking at the other 426 *Cantigas de Santa Maria,* nor the other six *Partidas,* one can see that his intent in unifying Spain politically and religiously is not meant to be at the expense of the continuance of Islam and Judaism. Due to his proximity to the above-outlined definition of tolerance, Alfonso X was perhaps close enough to earn the sobriquet of Alfonso the Restrainedly Tolerant.

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The Kārimī Merchants

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THE KĀRIMĪ MERCHANTS

By E. Ashtor

The important rôle which the Kārimī merchants played in Oriental trade at the end of the Middle Ages has been touched upon by some outstanding orientalists. The last to treat the subject exhaustively was W. J. Fischel in his paper "Über die Gruppe der Kārimī-Kaufleute", published in 1937 in the series *Analecta Orientalia* (of the Pontifical Bible Institute) no. 14. The Arabic historical works of the later Middle Ages contain, however, additional material, which partly corroborates and partly modifies Fischel's conclusions. A good many of the notices on the Kārimīs to be quoted in this paper are taken from the hitherto unpublished chronicle *Inbā' al-ghumr bi-abnā al-'umr* of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 1449), MS. Constantinople, Yeni Cami 814 and the Who's Who of the fifteenth century composed by al-Sakhāwī (d. 1497) and called *ad-Ḍau' al-lāmi' fī a'yān al-qarn al-tāsi'* (Cairo, 1353–55).

I

Fischel compiled a list of fourteen Kārimīs. Adhering to his method of listing only those who are called Kārimī *expressis verbis* (although we may be sure that many other merchants whose biographies are contained in the Arabic historical literature belonged to the Kārimīs too) we should add the following:—

(1) Tāj al-Dīn Ibn al-Ruhā'ilī (الرهائلى, not vocalized in the printed text, means surely "the man of al-Ruhā'", a town which belonged to Syria during that period, although its population certainly spoke Turkish. This explains the Turkish suffix "lī"). Tāj al-Dīn, who died in 1331, was, according to Ibn Kathīr (*al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, 14, p. 156), the greatest Kārimī of Damascus and Cairo. The Damascene chronicler states that he was believed to have left 100,000 dīnārs in cash, besides goods, precious household effects, and real estates.

(2) Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bālisī. Ibn Ḥajar (op. cit. f. 18b), in the list of those deceased in A.H. 777, gives his genealogy as follows: Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Yasīr al-Bālīnī. Both the genealogy and the spelling of the names are erroneous. As we read in a passage of Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* (see below), where the spelling is given, the name of the ancestor of

Shihāb al-Dīn was Basīr. In another passage of the *Inbā'*, quoted below, we read that this man was called al-Bālisī, i.e. hailing from the Syrian town of Bālis. It is the obituary notice of Shihāb al-Dīn's son Nūr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī, who died in A.H. 799 (1396–7). His genealogy is given as follows: Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Fakhr al-Dīn Ismā'īl b. Basīr al-Bālisī. In this passage, as in the biographical notice on Shihāb al-Dīn himself, we read that his father or grandfather Muḥammad was a great merchant, but here we are told that his *laqab* was Shams al-Dīn and that he died in the year A.H. 773 (1371–2). (In another passage of Ibn Ḥajar's chronicle, f. 17a, we find that Shams al-Dīn died in A.H. 768 = 1366–7.) This remark, which is supported by Maqrīzī (see below), proves that the great merchant was Shihāb al-Dīn's father and not the son of Basīr. The genealogy in his biography is incomplete, as Ibn Ḥajar jumped over some generations and mentioned, after Muḥammad, the ancestor of the family only. Ibn Ḥajar says that Shihāb al-Din was born to rich and esteemed parents, but did not show great efficiency in his enterprises. He died, still young, in 1376.

(3) Rashīd al-Habbī, whose full name was, according to a marginal note on a MS. leaf of Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle (ed. Zurayk, ix, pp. 419–20), Rashīd (al-Dīn) Sa'īd b. Naṣr al-Habbī. Both this chronicler and Maqrīzī in his *Sulūk* (MS. Paris, Slane 1727, s.a. A.H. 797), mention the exact date of his death, namely 13th March, 1395, without supplying us with further details.

(4) Khair al-Dīn Khiḍr b. Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā. Al-Sakhāwī relates (in *al Ḍau' al-lāmi'*, iii, p. 178), that he was a great merchant like his father. He lived with his father in Aden for a long time, later on went to Mecca and from there to Cairo. When the father died in A.H. 811 (1408–9), Khair al-Dīn returned to Mecca in order to settle there, but could not stand the extortions of the local authorities and had to go back to Cairo, where he died in 1417 or 1418. He is called *al-Rūmī al-tājir al-Kārimī* by a writer quoted by al-Sakhāwī (The printed text reads, indeed, " al-Kāzimī," but this is surely a mistake : الكازمى instead of الكارمى).

(5) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Māḥūrī. Al-Sakhāwī (*al-Tibr al-masbūk*, p. 198) says that he belonged to the courtiers intimate with the Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaikh, who ruled

from 1412 to 1419, and that he discharged the task of administrator of al-Azhar. Further he mentions that he possessed a building in the neighbourhood of this famous mosque. Muḥammad al-Māḥūrī died in Mecca.

(6) Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Suwaid al-Mālikī. This jurisconsult was sometimes notary public and sometimes Kārimī merchant. Ibn Ḥajar (f. 225b), whose statements are supplemented by al-Sakhāwī (in his *al-Ḍau' al-lāmi'*, ii, p. 101), relates that in A.H. 800 (1387–8) he received a sum of money which enabled him to engage in commercial enterprises with Yemen. He travelled backwards and forwards and became very rich. He died in 1425.

(7) Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Aḥmad al-Kharrūbi. Neither Ibn Ḥajar nor al-Sakhāwī mention in the biography of this merchant which trade he followed (see *Inbā'* f. 211b and *al-Ḍau' al-lāmi'*, vi, p. 92), but al-Sakhāwī calls him *al-khawāja al-kabīr al-tājir al-Kārimī* in the biography of his son Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (*al-Ḍau' al-lāmi'*, viii, p. 246).

(8) Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Ulaiba of Alexandria. He died in 1484 (Ibn Iyās ed. Kahle, iii, p. 202, and *al-Ḍau' al-lāmi'*, iii, pp. 90–1).

(9) Faraj Allāh al-Kārimī. This name is found in a Judeo-Arabic letter which was published in the Hebrew quarterly *Kiryath Sepher* (vol. 18, pp. 199 ff, p. 201). Unfortunately the date of the letter is incomplete, as the day and the month are given, but the year is omitted. The names mentioned in the letter leave no doubt that it was written in Egypt in the Mamluk period.

II

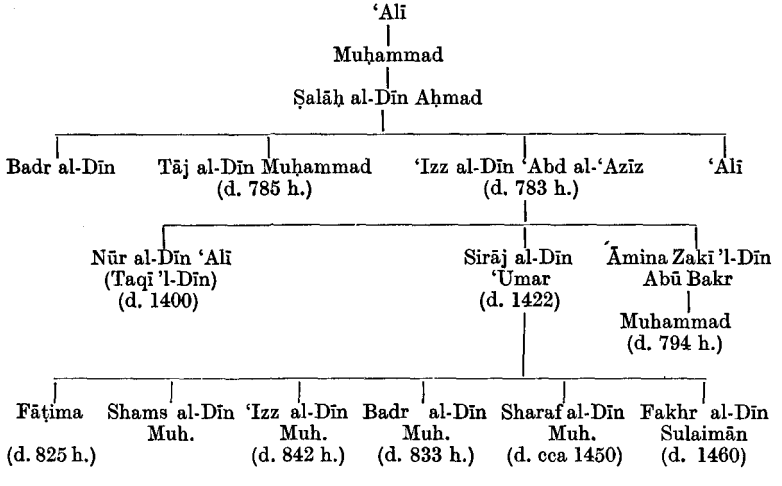
We gather from the sources that a good many of these wealthy merchants were parvenus. 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Manṣūr began as a poor tailor. The two Kārimīs of the greatest renown made their fortune with their own hands. Ibn Ḥajar (f. 130b) says that Burhān al-Dīn al-Maḥallī was the son of a poor man and became extremely rich. The Sultan himself charged him with the management of his commercial affairs. Zaki 'l-Din Abū Bakr al-Kharrūbī belonged to a family of merchants, but he himself was in his youth poor until his uncle Badr al-Dīn died and he inherited from him a great sum (*Inbā*, f. 53a ; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *al-I'lām*, MS. Paris, Slane 1599, f. 11b—who says, however, that Badr al-Dīn was his cousin). This heritage made it possible for him to engage

in great commercial undertakings. As Burhān al-Dīn al-Maḥallī he became the "merchant of the Sultan" and we read in Arabic chronicles that he was the greatest of the Kārimīs (al-'Ainī, *'Iqd al-jumān*, MS. Constantinople, Carullah 1591, f. 577b).

Parvenus of other periods and other countries did their utmost to better their social standing by contracting marriages with daughters of aristocratic families. Arabic sources show that the Kārimīs and other wealthy merchants of that time preferred intermarrying within their social group. This, however, is easy to understand. In the Mamluk society there was no real aristocracy of noble families who had held a privileged position during several generations. But trade on a large scale was monopolized by certain families. Among the Kārimīs listed by Fischel there are 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Muḥammad b. Musnad al-Iskandarī and his son Yaḥyā who lived in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Of other families we also find two members: Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Musallam and Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Musallam, Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Maḥallī and Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar al-Maḥallī. Even of the family of the al-Kharrūbī Fischel listed two Kārimīs, Zakī 'l-Dīn Abū Bakr and Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. Yet we read in *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, p. 401, that Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Musallam's mother was a daughter of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bālisī, whose name we added to the list of the Kārimīs. Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn Musallam too, is called al-Bālisī. Again, the family of the Ibn Musallam was connected with the al-Kharrūbī by the marriage of a daughter of Nāṣir al-Dīn. This we gather from the biography of Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Kharrūbī, an unhappy member of the Kārimī group, who several times inherited great sums, but had no success in his enterprises and left many debts when he died in 1422. According to *Inbā'* f. 211b, where his story is told, he married a daughter of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Musallam. (This is omitted in *al-Ḍau' al-lāmi'*, vi, p. 92, but mentioned in the biographies quoted below.) She gave birth to three of his sons: Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. A.H. 833 = 1429–30), Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. *ca.* 1450), and Fakhr al-Dīn Sulaimān (d. 1460) (*al-Ḍau' al-lāmi'*, iii, p. 267, viii, pp. 246–7). In Ibn Ḥajar's chroncile f. 109a we find the obituary notice of Taqī 'l-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who is qualified as *al-tājir al-Karimī*. Hence we have learnt that this man was the brother of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-

'Aziz ('Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz had two *laqabs*, Nūr al-Dīn and Taqī 'l-Dīn, and this explains the mistake of Fischel who thought that two persons are spoken of, s. p. 69 and 71). The father of 'Umar and 'Ali, 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz, who died in 783 A.H. (1381–2) (*Inbā'* f. 211b and cf. *al-Ḍau' al-lāmi'*, vi, p. 92), was surely the brother of Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, (s. *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, p. 368). This Tāj al-Dīn died in Mecca in A.H. 785 (1383–4) (*al-Ḍau' al-lāmi'*, loc. cit.). A third brother, 'Alī, was the father of the famous Zakī 'l-Dīn Abū Bakr (op. cit., v, p. 240). Zakī 'l-Dīn had a son Muḥammad, who was a rich man and died, still young, in 1392 (*Inbā'* f. 211b).

The following is a Genealogical table of the family al-Kharrūbī :—



The al-Maḥallī were also a family of rich merchants. A certain Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maḥallī, who was the father-in-law of the Egyptian chief-judge 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī al-Tafahnī (d. 1432), is said to have been the greatest merchant of Egypt in his time (*al-Ḍau' al-lāmi'*, iv, pp. 98 ff). The father of Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Ulaiba, Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Munāwī (d. 1470), was an efficient merchant. His brother 'Abd al-Qādir was appointed by the Sultan his commercial agent in Alexandria. He died in 1485 (*al-Ḍau' al-lāmi'*, i, pp. 41–2, iv, pp. 259–60). These rich families built splendid houses on the shore of the Nile. It took seven years to build that of Burhān al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, pp. 368–9). The house of Zakī 'l-Dīn al-Kharrūbī was rebuilt as a Khānqāh by the Sultan al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaikh in 1941 (op. cit.,

pp. 426–7). The Kārimī merchants, like the Mamluk emirs, spent considerable sums for building madrasas and provided them with the revenues of estates and houses. The Arab historians relate that Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn Musallam founded a madrasa for Shāfi'ītes and Mālikītes, with a school for boys (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, p. 401). Burhān al-Dīn al-Maḥallī, too, built a madrasa, but avaricious as he was, did not allow funds for the payment of teachers and students (op. cit., pp. 368–9). These madrasas were built near the houses of their founders, e.g. that of Burhān al-Dīn al-Maḥallī, or even located within the mansion of the founder, e.g. that of Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kharrūbi (ibid).

However, no conclusions should be drawn from the reports on the great wealth of the Kārimīs as to their social and economic power. These would be exaggerated and not be in accord with the reality of the Mamluk period. Within the framework of the Mamluk state there was, in general, no place for patrician families who might have enjoyed great power and influence for a long time. The authorities would, sooner or later, have ruined them by their system of contributions and confiscation of the inheritance. As a matter of fact, we do not hear of a family of Kārimī merchants who remained rich more than two or three generations. This is strikingly substantiated by the history of the al-Kharrūbī family. There were in this family three generations of wealthy and enterprising merchants; the fourth was poor. Al-Sakhāwī is very outspoken on this point. The first generation is represented by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, the second by 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz, the third by his nephew Zakī 'l-Dīn Abū Bakr and by his son Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī. The Arabic historians call Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī the last of the Kharrūbī merchants of Egypt—*ākhir tujjār Miṣr min al-Kharāriba* (*apud* Fischel, p. 71, and *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, v, p. 240). The reports on the family of Ibn Musallam are conflicting. Maqrīzī relates that the father of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Musallam was a porter and later became a "travelling merchant" (*tājir saffār*) (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, p. 401). But Ibn Ḥajar says that both his father and his father's father were wealthy and successful merchants. An uncle of his was, according to *Inbā'*, f. 17a, extraordinarily rich. If that is true, there were three generations of effective and rich traders in this family too, for the sons of Nāṣir al-Dīn lost their money. The history of another famous merchant family, as outlined in the biographical dictionary of al-Sakhāwī, reveals the same picture

(see the biographies of the Damascene merchants Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Muzallaq (d. 1444), his sons Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar (d. A.H. 841 = 1437–8) and Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan (d. 1474) and his grandsons Ibrāhīm (d. A.H. 879 = 1474–5) and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, in *al-Ḍau' al-lāmi'*, i, p. 41, iii, p. 126, vi, p. 120, viii, pp. 173–4). It should be stressed, however, that it was not the Mamluk government, at least not directly, which brought about the downfall of the Kārimī families. They were not ruined by contributions, but by the consequences of the development of the Egyptian economy as a whole. It seems that the Mamluk government, at any rate that of the Baḥrītes, adopted a more lenient attitude towards the Kārimīs because it was interested in the revenues from the spice trade.

Naturally we should like to know the number of the Kārimī merchants. It surely underwent changes from time to time according to circumstances. We are indebted to Ibn Ḥajar who provides us with interesting and reliable information on this question. He says (f. 16a) that he found a note of the merchant al-Fāriqī of Zabīd that in the beginning of al-Malik an-Nāṣir's reign there were more than 200 Kārimīs in Egypt and that they had more than 100 employees who travelled overseas for them. To evaluate this report, it should not be overlooked that in the period in question (the beginning of the fourteenth century), the size of the Egyptian spice trade was limited to some extent owing to the effort of the Pope, after the capture of Acre, to weaken the economic power of Egypt by deflecting the commercial relations with the Middle East to other ports than hers.

In the Arabic sources no details have so far been discovered on the supposedly guildlike organization of the Kārimī merchants. This is a crucial point of the problem. There can be no doubt that they formed a special group of great business-men who co-operated in some way or other. But should we infer from the titles of "chief of the Kārimīs" and similar ones given to leading Kārimī merchants that there was a firm organization with grades, such as chief, simple member, etc., as does Fischel (p. 70)? Such titles found in Arabic chronicles and biographical dictionaries of the Middle Ages are perhaps not to be taken too literally. The Arabs were accustomed to bestow these titles lavishly on outstanding members of any social group. The most learned scholar of the Shāfi'ī jurisconsults of Egypt was called *ra'īs al-shāfi'īya bi-Miṣr*, and it would be erroneous to deduce from this title that there existed an organization of the

Shāfi'ī doctors. But surely this prominent scholar was consulted when a judge for the adherents of his school (*madhhab*) was appointed and even in other cases he exerted great influence. It should be borne in mind that our ideas of social organization, inherited from the Romans, were not familiar to the medieval Orient. Most of the social institutions were not built up on well defined rules, nor did one cling to rules established in practice. The *Futuwwa* associations had their rules, but they originated in a religious background which was missing in the case of the Kārimīs. Furthermore the group-life of the akhīs was a series of ceremonies and they could not help but appoint officers for celebrating them. The Kārimīs may have been a loose confederation of merchants bound together by mere professional interests. We may be sure that the richest and most esteemed Kārimī always decided on questions which gave rise to dissension, that he, with some other prominent members of the group, represented them before the government, and that his authority was recognized by all the Kārimīs. But there need not have been written statutes, such as the Westerners used to have.

III

Another question not yet solved is that of the rise and the decline of the Kārimīs. Various reports on their activities point to the period of the Baḥrī Mamluks and the two decades after it as the time in which they flourished. But when did their rise begin? Fischel quotes Maqrīzī who relates in his *Sulūk* (i, pp. 72–3) that the Kārimīs came to Egypt in 1181 and had to pay taxes for some years. The Egyptian historian does not say, however, that they came for the first time in that year. Due attention should be paid to a statement in Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ* (iii, p. 524) where he says that the Fatimids had a fleet in the port of 'Aidhāb which was charged to protect the Kārimī ships from pirates. That the Fatimids made great efforts to divert the spice trade from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea and established commercial bases on the way to India is well known. (The place of commercial relations in Fatimid policy was discussed in a recently published paper of B. Lewis: "The Fatimids and the route to India," *Revue de la faculté des sciences économiques de l'université d'Istanbul*, 11, pp. 50–54.) At any rate, it is remarkable that the spice traders' ships are called Kārimī ships in this passage.

Under the rule of the Baḥrī Mamluks, the Kārimīs apparently

monopolized the spice-trade between Yemen and Egypt or at least their preponderance was overwhelming. There was a great difference between the Indian spice trade of the Fatimid and the Mamluk periods. The small capitalists previously engaged in it were gradually supplanted by the Kārimī merchants who accumulated enormous wealth. This was the result of the economic policy of the Mamluk government, which oppressed the small traders by its system of taxes and monopolies. We do not hear, however, that in the first half of the Baḥrī period the Mamluk government asked the Kārimīs to raise funds in case of emergency. In the middle of the fourteenth century their economic power rose more and more. They had a great international bank in Cairo which gave, in 1351 and 1352, huge loans to a Yemenite king imprisoned by the Sultan of Egypt; they were certainly payable in Yemen (*al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, ed. Popper, v, pp. 89–90, 117). Even the Egyptian government began to apply to them for financial help. In 1352, when the Syrian governors had revolted and the Sultan needed funds for a military expedition, the vizier received orders to take a loan from the merchants. Apparently the Kārimīs opposed the government's demand, for our source goes on to relate that they bought certain products from the Sultan at their real value, thus providing him with the necessary funds (op. cit., p. 121; this passage was misunderstood by Fischel, p. 77, who speaks of a loan to the king of Yemen). Once more the Mamluk government had shown a remarkable leniency in its relations with the Kārimī merchants, since we read in our source that some state officials were laid under heavy contributions to be paid in cash. At the end of the fourteenth century, under the rule of Sultan Barqūq, the power of the Kārimīs and their influence came to their peak. At that time they played a rôle comparable to that of the great bankers of Baghdad in the Abbasid period and of the Mādharā'īyūn of Egypt. When the government, which became more and more impoverished, had to prepare a military expedition, it borrowed great sums from the Kārimīs. We hear that they lent to Barqūq a million dirhams in 1394 when an invasion of the Mongols was imminent and the Mamluk government decided to send troops to the Syrian border (*al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, v, p. 562). In 1403 Christian raiders attacked Alexandria and an expedition had to be organized to protect the chief port of Egypt. Burhān al-Din al-Maḥallī, the renowned Kārimī, contributed a great sum to its cost (*Inba'*, f. 125a).

But it seems that a short time later the riches of the Kārimīs vanished. The general breakdown of the Egyptian economy in the beginning of the fifteenth century probably ruined the Kārimīs too. The outstanding Kārimī merchants of the end of the fourteenth century are, in the Arabic sources, called "the last Kārimīs". To the passages quoted by Fischel (p. 71) a note in al-'Ainī's *'Iqd al-jumān* (f. 577b) may be added: the chronicler says that Zakī 'l-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Kharrūbī was the last of the Kārimīs in Egypt and with him they disappeared from the scene. Again, this should not be understood literally. Five out of nine Kārimīs whom we have added to Fischel's list lived in the fifteenth century. Further, in the chronicles of this period, we find reports on the appointment of officials charged with the collection of the Kārimīs' taxes (*Inbā'*, f. 256a). In general there is no reason to suspect that expressions like Kārimī merchants or Kārimī trade are mere equivalents of spice traders and spice trade in sources of that period, although sometimes this may be the case. Yet the new material does not contradict Fischel's opinion on this point. The end of the fourteenth century was the great time of the Kārimīs, whereas the merchants of the fifteenth century called Kārimī seem to have been men of moderate wealth. The economic decline of Egypt and the ever growing pressure of the Mamluk government, which controlled the spice trade and participated in it, encroached on the activities of these merchants. But even in this period the Kārimīs were not annihilated, because both public opinion and the government were aware of the importance for the economy of Egypt of their spice trade. In 1429–30 an epidemic ravaged the country and when the Sultan Barsbāy asked the leading theologians about the causes of the disaster, they mentioned, among others, the measures taken by the government against the Kārimī merchants (*Inbā'*, f. 235b).

IV

The conclusions reached so far confirm some of Fischel's inferences and refute others. Fischel expressed the opinion that the Kārimīs were a group of merchants engaged in the spice trade between Egypt and Yemen. But, without doubt, there were also Kārimī merchants in Damascus. The first Kārimī merchant of our additional list was a Damascene and pursued his commercial activities both in Damascus and in Cairo. True, Ibn Kathīr does not say explicitly that Ibn al-Ruhā'ilī died in Damascus, but this may be taken as sure, since

the chronicler does not state the contrary. We may also infer from Qalqashandī's exposé of the Mamluk administration of Syria that there was a group of Kārimī merchants in Damascus. In the list of administrative officers of the province of Damascus there appears an "inspector of the zakāt-tax (*shādd al-zakāt*) with the task of dealing with the Kārimī trade and the like" (*Ṣubḥ*, iv, p. 187). That this passage reveals the state of affairs may be gathered from the fact that such a post is not included in the tableau of the administration of Aleppo, nor in that of any other Syrian province (ibid., pp. 217 ff).

Further, Fischel believes that the Kārimīs were an exclusively Moslem group of merchants. This opinion is clearly refuted by a record in a Judeo-Arabic document reading: "There departed among the Kārimīs of our comrades the Jews" (British Museum Or. 5549, iii, f. 5r, see Catalogue of Margoliouth no. 1135, pt. iii, p. 563). There was certainly no reason why the Kārimīs should not have admitted Christians and Jews to their company. J. Mann published in his work "The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs II," p. 246–7" two Genizah documents which contain apparently lists of tax-payers or people who collected a fund. There appear in one list al-Kārimīn—50 (p. 247) and in the other list where no shares are given: al-kurrām hā-arbā'āh (the four Kārimīs). The quota 50 is remarkably greater than those of other people mentioned in the list. These are documents of the eleventh century.

Lastly, Fischel's assertion as regards the extent of the Kārimīs' business should be modified. The spice trade was their domain, as is explicitly stated in various Arabic sources (e.g. *Ṣubḥ*, 13, p. 341). But this should be taken *cum grano salis*. For besides the spice trade and banking, these great merchants were engaged in other fields. The goods bought by the Kārimīs from the Sultan in 1352 (s. above) were agricultural products of his estates. Another report on the Kārimīs' business in Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* (ii, p. 401), is not less clear. The Arab writer reports that Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Musallam had many employees and sent one of them to India, another to the Atlantic coast of Africa, a third to Abyssinia and some to other parts. We are probably not mistaken in deducing from this report that Nāṣir al-Dīn was a great slave trader. For what else did he import from Abyssinia and West Africa? Furthermore, we learn from Maqrīzī's statement that the Kārimīs did not refrain from travelling

to India or sending their employees there. The life-story of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Manṣūr, as told by Arab historians, points to the same fact. This Kārimī merchant is sometimes called "al-Kūlamī", i.e. the man who travelled to Kūlam, the well-known sea-port of Malabar (*Sulūk*, ii, pp. 132–3). Some sources indicate that he made five voyages to China. Ibn Ḥajar says in his *al-Durar al-kāmina* (ii, p. 383) that he began his career as merchant with a voyage to the land of Cathay and brought a great quantity of silk from there to Aleppo. A chronicler of Yemen relates that he came to Aden in the year A.H. 703 (1303–4) on his way from Cathay and China and brought silk, moschus, porcelaine, slaves, etc., with him (al-Khazrajī. *al-'Uqūd al-lūllū'īya*, i, p. 350).

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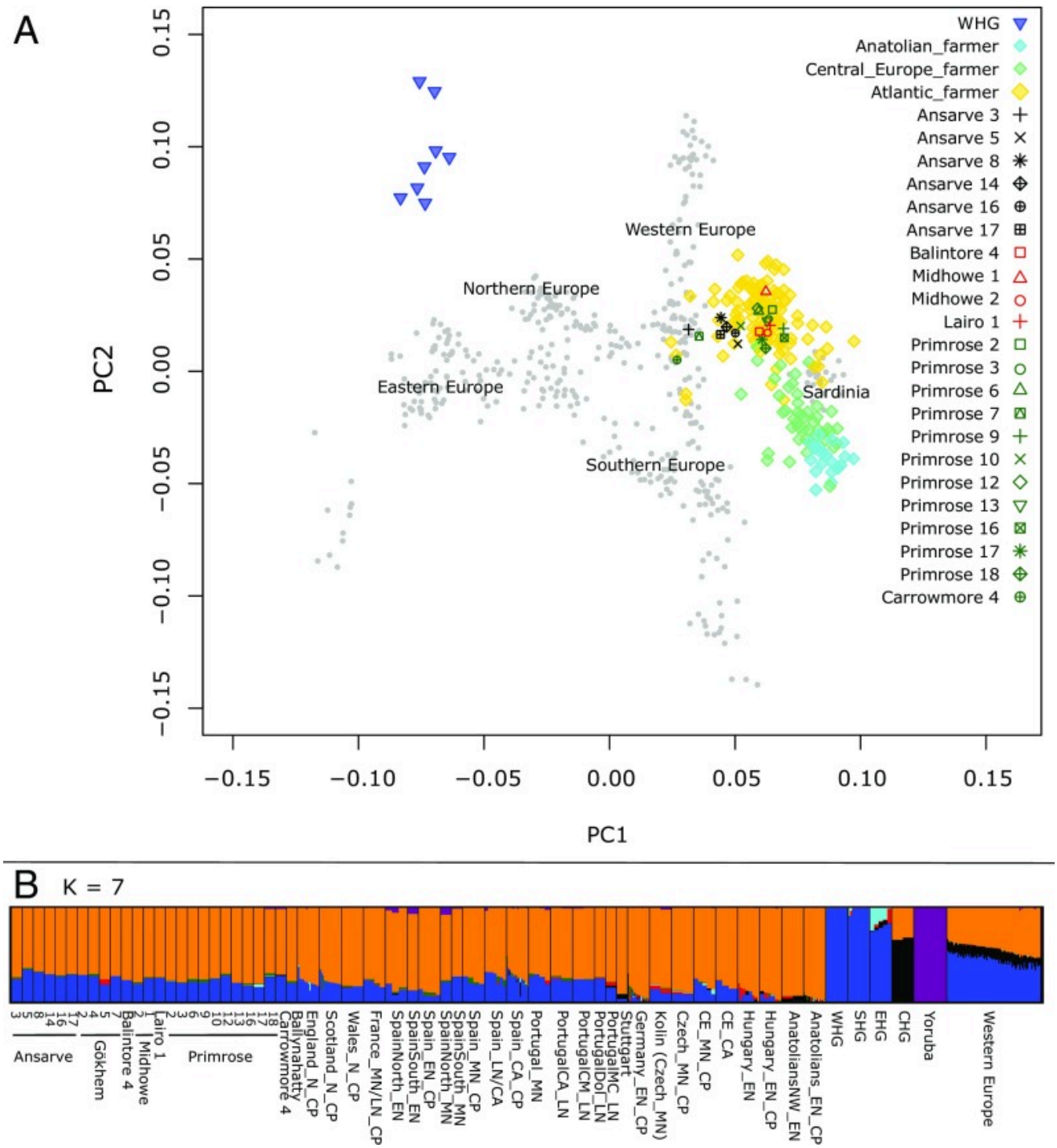
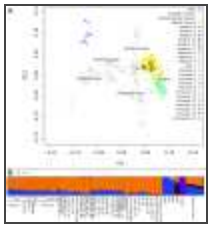
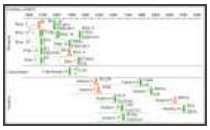
Fig. 2.



(*A*) PCA of 429 present-day west Europeans (gray dots) with previously published Western HG (WHGs), Atlantic coast and Central European Neolithic farmer samples (filled symbols), and the samples from the present study (shaded symbols) projected onto the first two principal components (more details in *SI Appendix*, Section S11.1). (*B*) Inferred ancestry components (assuming seven clusters) of ancient individuals (*Methods* and *SI Appendix*, Section S11.2). All individuals to the left of Yoruba are prehistoric individuals, all of which are shotgun-sequenced unless marked with "CP" for SNP capture data. In the label

names, the following letters indicate an archaeological context: CA, Chalcolithic; EN, Early Neolithic; N, Neolithic; MN, Middle Neolithic; LN, Late Neolithic. The LN individuals from Portugal come from different sites (key provided in Dataset S1.3).

Images in this article

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BASIC FEATURES OF THE ECONOMIC FORMS OF BABYLONIA IN THE FIRST MILLENNIUM B.C.

Michael Jursa Introduction

The following overview of the economic structures in southern Mesopotamia in the first millennium BC and the discussion of long- distance trade as a possible medium of cultural exchange between this area and the eastern Mediterranean region (with regard to the general theme of the symposium) are, in view of the wealth of material and the breadth of the topic , partly thesis -like with only exemplary , not exhaustive documentation. We will restrict ourselves to the essential basic features and will only address a few of the numerous open questions .

1. The economy of Babylonia in the first millennium BC

1.1.

Sources Both the archaeological and epigraphic documentation for the period in question are rich overall , but diachronically and geographically unevenly distributed; the coordination of archaeological material with philological findings remains a problem that is only partially solved . Adams' survey of large parts of the southern Mesopotamian alluvium still offers the decisive archaeological starting point from which the overall economic development must be understood (Adams 1981) . A significant increase in settlement density has been noted compared to earlier periods , in particular a disproportionate (ninefold!) growth of larger (urban) agglomerations of more than 10 hectares of settlement area (Adams 1981, 177ff.). According to the survey findings, this growth continued continuously from the Neo -Babylonian period to the Seleucid-Parthian period (roughly 700 BC to 200 AD) and culminated in what was postulated according to Adam's model as a widespread agricultural

2

A detailed elaboration of essential questions in this context is being carried out within the framework of our START project The Economic History of Babylonia in the First Millennium BC , financed by the Fund for the Promotion of Scientific Research (Vienna). Quotations from unpublished texts from the collections of the British

Museum are made with the permission of its trustees . Unpublished material from the Yale Babylonian Collection is used with the kind permission of B. Foster and U.

Kasten . I would like to thank E. Frahm and G. Milller for allowing me to cite unpublished works , and M. Weszeli for reading the manuscript .

The occasional repetition of what is known or has been said elsewhere does not seem to be unnecessary in view of the often underestimated potential of ancient Near Eastern sources to contribute to the general discussion about the *Ancient Economy . See, for example , the relevant statement by Cohen 2002, 3, where the statement by Kuhrt 1998, 16(sic), which quite clearly means that it is possible to speak sensibly about commercial practices in the ancient Near East , is turned into its opposite by abbreviated quotations .

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ical use of large parts of the southern Mesopotamian alluvium in the Sassanid period (Adams 1981, 181): overall, an impressive picture of constant agricultural expansion and continuous demographic growth, which is admittedly not without problems . Not all relevant regions were investigated with the same intensity or at all , and the dating based on the (largely unpublished) ceramic findings is necessarily imprecise. The model therefore requires philological confirmation, clarification and correction.

The chronological distribution of the written sources is also notoriously inconsistent: information up to the beginning of the seventh century is sparse. Much material has been preserved from the sixth and fifth centuries , but in the following centuries the documentation decreases again continuously . From the fourth century onwards, not only does the number

of texts decrease steadily , but there is also a narrowing of the topics covered in the documents . Only in the sixth and fifth centuries could one hope to obtain an almost complete overview of the Babylonian economy ,

- and even at this time , as will be shown shortly , one would be disappointed . The following will deal mainly with the period between the sixth and fourth centuries , although it should be emphasized that in many respects the conquest of Babylonia by the Persians did not represent a turning point in economic terms .

Despite these limitations, Babylonia in the first millennium BC is one of the best-documented regions of antiquity through written sources ; the number of relevant texts in Western museums is almost in the six-digit range. Of course , as in all other periods of Mesopotamian history, the basic rule applies here that the written sources only illuminate part of the social and economic reality. Not all strata of society have the same level of access to and motivation for using writing : urban elites are a dominant , if not the only, focus of the sources . In addition , only those transactions are recorded in writing that could be referred to in the future . In the given

case, this means that , for example , exchange transactions Connection, such as incontestable cash purchases of goods normally remain invisible

- the crucial question of the extent of market exchange in comparison to other forms of transaction can therefore only be answered indirectly .

3 Dandamaev 1984, 7ff. gives a convenient overview for the seventh to fourth centuries, the importance of which is not significantly affected by material that has become known since then .

4 8. Oelsner 2003 with further literature,

See van de Mieroop 1997 .

6 _ In private archives, purchases of this kind can only be proven if either payment or

delivery is credited . The documentation in the administrative temple archives is more detailed in this regard .

5

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1.2. Basic features of the economy in the alluvial flood plains of southern Mesopotamia7 The economy of southern Mesopotamia in ancient times was based primarily on irrigated agriculture in all periods . The labor-saving use of the seed plough in an extensive farming regime enables high yields in

relation to the seed used . The main limiting factor is usually not the availability of land, but that of water. Agriculture is in a symbiotic relationship with small livestock farming , which is carried out using the grass steppe primarily by

(semi)nomadic sections of the population and whose most important product by far is wool . Textile production is considered to be an important branch of industry in southern Mesopotamia; it plays a decisive role in the long-distance trade that is essential for resource- poor Mesopotamia .

Regular agricultural surpluses and low transport costs (through the network of canals) enable economic concentration, which leads to the formation of locally dominant large economic entities (households, oikoi) in usually religious guise (“temples”) . The economic form of these institutional households has been described as (largely) closed household economies : ideally they are economically self -sufficient.

Production is managed centrally , the proceeds are collected in stores and redistributed to the staff . The economic potential of these households to generate surpluses is of eminent political importance for the rulers (and their palace households , which rely more heavily on tribute) . Their activities and resources require constant (written-based) supervision and are always at

the forefront of written documentation .

This should not , however, lead to the false conclusion that the institutional economy is the same as the economy as a whole . Private land ownership by wealthy townspeople is almost always well attested, and there are good reasons to postulate the existence of small settlements of (largely) independent subsistence farmers who played an important role as a reservoir of labor for institutional households at certain times of the year , such as during harvest time .

1.3. Special features of the first millennium?

If one wants to classify the first millennium BC in the described economic / ongue durée of Mesopotamia , the same economic actors as in previous millennia must be noted. The institutional households , palaces and temples, still play a major role in the documentation . The temples are admittedly much better documented by three large and several small archives than the palace sector of the economy.® This can almost only be accessed through indirect information . An important third element -

7 _ For this (simple) model see e.g. Liverani 1998 , van Driel 1998, 1999, 2000, 2002, Jursa 2002a. ®

_ The most important temple archives are those of Ebabbar of Sippar and Eanna of Uruk, mainly from the sixth and early fifth centuries (Pedersén 1999, 193, 205ff.) with over 30,000 and over 10,000 tablets respectively , and the much smaller archive of Esangila of Babylon with a few hundred texts , mainly from the fourth and third centuries

(provisionally Boiy 2000, 25ff. and 6.).

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ment within the institutional economy, alongside palaces and temples, are the rural settlements of those obliged to serve the state. This form of land use is best documented for the Achaemenid period, but it can also be proven in the Neo - Babylonian period and has clear precursors in the second millennium . The system secures workers and soldiers for the state . In addition , it serves on the one hand to develop unused institutional land , and on the other hand to integrate closed groups of non - Babylonians , especially non - sedentary people , into society and the state structures . Private archives in Babylonia

in the first millennium were also left behind predominantly by the urban upper class with land ownership in and near the cities and often with connections to the institutions , especially to the sanctuaries.'®

With regard to the economic forms, one would first like to establish a fundamental continuity . The temples are still the best example of a redistributive economy, the royal household or the palace also has, as before , both redistributive and tributary features . The institutions are interwoven with the private sector through the activities of entrepreneurs who manage certain parts of the institutional economy on their own account and at their own risk and pay the institutions a flat fee for this . Such business relationships can

be traced back to the Old Babylonian period , for example , in a form that is essentially completely identical . " In general, the same economic activities can be observed among the urban upper classes as in earlier periods: the main sources of income are land ownership,'* trading in tcmpclpfi', interest- bearing loans* and , last but not least , various business ventures that are run alone or in partnership with others . *

Must we conclude from all this that there was nothing new in the first millennium? No. The main difference to earlier periods of Mesopotamian history lies in the weighting of the individual economic forms. We are only at the beginning of a fairly serious quantification , but some patterns are already emerging .

1.4. The institutional households

The usual model of a redistributive economy paints the picture of an almost closed circle: The institutional household produces what it needs; the goods are centrally managed and redistributed. Any surpluses are used to trade in prestige goods and materials not available in the country , such as metals . This model does not stand up to scrutiny on the basis of the Neo-Babylonian temple archives in essential points .

Special attention is given to van Driel 2002, 226ff.

9 10 Pedersén (999, I8HF) names some of the better known archives. Representative studies of individual archives:

Wunsch 1993 and 20004, Joannés 1989, Kessier 1991, Jursa 1999.

11 For all this see, among others , van Driel 1999k, Renger 2000, Jursa 2002a. 12 ZB Wunsch 2000a.

j rlich van Driel 2002, 33(f. 15 ZB Lanz 1976, Wunsch 1993, 21f6

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All the forms of transaction required by the model can be demonstrated, but their importance is unexpected. The agricultural production of institutional households is used commercially to a significant extent , including for the purchase of other agricultural goods. There can therefore be no talk of self- sufficiency even with regard to meeting basic needs .

Despite the inherent difficulties of quantification attempts and the numerous unanswered questions, this can already be illustrated today using the North Babylonian Ebabbar and the South Babylonian Eanna . The Ebabbar archive is the largest Neo-Babylonian archive. In the 6th century , the density of sources is greatest here and therefore the probability that quantification studies will lead to useful results is also greatest.'® Three peculiarities show that the economy of Ebabbar differs in essential points from the model of the closed household economy described above .

The first point concerns the focus on temple agriculture , the main branch of production. There is obviously a conscious investment in intensive date gardening at the expense of extensive arable farming .

In principle , the Ebabbar follows a trend that can also be observed further south , in the region of Babylon and Borsippa ,' but the intensity with which

this happens is remarkable.'® The reason for this - and this brings us to the second point - is that a large part of the date harvest was not consumed internally , but was sold . It is only rarely proven that this was just the utilization of accidentally accumulated residues in the stores , '® and the large number

of receipts for individual date sales , especially for silver , leaves no doubt that these were routine transactions.® Often the dates do not even reach the temple stores , since the entrepreneurs who are tasked with collecting the harvest sell part of the harvest themselves and only pay the temple the silver.'® At the moment it is not possible to estimate with any certainty exactly how high the proportion of the total harvest was that of the dates sold and whether there were diachronic fluctuations . However , that a significant part

of the harvest was affected is demonstrated by texts such as CT 57, 22, which at least attests to the sale of just under 5 % of the estimated total harvest of the temple 's date gardens in a single transaction . Date sales are generally much better attested in the archives than

16 The main monographs on the subject: MacGinnis 1995, Jursa 1995, Bongenaar 1997, Da Riva

2002 17 ZB Wunsch 1999, 351;

2000a I 53 18 See the summary in Jursa 1995, 194b. 19 BM 75787: Sale of old dates 20

ZB Nbn. 612.753. 904. 905; BM 63885 and many more

21 Passim , for example, for agricultural tithe tenants: Jursa 1998, 39f., 51f. and 6. Something

similar can also be proven for the benefice gardeners, the rab-bané : VS 4, 14,

22 BM 63906, silver for 426 Kor (ca. 60 t) of dates, paid by the general obligor Ana-amit-Bél-atkal, who, according to BM 61774, had to deliver 10,000 Kor (ca. 1,400 t) of dates for all

of Ebabbar 's date gardens (Jursa 1995, 88).

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Barley sales - evidence of the stronger market orientation of date horticulture compared to barley cultivation .

The silver income from the date sales was primarily used to buy livestock and natural products such as barley or sesame . Ebabbar 's own herds seem to have been far from sufficient to cover demand . Specialization in date cultivation therefore helps to compensate for weaknesses in other areas of the temple economy .

A similar economic specialization can be observed in the Eanna archive . Here, the sale of wool is the main source of silver income and is also used to finance wholesale purchases of goods . Among the buyers are not only individuals , some of whom can be identified as merchants , but also institutions such as the palace in Babylon or the governor of Mesopotamia.® The wool trade of the Eanna is also of interest from the point of view of Mesopotamian long -distance trade ; see below .

The silver income generated by the two temples through economic specialization was used not only to purchase agricultural fences and livestock , but also to procure labor - this is the third point where significant deviations from the traditional oikos model can be observed . The Ebabbar was dependent on hired labor for two - thirds to three- quarters of its larger construction projects . Unlike an institution of the third millennium , the temple 's own staff and the people who could be mobilized through dependency relationships were not numerous enough to even come close to handling the tasks at hand.® The Eanna was no different .

A further administrative and economic innovation follows from what has just been described. As early as the 6th century, a certain monetization was already evident in the core area of the redistributive temple economy, in connection with the distribution of benefice income and sacrificial materials : instead of goods in kind , silver was often paid out, which either served as a substitute for income or was used to buy sacrificial materials .

23 Typical is CT 57, 206: 5-10, according to which dates are sold for silver and barley . 24 See the overview in Bongenaar 1999,

25 A detailed investigation will be given in the framework of the project mentioned above .

Here are just a few references for illustration: JCS 24 , 105 UNC 14; ZA 66, 286ff. YBC

4141 and YBC 4012; ZA 67, 43ff. YBC 4038 and YBC 3740; NCBT 191; NBC 4859.

26 This can be demonstrated by a dam construction project north of Sippar , which was carried out in the

bar archive is well documented : Jursa 1995, 184ff.

27 Some letters show this very clearly. In NCBT 38 , for example, it is stated that only a quarter of the

The earthworks required for a specific project were carried out by the temple's own personnel , and the rest was dependent on expensive hired workers . YOS

3, 69 documents exorbitant wage demands (six shekels per month) from hired workers who were obviously aware that the temple administration had no alternatives to their services . The struggle for labor at the temple is not in

contrast to the general population growth that can be seen from the archaeological findings (cf. van Driel 2002, 219), but is based on the generally weakened

position of the temple households in the first millennium .

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are.® This is the beginning of a development which ultimately leads to the Rahimesu archive in Babylon in the early first century BCE .

Even in the context of the temple economy, wages and rations were generally paid or at least calculated in silver .

The dependence of the institutions on free hired workers, the extensive integration of important branches of production into the market economy, money- based exchange and the associated economic specialization mean that the model of a redistributive, self - sufficient household, i.e. the classic oikos model, is not suitable for adequately describing the economic forms of the Neo- Babylonian temples . There can be no talk of autarky ; the continuity compared to earlier periods is only apparent.

1.5. The private

sector With regard to the distribution of economic forms that one encounters in the non-institutional area, i.e. primarily among the urban upper class, two types can be distinguished , a rentier type and an entrepreneur type . The rentier uses existing, normally disposable capital, primarily land and temple benefices. If surpluses are generated over and above immediate personal needs , these are invested in additional land or benefices, and possibly also in small interest-bearing loans . Larger property movements usually only occur in connection with inheritance or marriage. Having land and the necessary means of production at one 's disposal means security , and prestige too . People therefore do not normally part with inherited land or benefices. The numerous purchase contracts for

gardens, fields or benefices that have been preserved are not a counter-argument . In those cases where the background to the transactions can be ascertained through larger dossiers , it is usually shown that these are forced sales due to distress . This is true even though , in purely mathematical terms, an investment in trading companies or in credit transactions could have yielded greater profits than an investment in land .* Moreover , there are indications that the economic

28 Sippar: e.g. Cyr. 33, 206; CT 57, 97, 177, some further evidence in MacGinnis 1995, 1411., 146, 148f. Sesame is bought in particular : Rongenaar 1997, 262°*% Uruk: e.g. GCC1 1, 198. 362, 379; GCCL 2, 2115 ZA 67, 48f. YBC 3740; Sack, Cuneiform Documents 55, 1u.vam

29 Van der Spek 1998, 247.

30 These are terms that ultimately go back to Pareto . Weber 1980, 178 differentiates pensioners

as typical representatives of positively privileged property classes from entrepreneurs, members Lpositively privileged employment classes®

31 For land purchases see 2. B. Wansch 2000a, [43ff. (Bgibi archive), 2002, 241ff.; several recent examples in the still largely unpublished Sangi-13tar-Babifi archive from Kutha (after the fifth century BC). The same applies to purchases of benefices , but here the evidence is not so easy to provide due to the lack of larger dossiers on individual transactions .

32 The benchmark here is the usual interest rate on loans, 20 % per annum . Business companies with the usual profit-sharing clause should therefore be able to generate at least 40 % in order to make them attractive to investors . The few clear pieces of evidence support this theoretical assumption (Lanz 1976, 138£.; cf. also Joannes 1999, 188 to YOS 6, 52 on the profitability of foreign exchange companies). When

investing in

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Reciprocity within the group also played a role in the actions of these people : this is supported above all by marriage patterns, but also by certain peculiarities in the granting of loans to members of the same social class.® The economic strategies and the mentality of the rentier type are obviously shaped by the requirements of a subsistence economy that was originally aimed primarily at self-sufficiency .

The investment patterns of the entrepreneur type are completely different : here you find partnership agreements for commercial purposes, from (domestic) trading companies to running an inn, here you find relatively high levels of interest -bearing loans, here you find targeted market-oriented cultivation of certain agricultural niche products both on your own and on other people's land . Crafts or the craft use of slaves, usually on a small scale , as home work , also falls into this category.

The ownership of a few male and female domestic slaves for this purpose and for general auxiliary services is widespread in this

social class , as it is among rentiers , although families with dozens of slaves , such as the Babylon branch of the Bgibi® family , are exceptions.

The most characteristic activity of Babylonian entrepreneurs is the entrepreneurial management of and economic activity with foreign capital .

Zen each other in the private sphere the needs of the rentier and the entrepreneur

According to Joannds 1989, 97ff. , date gardens, the most productive form of land ownership, can

only expect a yield of around 14 % per annum (these figures require further verification).

33 We retain the traditional terminology for transaction types , which goes back to

Polányi , although Sahlin's gradual reciprocity scale , which includes all forms of economic exchange from gifts to loot , is a model that is better adapted to reality (von Reden 2003, 3).

34 This is most clearly seen in families of temple beneficiaries , who consistently entered into marriages with one another . See , for example , Bongenaar 2000, 84f., Jursa 1999, 36f. Special cases are (sometimes levirate-like) endogamous ehons, which are concluded on

the basis of inheritance law considerations : Joannes

1987, Waerzeggers 2002, 35 At least in the Böl-römanni archive, silver loans, especially

interest - bearing loans , were usually taken out from outsiders . This leads to the assumption that taking interest from members of the same group was avoided as far as possible (there is of course no ban). Smaller interest-free consumer loans within the group, which certainly did exist , must have been made without writing at least in the Böl-römanni . Jursa 1999, 124f. Other archives still need to be examined for these questions ,

36 Lanz 1976. Overview of the represented branches of industry 139ff , e.g. Wunsch 2002.

38 This is attested in the Nür-Sio/Egibi archive : Wunsch 1993, Jursa

1995/96, 39 A question that still needs to be examined in more detail is whether and

to what extent craftsmen and entrepreneurs in general are attested who have no or even no significant agricultural land ownership - a distribution of property that amounts to a fundamental departure from the traditional subsistence patterns of the urban upper

class . S, below note 59 40 Around 100 slaves named are divided between the parties in the inheritance deed Dar , 379 from this archive (see Wunsch 1999 and 6.) .

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neurs.! Above all, however, there are points of contact with the institutional economy, which is dependent on such entrepreneurs in essential areas .* The spectrum ranges from state tax leases to agricultural general leases of temple and royal land to the administration of temple funds by Babylonian and non - Babylonian bankers from the third century onwards.®

The economic mentality of entrepreneurs is obviously different from that

of rentiers. This is not to be expected , since very different economic niches are occupied . Unfortunately , we do not have such obvious evidence as in

Old Assyrian, where a merchant is told : You own the money. However , there can be little doubt that this statement would have applied just as well to a Neo-Babylonian businessman . These people act in a competitive environment with an obvious focus on profit.® Excessive pursuit of profit at the expense

of others was , of course, considered morally reprehensible according to

some Fiterarian evidence ; isolated evidence in documents explicitly testifies to the renunciation of profit out of pity for debtors . Such things would have been rare , but the few pieces of evidence do at least help to nuance our picture of the prevailing economic mentality.®

In reality , of course, these two ideal types are never represented in their pure form . In almost all archives there are elements of both types, but never to the same extent; always either one or the other predominates . Therefore, the distinction has a heuristic value .

Useful diagnostic criteria are, on the one hand, temple benefice ownership and related business activities , and , on the other hand, corporate or harrdnu enterprises. Archives in which the content emphasis is on one of these two categories usually contain little or no evidence for the other category. Temple benefices are predominantly in the hands of long-established families with close ties to the local temples, who form the traditional upper class of the Babylonian cities . Business activities are limited in these

41 This is the case with partnerships with one-sided capital participation (Lanz 1976, 73ff.) or with private service contracts (Kesster 1991, 921, Jursa 1999, 44ff.), $.

42 Bongenaar 2000, a collection of essays devoted to this intertwining of private and institutional economies , which is typical for Mesopotamia . Jursa 2002a is an attempt at a synthesis in this regard .

43 Beaulien 2000, van Driel 1999b and Wunsch 2000b give examples for most types of Neo -Babylonian entrepreneurship ; for banking in the Hellenistic period see Jursa (n Vorbercitung).

44 Larsen 1982, 214,

45 Their good understanding of the economic and non - economic conditions under which

they have to conduct their business is usually only indirectly evident from the documents

The most important exception is TCL 13, 182 from Uruk, in which different conditions under which a general lease is to be concluded are weighed against each other (van Driel 1999 , 216£). - * Profit must of course be defined (vel. Morris

2002). The understanding of the word that we have in mind here is entirely (and consciously) mo- this, of course , not on the basis of a d priori assumption, but on the basis of our understanding of the Quetlen, cf. below note 73.

46 S, see Jursa 2002b, 20347,

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In these circles, the focus is generally on the area of the benefice, at most

one finds money lending on a small scale and agricultural businesses of a moderate size in addition to the cultivation of one's own land : Most temple benefice holders are typical

rentiers. In comparison to this group, entrepreneurs are much more difficult to classify socially.® In the sixth and early fifth

centuries , the majority came from the urban upper class, that is, the group in which the indication of (fictitious?) ancestral or family names,? Some of them date back to the second millennium , but not a few others are obviously

outsiders, homines novi, and some of them are not of Babylonian origin."' In isolated cases, unfree persons can also act as entrepreneurs . * Archives of the rentier type are

much more numerous overall . In the future, a diachronic study should be carried out to determine under which conditions entrepreneurs of the type described appear more frequently and which conditions are not conducive to them . A useful model could be provided by Le Roy Ladurie's well - known work on Languedoc in the 15th to 18th centuries , in which he makes a similar distinction to the one proposed here and correlates the distribution of the two types with the secular fluctuations in agricultural productivity (and population) - these are cycles that may well have existed in Babylonia in the first millennium BC ; at least this is what the still - present unpublished work by Gerfrid Müller on price information in Neo-Babylonian texts .*

1.6. The State, the Market and Economic Growth The

role of the state, or royal administration, can be underestimated both during

the Chaldean period and later in the Achaemenid period due to the lack of relevant

47 Some examples: the private archives from Uruk examined by Kessler (1991), the Balrömanni archive (Jursa 1999), the archives of the Ha-ilita-bani family (Joanns 1989) and several other (mostly still unpublished) archives from Borsippa (collected for the

48

project mentioned by C. Waerzeggers). Exceptions are some general registrars of Tempelland , who are also integrated into the benefice system (Joanns 2000, 40, 31, Jursa

1999, 3772). See the considerations and evidence in Joannes 2000, 36-40.

49 Lambert 1957, Ungnad 1935,

50 Examples are the famous Egibis (Wunsch 2000a ete.) or (ddin-Marduk from the Nür-Sin

family (Wunseh 1993). However, unlike the vast majority of the beneficiaries, the

entrepreneurs do not always come from long-established local families. The most important general tenants in Uruk, for example, almost certainly came from Babylon (cf. Jonants 2000, 38).

An example is Ana-amät-Böl-atkal, the first general tenant of the date gardens of Ebabbar in Sippur, whose father Nabü-dafä has an Aramii name (Jursa 1995, 88).

52 Compare the three general tenants of the land of Eanna , who were also $irks, i.e. oblates or

Fempel slaves (Joannes 2000, 40). Another example is B&l-ana-mörehti, slave of a Bel - iddin, who was active in Kig/Hursagkalama during the reign of Xerses (o 10, 174, 177, 179 and 6.). The Nür-Sin/Egibi archive also testifies to (largely) independently acting slaves (see Dandamacy 1984 , 3456, and 6.). 53 Le Roy Laduric 1983 [1969}.

54 Billion 2001

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State archives can only be accessed indirectly . This lack of direct sources obscures the crucial importance of the state for the economic development of Babylonia as a whole.*

In the area of institutional temple economy, state influence is largely responsible for the efforts to increase efficiency and yield in agricultural production , which are behind the institution of general leasing , i.e. the leasing of temple lands en masse to private entrepreneurs . ** It is also clear in other ways that the temples are ultimately subject to royal authority and

that their resources, both human and material, can be used to cover state needs . The private sector also has to bear considerable burdens . The main sources of state income are , on the one hand , direct taxation of the proceeds of dispensaries with a certain status , which have been awarded to conscripts in the hinterland of the cities , and , on the other hand , indirect taxes levied

in connection with various services , port taxes , bridge tolls, fees for administrative officials, notaries and the like . In addition, there are apparently periodic service obligations to which the urban population was also subjected due to their status and membership of a particular social group .

Van Driel estimates by extrapolation based on forms of taxation that are only attested in isolated cases , the relevance of which for Babylonia as a whole is plausible but cannot be proven , that in the Achaemenid period up

to a third of agricultural production was retained by the state . The Achaemenid conquerors essentially adopted existing tax and levy structures , systematized them and certainly expanded them. The integration of Babylonia into a much larger state structure must have strengthened the already existing tendency towards monetizing obligations to the state , for example the replacement of service obligations with silver payments . This necessarily implies the existence of a market through which more than just a marginal part of the

total agricultural production can be sold . The market orientation of

institutional agriculture mentioned above can of course be easily reconciled with this . The buyers will again have been largely institutions or the state ,

but given the quantities handled , they will certainly also have been parts of

the city's population.

The importance of the market explains (at least in part) that prices of the main agricultural goods were systematically recorded as astrologically relevant phenomena over centuries in the so-called astronomical diaries.

55 For the following , see in general especially van Driel 2002, 155ff.

56 ZBvan Dricl 1999,216".

57 The summary in van Driel 2002, 314-322, provides a convenient overview.

58 Van Dricl 2002, 319.

59 The question posed above in note 39 can therefore probably be answered in the affirmative

by this indirect evidence . The conclusions formulated in the previous paragraph are not shared by all specialists : Joann&s 1999, 182, for example , represents the traditional view that market exchange is only a complement to self-sufficiency and redistribution .

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A statistical analysis of this material allows us to identify secondary price trends as well as regular seasonal fluctuations before and after the harvest seasons . Overall, the rates (or prices) are quite volatile. This is an indication of low market integration: local bottlenecks cannot be compensated for quickly and lead to rapid price increases in the short term . From the above , it follows that the role

of silver (or guild) in Babylonia in the first millennium can hardly be underestimated : with the exception of a subsistence economy , particularly in the countryside , which is virtually invisible in the sources but can nevertheless be postulated , monetization took hold - certainly to varying degrees - in all areas of economic life . The amount of silver in circulation must therefore have increased significantly compared to earlier periods . How this silver came to Babylonia can only be determined indirectly . This could include booty or tribute and proceeds from long-distance trade. During the Chaldean period, considerable amounts of money certainly flowed into Babylonia as booty or gifts from the West .

However, this can no longer be assumed for the Achaemenid period, as the Achaemenids withdrew (and hoarded) much more silver from Babylonia . Thus , in this later period , silver could hardly

have come to Babylonia in any other way than through long - distance trade . The texts are largely silent on details, particularly on the Babylonian exports through which this silver must have been earned (see below). One would expect to find textile trade in particular ; the large - scale wool trade of Eanna , which we mentioned above , may have been only the first step in a chain of transactions extending beyond Mesopotamia . The Old Assyrian textile trade, in which Babylonian textiles were sold en masse to Anatolia , could offer a suitable model for this .

Van Dricl assumes that the (increasing) pressure exerted by the state has been offset by general economic growth , which (as stated above)

60 Unfortunately, the vast majority of the documents agaben from the top, from which would that have survived come from the diaries, which are enable the number material

equally few in number and can be put into context .

61 For all this, see most recently, in detail and with further literature, van der Spek and Mandemakers (in press) and Vargyas 2001

62 Coined money is only used in the Achaemenid period ; however , the coins are also

still weighed in Hellenistic times . Vargyas 2001, 24f£. For the justification of the optional translation of Akkadian kaspr silver by money , see e.g. Bongenaar 1999 .

63 S. van Driel 2002, 164f., 318f. Although demand was higher , silver remained in the first millennium even lost purchasing power . Compare the standard price of one shekel of silver (8.3

g) for 300 liters of barley in the first half of the second millennium BC with the frequently quoted standard price of one shekel for 180 liters in the first millennium (although in reality the purchasing power of silver was even lower : prices of two shekels for 180 liters are not uncommon and are still described as average by Vargyas 2001, 130) .

64 On Old Assyrian trade , see for example Dercksen 1999 and 2000 with significant additional literature. should,

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leads) is also evident in the archaeological findings .* Of course, not only are the circumstances of this growth not yet sufficiently understood, the term

itself requires a more precise definition. Mere cumulative growth in production proportional to population growth alone would not be convincing as a compensation for growing tax pressure. Per capita growth would have to be postulated , i.e. increased productivity.® In the crucial agricultural sector, this can actually be proven; the already mentioned concentration on date gardening in the north and the intensification of arable farming in the institutional sector through higher seed quantities per area can be interpreted in this way . Analogous phenomena in other areas of the Babylonian economy have yet to be found . It is questionable, however , whether the increasing

tax burden was actually fully offset by growth ; one of the causes of the uprisings against Xerxes may well be this increased burden on the population , which, according to Müller 's analysis of price data from the late sixth and

early fifth centuries , was accompanied by a deterioration in agricultural yields .

1.7. Summary

Despite all the open questions, one lesson can be drawn from the above summary overview . Structurally , there is a continuity in the period under investigation with earlier phases of Mesopotamian history, insofar as the economic actors known from these times all continued to exist in the first millennium . However , it is clear that market exchange and the associated monetization play an important role and are increasingly penetrating areas where this was not the case in earlier periods , or not to the same extent . This also applies

to core areas of the economy of institutional households. But that does not mean that other economic forms, redistribution and exchange based on reciprocity did not exist : there is clear evidence to the contrary , although the structure of the written documentation fundamentally favors market - based transactions .

One could therefore find arguments here that support a (so-called) modernist view of the Babylonian economy in the first millennium , as well as those that assume the opposite with the so - called primitivists . It is , as Marc Van De Mieroop recently wrote , to recognize that

65 Van Driel 2002, 157,

66 For more on this from a methodological perspective see Salier 2002.

67 Jursa 1995, 6b.

68 Müller 2001, 406£. The problem of documentation from the last years of Darius and the first years of Xerxes, which is closely connected with the presumed economic rise in this period , is now being reopened by C. Waerzeggers . She points out that in the second year of Xerxes, the much-discussed break in the Babylonian literary tradition , mainly central and northern Babylonian archives with reference to the temple cease (typically rentier archives) , while other archives with reference to the royal administration (mainly business archives) continue (Waerzeggers in preparation). The immediate cause for the breakdown of the tradition is certainly political, not economic.

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that fundamentally different economic structures can exist side by side . The relative importance of these structures and of the actors who occupy the respective economic niches is subject to diachronic fluctuations.

It is crucial to try to quantify if one wants to make a statement in this regard.®

Ultimately, the primitivist-modernist dispute within Assyriology, which has been taken over from ancient history , is still relatively young , but nevertheless promises little in the way of new insights . One would be better advised to enter into the related but distinct debate

between formalists and substantivists , as P. Cartledge has suggested for ancient history , and to discuss the form

of social embedding of Babylonian economic forms , be it market exchange

or redistribution or reciprocal exchange . It is of little help to describe the findings of the texts in a positivist manner and to interpret the result using a priori (and therefore unquestioned modern -western) notions of rationality .

In the context of economic sociology, rationality is a variable , not a basic assumption.* The wealth of sources in the Neo-Babylonian period offers the possibility of using a methodology that has many points of contact with the Italian microstoria to at least begin to inductively investigate the motivations

of economic agents , to formulate models and to abstract types using documents and letters from economic practice . The differentiation between rentiers and entrepreneurs presented above is only a first approach that still needs to be refined .

69 Van De Microop 1999, 122. On pages 108-123 he offers considerations from an Assyriological perspective on basic theoretical positions in the study of ancient economics , including the debate between the *Primitivists® and the *Modernists.

70 This of course involves extrapolation from fundamentally incomplete material and is accordingly problematic .

71 Gegen Cohen 2002, 5%

72 Cartledge 2002 {1998], 15: For the formalists, the ancient cconomy was a functionally sog-

regated and independently instituted sphere of activity with its own profit-maximizing, want- satislying logic and rationality, less developed ... than any modern cconomy but ... recog- nizably similar in kind. Substantivists ... hold that the ancient economy was ... socially em- bedded and politicaily overdetermined and so by the standards of neoclassical ceonomics conspicuously conventional, irrational and status-ridden.

73 Vargyas 2001, 285: [T]{ the market exists and everyone is aware of the profit that can be re- atised there, everyone's economic motivation will be altered ... Anyonc who gots a chance will act as dictated by the market conditions, that is, he will produce for the market. The insti- tution of potla& is thus irrclevant in the case of Mesopotamia .., and that is what the adner- ents of the Polänyi school ignorRe.educing the work of the Poldnyi school to the attempt to rediscover potatch (-like transactions) in ancient societies does not do it justice,
74 Smelser and

Swedberg 1994 , 4 til. 1. From an anthropological point of view , see for example Sahlins 1995, 148f. and passim. See also note 45 above .

75 In particular, the larger entrepreneurial archives Egibi, Nür-Sin, Arad-Samag and his father Larsa, Sin-il7 urgently require such a synthetic approach. In the case of the Bgibi

archive , recent works have taken the first steps towards an overall view : Wunsch 1999 and Abraham 2002,

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2. Long-distance

trade q We have already pointed out that long -distance trade must have been

of great economic importance as a supplier of silver . It is all the more

regrettable that the Babylonian sources are sparse , for example when one

compares the wealth of information available from the Old Assyrian period .

There are no merchant archives from our period . The most informative

dossier is that of merchants commissioned by the South Babylonian Eanna

Temple , who were mainly concerned with the import of goods from the Levant

and Syria . But even in the case of the Eanna texts , it is often only about the

purchase of imported goods in Babylon , which was obviously an important trading center . Accordingly, in the context of the general theme of the symposium , it is

problematic to try to extract direct information from the sources on the possible role of long-distance trade as a cultural mediator . ®

The goods that were demonstrably brought to Babylonia by long - distance trade are metals such as copper from Cyprus and iron from Cilicia, alum from Egypt, dyes, mordants and already dyed garments from the Levant, wine and aromatic substances from Syria, timber from Lebanon , and various other aromatics from Arabia and the East . This list is not complete; it only names the best-attested trade goods. Archaeological findings provide evidence of seals, scarabs, glass , etc.° The texts do not report anything explicitly about the goods exported .*' The traders who were commissioned by the Eanna to trade goods in the West received silver in return , not Babylonian trade goods.

If they also carried out export business , the temple gave them freedom to choose the goods .

Some of the Neo-Babylonian professional traders, tamkaru, were specialized in certain types of wares . Date and Shat-tamkdarus are explicitly mentioned ; merchants who were only explicitly committed to long-distance trade do not occur . An important question is that of the status of these merchants: were they

tied to institutions or merchant corporations , or were they free of any affiliation? One often hears , especially in the pre - Akhdmenid period , of royal traders, tamkaru $a $arri; once

76 p. above at note 63.

77 Jonnés 1999, 186ff. We will present some new relevant texts from the Yale Babylonian Collection

as part of the project mentioned in note | 78 Important works on

long-distance trade in the first millennium are Oppenheim 1967 and Joannés 1999. For general

information on Mesopotamia's relations with the West , see e.g. Joannes 1997 and Dalley 1998, 29ff.

79 Long-distance trade goods are discussed in detail by Oppenheim 1967 .

80 Wooley 1962, 60 ('bottle of Phoenician varicgated glass'), 58 and passim (scarab,

scaraboid*); Salje 1995, 43; cf. also Collon 1987, 93. There is no comprehensive study of Western materials from Mesopotamian contexts of the first millennium. I am grateful to H. Baker for relevant information. 81

The archaeological evidence has not been processed, cf. for example Ster 1984, 196f. (Babylonian seals from Palestine).

82 Joannes 1999, 186ff.

83 Hierzu Dandamacy 1995, Joannés 1999, 177ff.

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seems to be a merchant of a governor (§aknu). However, merchants of a temple or god are not explicitly mentioned anywhere. A prosopographical analysis shows that the temple

archives in particular often simply refer to royal merchants as tamkaru , or do not give any designation at all , but only the name . It is therefore conceivable, although not proven, that at least under

the Chaldean rulers tamkarus were basically specialized state merchants , just as was the case in the Neo-Assyrian Empire . Occasional mention of chief merchants (rab tamkaris) proves that there was a hierarchical structure among them , although it is not possible to say anything more precise . In any case , it is certain that, as in earlier periods, especially for the import of "bulk goods" such as wood or metal, either capital concentrations through merchant corporations in whatever form were necessary , given the considerable distances and transport costs , or state or at least institutional support . It is therefore not surprising that, with the exception of the indispensable iron ,

the most frequently mentioned long - distance trade goods are the various plant aromas : prestige goods that are easy to transport and that promise high profit margins ."®

One reads in the literature that the importance of professional traders was comparatively low in the Neo-Babylonian era because they were competed

with private family companies such as the Egibi trading house . In fact ,

numerous private archives also contain partnership agreements, so-called

harränu documents, literally business trip documents. Based on the

terminology , one could assume that these business companies were primarily

intended for long - distance trade . In fact , however , as already mentioned

above, harränu companies can be formed for almost any business purpose ,

although long - distance trade hardly plays a role in the surviving contracts of

this type . Entrepreneurs such as Iddin-Marduk from the Nür - Sin® family or Arad-Samag and his father Itti-Sama§balat from Larsa were (among other

things) wholesalers of natural products, but they restricted themselves to

domestic trade . Finally , the Egibis , who are mentioned again and again ,

also mainly engaged in domestic trade ; however, the largest part of their wealth was pro The trips of family members to Tran , which were seen in the context of long-

distance trade , appear , based on new evidence presented by C. Wunsch and F. Joannés , to be politically motivated goodwill tours to the Achaemenid rulers; the direct commercial benefit that the Egibis derived from these trips was , in contrast, a side effect. The Egibis

84 Radner 1999, 101.

85 CT 55, 173 and 118 , for example, speak implicitly of partnership enterprises

(harränu) of a royal merchant. The latter text is to be added to the dossier

compiled by Dandamacy 1995, 524f , which requires further prosopographical discussion .
86 See the clear remarks regarding the relative importance of mass and prestige long-

distance trade in the 16th century (AD) in Braudel 1995 [1966], [441-3. 87 Dandamaev 1995, S28.

88 . above Anm. 36.

89 Wunsch 1993, Jursa 1995/96.

90 Beauty 2000,

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were therefore not primarily long-distance traders (nor bankers , as one occasionally reads) . Finally, the individuals who are mentioned in temple texts as suppliers of long - distance trade goods can rarely be identified more precisely . They do not usually come from the local upper class . Since the temple archives often do not mention the professional title of merchants , there is nothing to prevent the assumption that they were professional zamkärus . In summary , one must therefore state that the urban upper class ,

which has left us mainly the private archives ,

was only very slightly involved in long - distance trade .

Another aspect must be taken into account here : Among the names and patronymics of the merchants, especially those who obviously had something to do with Western trade , an above-average number of non -Babylonian, especially West Semitic names appear . We will give just two examples: the royal chief merchant mentioned in Nebuchadnezzar 's so - called court and state calendar bears the West Semitic, possibly Phoenician name Hanon, and a marriage certificate from Sippar attests to a whole series of royal merchants with Hebrew names who, as a closed group , testify to a contract in which a fellow countryman is the protagonist .* Evidently, long-distance trade was to a considerable extent in the hands of non -Babylonians or at least of descendants of non -Babylonians?4 This agrees well with the observation of Joannés , who pointed out the spiral geographical vocabulary

and the , with a few exceptions , rather undifferentiated view of Transpotamia in Babylonian economic texts.®

In summary: The written evidence from the seventh to third centuries is sufficient to prove regular trade contact between Babylonia and the West, i.e. the Mediterranean region, but it does not allow us to reconstruct Babylonian trade in detail . Nor can we estimate what role tribute and booty played in relation to trade in the Neo - Babylonian Empire . An archaeological analysis of the findings would be an urgent desideratum.® The extent to which trade contacts can be seen as a medium of cultural exchange cannot be reliably assessed from the available sources . The direct involvement of Babylonians in long - distance trade, especially as private entrepreneurs, seems to have been rather low .

91 Regarding the Egibis , see Wunsch 1999, Abrabam 2002; regarding the trips to Iran , see above . frequently Joannés 1999, 185 and Wunsch 2000b, 104"

92 Dandamaey 1995, 527""; Zadok 2003, 487'°,

93 Jursa 2001 A (on AOAT 222, No. 26). The dating of the text in the fifth year of Cyrus

and the assignment to Sippar can now be considered definitively secured on the basis

of BM 75434 (Sippar, tenth year of Nabonidus) . In this text a brother of the royal merchant Ahi-Jaw, son of Arih (BM 68921 Rs. 5), named Basia , is mentioned. He is also a royal merchant.

94 Oppenheim 1967, 253.

95 Joannés 1997, 148

96 However, this would probably have little effect on answering the crucial question

help to determine in whose hands trade lay above all . In any case , see the ambitious

plan for the second millennium BC offered by Holladay in 2001 .

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With regard to cultural exchange, we would assume that the much better documented exchange of population groups , i.e. from a Mesopotamian perspective the settlement of non - Babylonians in Babylonia , and the mobility of cultural carriers , such as the Lazarites , would have played a greater role than long - distance trade contacts .

Abstract

The paper presents a sutvey of the main economic structures in Babylonia in the first miflennium BC. Archacological evidence points to an unprecedented con- tinuous agricultural, urban and gencrally demographic expansion from about 700 BC onwards. The conditions leading to and sustaining this expansion have to be explored by sifting the textual sources (which are one of the largest corpora of written evidence from the ancient world). There is evident structural continuity compared to carlicr phases of Mcsopotamian history rcgarding the cconomic agents: institutional households (palaces and temples) still play an important role, while the documentation for the private sector is dominated by orban land- owing elites. However, the traditional oikos model is no longer applicable to the institu-fional houscholds due to a shift from an ideally autarchic regime based

on redis-tribution to market-oriented exchange, leading to economic specialisation even in the core arca of the institutional economy, agriculture. In the private sector, an at-templ at describing the prevalent economic mentalitics is made by differentiating two types of economic behaviour: an entrepreneur type engaged

in various com-mercial activities and a more traditional rentier type primarily

exploiting inherited patrimonies, mostly agricultural land and temple prebends. A

higher demand for taxes paid in silver in the Achacmenid period adds to the

effects of cconomic spe-cialisation by increasing the importance of market

exchange and the speed of the monetarisation of economic life. The implications

for the general issue of the na-ture of the Ancient Economy are briefly discussed.

An appendix treats long dis-tance trade as a possible means of cultural

cxchange. This issuc cannot be re-salved definitely due to a lack of explicit pertinent source

97 S, most recently Zadok 2003 and the work of M. Dandamaev in this volume, 98 Frahm (in press).

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Runes : Genealogy and Grammatology

The essay is an augmented version in English of the original Danish essay,
"Runernes Genealogi og Grammatologi" which was presented at Aarhus University 10 October 1996

1. Introduction: Background and Hypothesis

There are more paths into the history of Danish (Nordic-German) languages than that presented by Erik Moltke and his colleagues and companions (WIMMER, SKAUTRUP, N.Å.NIELSEN, MOLTKE, KARKER, KRAUSE, JANKUHN, ODENSTEDT and others). I present a few grammatological arguments for the conjecture that the older 24-sign rune-futhark was established as a well-ordered alphabetic writing system in the same period as the Greek and that both the Runic and the Greek system shared the tradition of the *Semitic writings from the Bronze Age and early Iron Age in the Near East.* [1]

The theoretical basis for my conjectures is a dialectical theory of language which I have developed in co-operation with the philosopher Jørgen Døør (cf. BANG & DØØR 1985-95).

My hypothesis is that the futhark is older than the Greek alphabet. An argument is that there are deeper and more consequential reasons for this being the case than for the opposite.

The hypothesis contradicts the established assumption on the genealogy of the runes which is still passed on in the newest writing encyclopedia *The world's writing systems* (DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : 333). The section "The Runic Script" has an explicit reference[2] to Erik Moltke's hypothesis that the runes were invented in Denmark in "the year 0 ± 100 (50) years", and that they "were an independent creation based on Roman writing", i.e. that the runes were invented by an individual "creator of the futhark" and "based on the Roman capital letters of imperial times" (cf. MOLTKE (1976 : 54f.) and MOLTKE (1985 : 64f.) .

There are, however, real contradictions between Moltke's linguistic and grammatological premisses on the one hand and his conclusional hypothesis on the other. If one applies linguistic and grammatological criteria to his premisses and makes a conjunction of his premisses and conclusion the result is a blatant contradiction: His conclusion implies that the runes are younger than the classical Roman alphabet while his premisses imply that the runes are older than the classical, Greek and Roman, alphabets. Thus Moltke writes that the Danes were "always independent of Rome", and he summarises a number of rune- and rune-writing-characteristics in comparison to other writing systems (Phoenician, Greek, Roman and Etruscan) as follows,

(5) The futhark's independence of classical alphabets is shown in its new *sequence of the letters, which is as unaccountable in phonetic terms as the original alphabetical order of the Phoenicians.*

(6) The oldest runic inscriptions have *all the primitive characteristics* observed in the early phase of the classical alphabets (several centuries *before* the runes came into existence): *irregularity of size and line, writing direction both to right and left, bustrophedon*, inconsistent or non-existent punctuation, and the fact that *each rune has its individual name*.

MOLTKE 1985:65 [My italics, JCB] [3]

So, Moltke acknowledges that the ordering of the futhark, the "alphabetical order", opposes the order of the classical alphabets, just as the Phoenician on which Greek is based; the runic inscriptions have all the (more) primitive characteristics which are known from pre-classical writings, including individual sign size, alternating left- or right-directional writing, and every rune had a name with a meaning.

It seems to me less probable that one by chance should develop signs and a writing system that in analogical ways share both sign form and orders, names and phonetic values, and forms of writing, with much earlier writings without knowing these writings or sharing their grammatology. The Roman writing system implies a grammatology characterized by more abstract, metaphorical, or "quasi-non-analogical", relations between the graphic, phonetic, and semantic dimensions of the sign, while the pre-classical writings more explicitly indicated the analogical implications of the dimensions and media.

On the names of the signs DANIELS & BRIGHT (1996 : 261) notice that "these names have meanings only in Phoenician (or Semitic in general), not in Greek (or Indo-European)". The analogy relation between the sign's form and its meaning was forgotten – abstracted or absent from conceptual memory – following the formation of the Greek alphabet.[4]

The Viking Age runes did, however, have names that have meanings in Old Norse and also from Gothic and Anglo-Saxon we know rune-names with a meaning. W.KRAUSE and others have tried to reconstruct the old futhark-runes' original names and plausible meanings. In my argumentation I use these younger and reconstructed names and meanings to indicate that the old futhark-runes explicitly were associated both with the phonetics and the semantics of the prototypical name. Today we cannot but make conjectures on the original names and their phonetical and semantical implications. It would be, however, interesting if the runic signs in more relevant aspects shared phonetic and semantic fields with graphically similar signs of one or more pre-classical writings. I think there are more linguistic and grammatological indications for that. This should imply that the runes were created (by creative transformation) in a time and place by people for whom these interrelations were present, i.e. before the Greek loss of the pre-classical form-name-meaning-relations. And long before the name-less letters of the Roman alphabet. The runes have recognizable roots in pre-classical tradition and are a potential source to older stages of Indo-European languages.

(And furthermore to the younger stages, e.g. to the Greek and the Roman writing systems and the modern European languages).

Therefore, I think that Moltke is wrong in his insistence on the time, place, and model of origin of the runes. Thereby, I certainly – implicitly – question those archaeological identifications which Moltke used as his *a priori* determinations.[5] However, my arguments are in accordance with now accessible, and comparable, grammatologies and data, e.g. the outstanding *The worlds writing systems* (DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996) and MORRIS 1988. I hope hereby to contribute to explanations and assumptions which to a lesser degree are determined by linguistic and grammatological contradictions or ignorance.[6]

Fig. 1: Two hypotheses about the genealogy of European writing systems

(Dating is based on traditional European dating)

A. Traditional hypothesis (Moltke-tradition)

Hieroglyphs	> Semitic	> Phoenician	> Greek	> Roman	> Futhark
(3000 BC)	(2000 BC)	(1000 BC)	(750 BC)	(650-500 BC)	(100 AD)

B. Alternative hypothesis (JCB)

		> Futhark			*Nordic-Germanic*
Hieroglyphs	> Semitic				*Semitic*
		> Phoenician	> Greek		*Greek*
				> Roman	*Roman*
(3000 BC)	(2000 BC)	(1000 BC)	(750 BC)	(650-500 BC)	(- 1000 AD)
boustrophedon, names, meaning			one direction, no name, no meaning		

The Moltke tradition obviously faces grammatological problems when defining several of the runes as derivatives of Latin capitals. Moltke writes, e.g.

> We have no way of knowing why the futhark's creator used Latin P for his *w* [ᚹ] and then designed the more complex character ᛈ for *p*. […[7]] Nor shall we ever understand why he used the form of Roman M for runic *e* [ᛖ] but modified it slightly to create his runic *m* [ᛗ]. Similarity of form and sound show that the m-rune must have been inspired by Roman M. Was it because he had already fixed on M for *e* and was reluctant to go back on his decision?

MOLTKE 1985: 66 [My parentheses, JCB]

These and other problems can be solved less "complicatedly" (one of Moltke's criteria) by understanding the runes as formed in a Semitic-Arabic writing tradition; here the already mentioned signs, and others, can be found in analogous *forms* with similar *phonetic-semantic* characteristics; and with corresponding writing habits, alternating writing directions and *bustrophedon* ("furrow-writing").

In the following I shall attempt to show some remarkably clear *analogies in form, sound, and meaning* between the runes and documented (attested) writings prior to the Greek alphabet, more precisely from the Bronze Age and early Iron Age, localised to the cultural area between the Nile and the Tigris. By doing this we more easily can explane the concrete characteristics of the runes. And perhaps we better can understand the Indo-European phenomenon (cf. the observation by Rask, Grimm, and Verner that the current Nordic (-Germanic) languages have certain systematic correspondences with the current Roman (-Greek) languages). The Indo-European phenomenon indicates that the Indo-European languages were born out of a common, or shared, culture. Through the years, owing to mutual cultural separation, the different people developed different phonologies, to different degrees conservated & transformed by traditional writing-articulations and/or by later imported forms of writing. The runes could be a *hereditary* writing form accompanying "the Danish tongue" along the same paths to Denmark; perhaps around the Black Sea and north along the Russian rivers. (Cf. e.g. OTTO VON FRIESEN 1904). If so, it was not until the introduction of Christianity (c. 1000 AD) that we *borrowed* a writing form, Latin, which can be seen as a kind of nephew or niece in relation to Runic writing.

My hypothesis regarding the genealogy of the futhark has vital implications for our understanding of the Nordic and (Indo-) European languages and cultural identities; it follows amongst others that the Greek alphabet *is not* alone as the world's first fully alphabetical writing system in the development from *pictogrammes*, *(logo-) syllabaries* and *consonantal* writings ("*abjads*"). Furthermore, my arguments and data illustrate the effect of the assumption that no language sign or symbol in any important or interesting way is arbitrary (but analogy-motivated in several dimensions and relations in order to work, refer, recall, relate: mimesis, mind and memory).

Moltke (and the Moltke tradition) considers the runes to be an invention made by an individual rune-creator in a given place (Denmark) at a given time (approx. year 0). This rune-creator supposedly had knowledge about a fully developed classical alphabet, the Latin alphabet, from which *he* borrows in order to construct a complete runic alphabet. Then he implements this writing so skillfully in an illiterate culture that this culture, during the next thousand years, uses this writing form homogenously (however with a revision ca. 750, when the 24-sign futhark was replaced by the younger 16-sign futhark). I find it improbable that a

single revolutionary can revolutionize such a large cultural area *without* there being any tradition-based foundation for this in the culture.

The development of *applicable* and *learnable* alphabets is, however, a large-scale, human achievement, which has taken humanity many generations to develop. (Just as in this day and age a great deal of resources are – more or less sensibly – directed at upholding a writing norm and teaching each new generation the writing and reading of the norm.)

I am rather inclined to assume that a complete writing system, such as the old Futhark really is, should rather be considered a *classical* writing system, with its adequate phonological and morphological relationship with the spoken language, with its vowel and consonant signs, with its restricted inventory (24 signs), and so on. Where Moltke considers the until now earliest dated findings from around year 100-200 AD as the beginning of the Runic era, I consider these findings as being at a classical, fully-matured stage at the end of a development over generations of forerunners. Therefore I would rather ask the question:

Where can we find this mature writing's earlier forms, the forerunners of the classical Runic alphabet?

The same question has been asked and answered about the acknowledged classical writings, Latin and Greek. Today grammatologists acknowledge these writings as a comprehensively conditioned, cultural and institutionalized norm, which has found its classical form being the product of the general cultural tradition and development; a cultural writing tradition and development over a period of several thousand years; ranging from the first Egyptian dynasties, through the Near-East's ("Semitic and Arabic") thriving cultural environments in the Bronze Age, over one of these (writing) dialects (the "Phoenician"). The Phoenicians were especially connected to the new cultural form of trade (implying money, coins) in the Eastern Mediterranean region, the Western Near-East, where Greek culture was provided the sufficient conditions for flourishing and established the classical Greek alphabet.

Just as in the Moltke tradition, I see clear kinship-*similarities* between the Runes and Greek and Latin; but I see clear *generation* differences, which tells me that the mature futhark comes from a different line of descent, and that its traditional forerunners should be sought in older generations of writing and culture than the immediate forerunner of Greek, i.e. in those environments which were prior to, or were found in other places than the Phoenecian writing norm's dominance.

The finding of runes from before the Greek alphabet?

I am greatly endebted to my now deceased friend Kai H. Sørensen, typographer & cand.phil., for actually finding rune-like signs, i.e. figures of writing which in architecture and line very much resemble runes. Kai H. Sørensen joined for many years my courses on language history where I, amongst other things, sought better explanations than the generally assumed

regarding the genesis of the runes; and I joined his studies of typography and handwriting; and so, one day a couple of years ago he placed the table in front of me which can be found in Appendix 2 (DRIVER 1976 : 145). We looked and drew and compared and blinked hard: There were really many striking similarities between the runes and the South-Semitic-Arabic "Thâmudean" signs.

Afterwards I studied several contemporary writing dialects from the same area with the forms and names of the signs in mind. I began to consider the names to be a source to both the phonetic values of the signs and their proto-meanings, i.e. their phonetic-semantic references as signs. Moreover, I began to see the deictic indications of the signs as gestured proto-meanings such as 'ox/cattle', 'house', 'door', 'stem', 'sign', 'eye', etc. I could trace a chain of transforming transmission to the newer, more stereotypicalized, forms of the signs, from the older, more proto-iconic, forms that more directly were formed to symbolize by means of transparent analogies between the graphic form and some salient visible characteristics of the proto-referent, e.g. the two horns of the oxe, the roof and walls of the house, the triangle form of the door, the waves of flowing water, the parts of our human body, eye, mouth, hand, etc. By saying, and listening to, the sign-names and learning their meanings, i.e. their phonetic and semantic implications, I began to glimpse developmental conditions and potentials in the vital grammatological dialectics of the sign in writing, sound, thought & reference, as well as the internal, traditionally bound dependences (their "synchronic and diachronic" conditions).

When my friend Jørgen Døør, the philosopher, drew my attention to the new encyclopedia of writing systems (DANIELS & BRIGHT (1996)), I found here a presumably competent, full and comparable presentation of the signs of identified writings. I found signs looking exactly like runes in the tables of Semitic-Arabic writing signs from the Bronze Age and onwards. In Appendix 4 I supply these tables as very important evidence and documentation of my hypothesis that in this area, in this age, we find the probable forerunners of the runes. I do not identify a single writing dialect or a more precisely specified area as being the precise environment of the runes, for the good reason that I do not know enough about this, but I suggest the existence of a large, coherent environment where characteristics of the runes, in several relevant details and aspects, were very much present.

2. Analogies between the Runes and the Semitic-Arabic writings from approximately 2000-1000 BC.

In this section I show some analogies between runes and pre-Greek characters, more precisely signs in Arabic-Semitic writing dialects which are

- clearly and recognizably related (belonging to the same literate milieu),
- clear and recognizable developments of Egyptian hieroglyphic script,

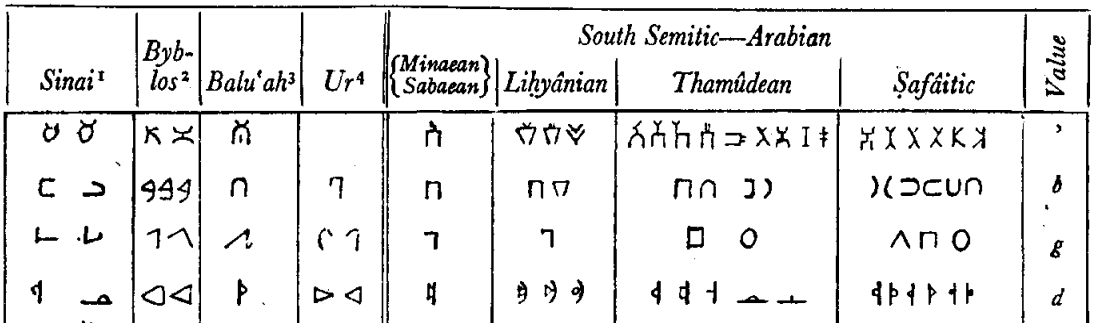
- clear and recognizable precursors, or forerunners, of Greek characters (which are in turn models for the Latin ones).

Here I shall deal with only a few runes and compare them to only a few tables of script and writing.

2.1. Possible forerunners of the first three runes [ᚠ ᚢ ᚦ] (f, u, and th)

Let us begin with the first three runes of the futhark and compare them with the first signs in the traditional order of Semitic-Arabic writings. I refer to Fig. 3a and to the tables of Appendix 2-4. In all the tables of App. 4 the signs are listed according to "the traditional order", so we can easily, line by line, follow and compare the graphic presentations in the different dialects of the signs of "the same order". Furthermore the tables indicate – more or less explicitly – the phonetic and semantic "values" of the graphemes.

Fig. 3a: "Sinaitic and South-Semitic signs" (Driver 1962)



The first rune, the f-rune [ᚠ]

Moltke, and others, identify the first rune, the f-rune [ᚠ], as derived from the Latin F. Of course there are obvious similarities between ᚠ and **F** both in their visible graphic form and in what we today assume was their contemporary phonetic "value".

But why was the f-rune placed as the first sign of the futhark and why did it have a name with a meaning and why that name and that meaning, or semantics?

By comparing the f-rune with the above-mentioned writings – the forerunners of "fully alphabetical writings" – I see graphical analogies to the ALFA-ALEF sign, the first sign in the traditional order.

Semantically, the sign-name ALEF-ALEPH-ALFA had the lexical meaning 'ox' and this meaning can be indicated by the two staves in the graphic form if these are interpreted as analogical symbols of the two horns of the ox, or *fæ*, *Vieh* ('cattle'), a well-known *pars-pro-*

toto symbolics. The meaning of the first sign of the futhark is probably FÆ 'cattle', the runic word for the general equivalent value, 'wealth', cf. Latin *pecus* and the modern Danish loan-word *pekuniær* (pecuniary), *penge* (money). FÆ, 'cattle', is a more general category than the specific ox, but both are sharing similar semantic fields. The difference could be explained by cultural development.

Phonetically the proto-word *alef-alfa* contains both a- and f-phonetics, so that both a- and f-phonemes are possible developments from, compatible with, or constituents of, the sound-situation of the same proto-word. Perhaps FÆ was developed from AL'FÆ with the removal of the first syllable that perhaps was unstressed and considered as being a prefixal morpheme *al-*.

Both the Greek ALPHA and the futhark's FÆ are possible developments of the same earlier forms and unities; in Appendix 4 we can see, at the first order place, both clear [ᚠ] forms (e.g. 4 B, col. vi and viii, and 4 D, xxi, xxiii) and clear [α] forms (e.g. 4 B, x, 4 D, xxv) as well as forms potentially implying both.

The fourth rune of the futhark [ᚨ], a, has perhaps been developed from the same ALEF-ALFA sign in order to indicate the vowel-part of the syllable- or word-sound as the f-rune indicated the consonantal part. The f-rune was placed at the first order place probably because the fæ-sign had the corresponding semantic value, meaning, of that place. The a-rune can additionally be interpreted as being a vowel indication of the l-sign [ᛚ] "lameth", 'a goad' (cf. Apps. 2B and 3). All the signs related to words, or syllables, including salient "a-phonetics", such as AL, FA and LA, are in a phonetic aspect motivated to function as a prototype model for the modification into an a-vowel-sign; which of them was the dominant model I cannot decide without further study. As both the f-rune and the l-rune share relational indications with the a-rune it is possible that the a-rune was created to indicate "the common denominator" of AL, FA and LA, cf. the phonological method of commutation.

The first place in the futhark indicates the interpretation of the f-rune [ᚠ] as being an eqvivalent and analogue to the traditional first sign; therefore there might be an analogical correspondence to the Greek alpha [α], and later the Latin *A,* which until now has been out of sight.

If the f-rune, as assumed by Moltke, was created on the basis of the Roman F, there were no obvious reasons for its place in the futhark and for its name and semantics.

My interpretation implies an explanation of the fact that the f-rune is the first in the futhark and that it had that name-semantics and value. The graphic form of the f-rune is more similar to some of the forerunner signs than it is to the Latin or Roman F. The phonetic value of the f-rune is compatible with the phonetics of the name of the forerunner sign ALFA-ALEF.

My conjecture is that the f-rune depended upon the forerunner sign ALFA-ALEF and was completely independent of the Roman-Latin F.

The second rune of the futhark order, the u-rune [ᚢ]

The second rune of the futhark order, the u-rune [ᚢ], displays similar analogies to the second sign in the traditional pre-classical writing systems, both in order, graphic form, phonetic and semantic field.

Following Moltke and others the graphic form of the u-rune was an upside-down Latin V and its name was *uruz the meaning of which was 'aurochs' *('ur-okse')*.

If, however, we compare the graphic form [ᚢ] with the second sign in pre-classical writings we find several examples of a similar form (cf. e.g. Sinai, Balu'ah, Ur, South Semitic-Arabian (Fig. 3a and Appendix 4). In Appendix 2B and 3 we can see a hieroglyph of similar graphic constitution.

The meaning of these signs belongs to the semantic field of 'house' with a name phonetically similar to *BETH* (a Hebrew word for 'house').

It is probable that the graphic form was *coined* as a symbol that indicated the walls and roof of a house by means of analogy.

The cultural-semantic value of 'house', 'home', 'origin' could imply reasons for the prominent second place in the sign order, next to the sign for the exchange value, ALEF-ALFA.

It is the current assumption that these beth, or house, signs (via the Phoenician script) were the forerunners of the Greek BETA (cf. e.g. DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : 261 ff.). The Greek BETA [β] has a name that shares the phonetics of BETH (but, as mentioned above, the Greeks forgot its original meaning, its *ur-* or proto-meaning 'house').

Now, the u-rune obviously shares the number in the sign order, and the graphic constituents of the old 'house' signs; but did the u-rune, in any significant aspect, share the phonetics and semantics with those signs?

Phonologically the u-rune [ᚢ] denotes a vowel as the Greek beta [β] denotes a consonant. Phonetically, however, they share the rounded bilabial articulation behind which the cave, or house, of the mouth, the oral cavity, is sounding. The phonetic similarities between the two sounds are implied by some word-relations such as *bio-vita-liv-live.*

Semantically, the u-rune could share fields of meaning if its probable name *uruz could be interpreted 'ur-hus' ('proto-house'), 'ur-os', 'ur-mund' ('proto-mouth'). Such an interpretation is in accordance with the assumed etymology of the Danish city name *Århus* that probably originates from AR-OS with the meaning *'å-munding'* ('river mouth'). Both UR- and -US can be interpreted as semantically related with BETH in meanings such as 'house', 'origin', 'home', 'cave', 'mouth', 'uterus'. In the grammatological context these interpretations are more pertinent than the current "aurochs" that lacks any obvious relationship.

Following my explanation the u-rune shares much genealogy and grammatology with the Greek beta and the Latin B: common forerunners of similar graphic forms, sign order, semantic values, and phonetic features. In spite of the obvious surface graphic and phonetic

similarities between rune-b [ᛒ] and Greek [β] and Latin B, I think that their differences (sign order number and semantics) indicate that the b-rune was more secondarily related with the forerunners of beta and B than was the u-rune. Of course there might be some system-internal partnership of the b-rune and the u-rune, cf. the interesting meeting of B and U in the important words *bo, bonde, by* (residence/live, farmer, town), and URBS, ORBIS. (Further comments on the b-rune in section 2.2). I want to emphasize that every sign has more than one motive, or cause, more than one history, and hence different explanations may be true.

My conjecture is that the u-rune [ᚢ] depended upon the forerunner sign BETH and was completely independent of the Roman-Latin V.

The third rune [ᚦ] the th-rune

The third rune [ᚦ] the th-rune holds clear analogies to the fourth traditional sign, the "daleth-" or the door-/thor-sign. The ᛑ-rune corresponds to the Greek delta [Δ δ] and the Latin D, in other words the fourth sign in these alphabets.

Moltke interpreted the ᛑ-rune as "direct loan or close imitation of Roman D" because of "similarity in both form and sound" (MOLTKE 1985 : 59). Again, the similarity in form and sound between Latin D and the ᛑ-rune are obvious, but their deeper relationship disappears in Moltke's comparison as his methods do not imply criteria for telling which of them is the older and which the younger.

In the tables of the pre-classical writings (cf. Fig.3a and App. 2-4) we find several "daleth" signs of graphic forms that much more than the Roman D are similar to those of the ᛑ-rune (the triangle upon the middle part of the stem). And we find "daleth" signs of a form more similar to the delta triangle of the Greek delta and the Roman D.

Phonetically, the names "daleth" and "delta" may imply phonetic features similar to our modern d-, t-, and th-distinctions. If the futhark rune [ᚦ] indicated th-phonetics and two different signs, [ᛞ or ᛞ] and [ᛏ], indicated d- and t-phonetics – and this is the current assumption – then I find it more probable that the th-rune was coined in the environment of "daleth" than in that of "delta" and D. If the runes were created on the basis of the Roman capitals, why was it not the d-rune, but the th-rune, that most directly or closely imitated the Roman D? (The Latin word for 'door' was *foris*; the futhark is obviously closer to the proto-Indo-European form *dh than are both Greek and Latin; it is misleading to conceive the Indo-European developmental processes as if the Germanic languages (sound and script) are more transformed in relation to "Proto-Indo-European" than are the Roman ones).

Following Moltke and others the reconstructed name of the th- rune, *thurisaz, means 'giant'. Why should the *third* rune imply such semantics? How could 'giant' function as the prominent prototype for the third rune?

Again, I think we may find better conjectures on the th-rune's name and semantics if we consider the semantic fields of the pre-classical names of the similar signs, i.e. the semantic

fields of ‘door’, ‘gate’, ‘port’, ‘gateway’, ‘Thor’, ‘Tor’, ‘dør’, ‘opening in house towards the outside world’. The th-rune could imply the semantic value of the door, next to the u-rune’s of the house and the f-rune’s of the wealth. Why not suggest that the prototypical name *thuri- meant ‘door’, ‘thor’? A simple referent was the door or port in the everyday life which truly opened for more metaphoric meanings and usages. Both the Danish *dør*, the English *door*, and the German *Tor* may be phono-historical developments from a name like *thuri-.

My conjecture is that the th-rune [ᚦ] shared semantics with the old door-sign as did the later delta- and d-signs. Cf. as important examples the numeral *three* and the second and third person pronoun, which were indicated by the ᚦ-sign, ᚦᛁᚲ, ᚦᛖᛁᚱ, *dig, dem, Dich, Thou, them, their*.

(The d-rune [ᛞ] or [ᛗ] can probably be understood as a double sign, namely two daleth-/th-sign put together, and the d-rune may be part of a different phono-semantics than the th-rune. The d-rune is most likely younger and especially connected to the “do-” morphology, i.e. the younger past tense conjugation of verbs, cf. the placing of d and o [ᛞ ᛟ] as the two final signs in the futhark order next to the ng-rune [ᛜ] implied in the derivational suffix -*ing*).

Following this interpretation the beginning of the futhark can be understood as motivated by the common tradition, and so the name *futh-ark* can be viewed as analogous with *alfabet* and *abecedarium* in more dimensions. (Perhaps *-arc* was related to semantic fields like ‘order’, ‘traditional order’, ‘system order’, cf. the meaning in words like *hier-archy, olig-archy*, or *Noah’s Arc,* or *archaic*).

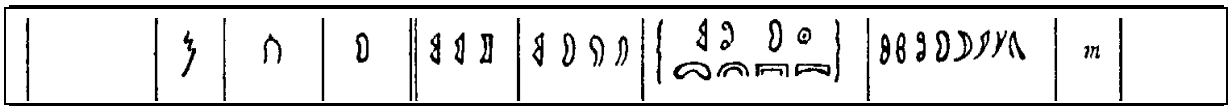
Why the traditional third sign, GIMEL-GAMMA-’camel’, did not get that place and the implied values in the futhark, is a relevant question. Perhaps the form and values of the GIMEL-GAMMA sign was not general in the relevant area and time but a more local, or later, creation, cf. that the “g-place” in several of the scripts (App.4) has a sign similar to the u-rune [ᚢ] if the script has a more beta-like form at the “b-place”; cf., too, that the Greek and Roman alphabets have different forms and values at that place. Perhaps a camel was neither a prominent part of the Runic people’s everyday life nor prototypically associated with the sixth rune [ᚲ], currently transliterated k. The sixth rune, the c-rune, could perhaps relate to the old ‘throw-stick’ sign and/or the analogical hand gesture. I think that the so-called k-, g- and h-runes should be subject for closer studies along the lines similar to those proposed in this essay; perhaps we might gain a deeper insight in their phonetic and phonological transformations during the history of Indo-European languages).

2.2. Possible forerunners of the runes No 18-20 [ᛒ ᛖ ᛗ] (b, e, and m)

At the “mem” line, m, in the possible forerunner writings (see appendices and Fig. 2b) we find clear analogies in form of each of the runes [ᛒ ᛖ ᛗ] (b, e, and m). The old

hieroglyphic sign was analogous to the waves in the water, 'the source of life', and a Semitic name for this sign was MEM.

Fig. 3b: A part of the "mem" line of the "Sinaitic and South-Semitic signs" **(Driver 1962)**



Phonetically, "*mem"* implies both m and e. A proto-sign with that name could be used as a common relative for both the m-phoneme and the e-phoneme when coining different signs for the vowel- and consonant-aspect of the formerly entity.

Both e and m are important "mini-morphological", phono-morpho-semantical, constituents in the Indo-European *first person singular prounouns* ; the nominative case is dominated by e (*ek, ego, ich, jeg, I*), while the other cases are dominated by m (*me, mik, mig, mich*). The first person pronoun is the deictic expression for the speaker of an utterance and is as such a basic constituent in speech referring to the person who utters the signs. It could be a possible semantic (metaphoric) development from water as 'the source of life' to humankind as 'the source of speech (and writing)'. It is in agreement with such a cultural semantic development that the m-rune was related to the name *mann- 'menneske' (man, person). (The words for 'mother' are wellknown as indices for the more general phono-semantic implications of the m-phonetics, cf. e.g. ROMAN JAKOBSON (1979) and BANG (1987) and (1995)).

It is also phonetically well-motivated if the b-rune [ᛒ] relates to the same protosign: the Nordic-Germanic b and m share some phonetic constituents, "segments", or features: closed-lips and non-aspirated opening, cf. the tendency to loss of b-distinctness when articulating words implying b and m in juxtaposition such as *købmand* ('tradesman') or *lambs, climbs.*

It is worth noticing that the three runes, which I interpret to be developed from one and the same traditional sign, MEM, are placed next to each other in the futhark, flanked by the traditional signs t and l (the "sign" and the "stem") [ᛏ ᛒ ᛘ ᛗ ᛚ]. In the syntax of the futhark they are closely related; should this constellation indicate some genetical and semantical relations? And should the primitive deixis sign, "the pointing arrow" [ᛏ], indicate some key function of the following signs as being the more transparant examples of the logics used to create the futhark *system*?

This interpretation implies that the b-rune has a different history than the Greek beta and the Latin B. There is supposedly both a phonetic and semantic difference between the Greek-

Roman b and the Nordic-Germanic b, even though we today see and perceive the Latin letter B to be "identical" to the Nordic. The graphic similarity between the b-rune and the Latin B has, in connection with the forgetting of the meaning of the signs, led to a confusion, and ignorance, of sources, which of course cannot be helped by a linguistics that is systematically bound to a paradigm based upon the *apriori* assumption that the linguistic sign is arbitrary and without relevant historical and contextual relations. But I think it may be of interest whether or not our u is related to the Greek beta and whether our B is related to our (and the Greek) M.

I understand that Moltke has found it difficult to understand the graphic similarity between the m-rune and the e-rune, seen from a Roman, or Latin point of view, but with the older writings as forerunners the similarity is motivated.

(Let me, too, suggest a meaning of the so-called w-rune [ᚹ], rune No 8, which Moltke could not understand. Graphically it looks like a Latin P but they share no other obvious characteristics. If we try to consider the "qof" sign to be the forerunner of the w-rune, however, we can find some interesting similarities. This sign's name implies both the qv- and the hw/wh-phonetics and can then be understood, also morphologically, to be a forerunner of both the Roman and the Nordic-Germanic question-morpheme prefix. If we should compare Runic and Latin signs there were perhaps more relevant shared relations of the Latin q/Q and the Runic [ᚹ]).

3. The runic figures as mutually distinct writing-articulations corresponding to phonetic-semantic prominent distinctive features.

In previous sections I showed some possible 'lexical' backgrounds for the runes, i.e. the runes' dependence on a similar sign's traditional phonetic-semantic implications, what these signs hitherto meant. Now I take a different view by viewing the mutual indications of similarities and differences between the runes, i.e. their mutual systematic formation, their 'anaphoric' relationship. Here, I shall also present just a few examples. Firstly a few examples which show some possible consonant correspondences, and secondly, some possible vowel-consonant correspondences.

If I am correct in my reference to the mentioned writings as the forerunners of the runes, the construction of the runic alphabet met two writing-historical tasks: one was to extract vowel signs from the "consonant" signs of the age; the other was to relate the phonetic qualities of the signs to prominent graphic expressions, i.e. to make the written signs more phonetically-phonologically indicative and less iconically-semantically bound. The same tasks which were carried out in the formation of the Greek alphabet and even more perfected

– into phonologically abstractness (as if without bodily and other meanings) – in the Latin alphabet.

Consonant system correspondences

Above was mentioned the "lexical" and phonetic relationship between the m-rune and the b-rune. Taking the b-rune [ᛒ] as my point of departure I shall view some possible correspondences between the graphic and phonetic expression and articulation.

Now I consider the b-rune to be constructed from segments which form a stylized figure of two closed lips. Following the same segmental logic I see the same two lips indicated in the p-rune [ᛈ], but with the distinct difference that now the lips are parted. (Michael Barnes has previously made the same observation, cf. Note 7).

Fig. 4: The Consonant Groups b, w/v, d, g, p, f, t, k

Prominent features	translit.	non-aspirated	aspirated
bi-labial (two lips)	b : p	ᛒ	ᛈ
mono-labial (lip-teeth)	w/v : f	ᚹ	ᚠ
tip tongue-teeth	d : th : t	ᛞ ᚦ	ᛏ
back tongue	g : k	ᚷ	ᚲ

If I then continue to compare, based on the same segmental logic, the b-rune and the w-rune, i.e. [ᛒ] and [ᚹ], the first one can be considered bi-labial, while the other misses one of the lips which corresponds to the monolabial (labiodental) w or v. I then move on to the aspirated opponent to v/w, f, which agrees with the same segmental logic: [ᚹ] [ᚠ] . If I continue inwards, against the air-flow used to express the sounds, I move from labial to frontal-dental consonants. When I then look from w to th [ᚹ] : [ᚦ], I see that the place of closing-opening has been lowered on the stem (inwards corresponds to downwards), while in the relationship between th and t [ᚦ] : [ᛏ] I see the closed room of the triangle (more "voice-body") as opposed to the open, aspirated, segment (minor "voice-body", more "air-flow-sound"). As already mentioned I view the d-rune as a morphologically dependent new formation (in relation to the time of establishment of the futhark). The grammatological history of the three consonants, t, th og d, requires further treatment, which I will not discuss here. In Fig.4 I have tentatively shown some features of the consonant system where phonetically prominent, or salient, features are corresponded by graphic, segmental indications.

Consonant-Vowel analogy-correspondences

It is well-known that the forerunner-writings did not (and do not) contain any real vowel signs. The indication of vowel signs in the Nordic-Germanic dialects were, however,

important due to their verbal inflections (cf. e.g. *synger, sang, sunget*, *sing, sang, sung*). Much indicates that the vowel signs were constructed from the proto-names of the "consonant" signs, as mentioned above in connection with common origin of the e- and m-runes. In Fig. 5 I show some possible and motivated vowel-consonant pairs, which, due to space, will not be further commented upon, but left open to closer observation and reflection.

Fig. 5: Vowel-Consonant-Analogies

	vowels	consonants		vowels	consonants
a : f / l	ᚨ	ᚠᚢᛚ	i : n	ᛁ	ᚾ
u : b	ᚢ	ᛒ	o : ng	ᛟ	ᛜ
e : m	ᛖ	ᛗ	ë : j	ᛇ	ᛃ

Fig. 6: Runes-Greek-Latin-Analogies

Name and 'meaning'	Runes	Greek	Latin
'fæ', 'Vieh', 'cattle', 'value' *fehu, alef / al-fa*	ᚠ	α	A
'house', 'hus', 'ur-mund', *ur-uz, bu, beth*	ᚢ	β	B
'door', 'dør', 'thor', 'Tor' (2.-3. pers: *du, thou, dem, them*) *daleth / delta*	ᚦ	Δ	D
'water', 'source', 'man' (1.pers: *me, mek, ek*) *mem*	ᛗ ᛖ	μ ε	M E

4. Summary and conclusion

To summarize:

The **graphic** forms of the runes, their **names** (implying **semantics** and **phonetics**), their mutual **system**-correspondences (implying **phonetics** and vowel-consonant **phonology**), and

their **place** in the order of the old futhark (implying cultural **value** logics), indicate that the runes are closely and directly related with the preclassical scripts (being shared prototypes) dated before the (differently stereotypicalized) classical Greek alphabet. The runes share in several aspects the characterics of the more primitive, preclassical, scripts. Their shared grammatology indicates their genealogical relations; and by means of that kind (kinship) of grammatology it is possible to explain the characteristics which hitherto were considered as being incomprehensible, e.g. the futhark order, the p-, w-, m-, and e-runes. By means of the more adequate grammatology of the preclassical scripts and signs, it is furthermore possible to formulate more interesting and 'deeper' interpretations of the signs and the characteristics which the futhark shares with the Roman alphabet and "capital letters of Imperial times". To consider the classical alphabets as models for the study of the runes is to use a simpler and more reduced system as a matrix ("mother") for a more complex and multidimensional system. By using a modern grammatology in the study of the runes, Moltke, and his colleagues, were not aware of the characteristics which are not ac*count*ed for in the modern grammatology and theory of signs. By trying to be aware of a more contemporary grammatology – at least to be more open to the possibility of a grammatology different from the modern type – I think we are able to learn deeper insights in our common origins and perhaps better to know our modern constitutionals and relations.

Notes

Note 1
"The Semitic languages are spoken across major sections of the Old World […] In ancient times they were spoken in the area of south-western Asia known nowadays as the *Near East or the Middle East, from the banks of the Tigris in the east to the Mediterranean in the west, and from the Armenian mountains in the north to the Arabian peninsula in the south*; then, as now, they were used alongside a variety of languages from other families." [My italics, JCB]
DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : 88

Note 2
"The runic futhark, so named from the first six symbols […] in the traditional common Germanic sequence of its letters, is *of uncertain origin*. It *may* have been *the creation of an individual familiar both with the Roman alphabet*, as there are many formal parallels, and with some northern Italic alphabet or alphabets which share some more unusual runic forms as well as the variable directions of writing found in some runic inscriptions, but not in Latin. *That the futhark was invented in Denmark has been argued strongly by Moltke* (1985: 64-65).
The earliest runic inscriptions from Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein are all on portable objects dating from the first century C.E. Others, also using the common Germanic futhark, belong to the period of the Germanic migrations and have been found in various parts of central Europe. Despite some minor formal variations, *they all show remarkable uniformity of lettering and variable direction of writing*. Their language has been called "Runic" or, better, "Northwest Germanic." [My italics, JCB]
DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : 333

Note 3

"Let us conclude our survey by summarising:

(1) The presence of two i-runes shows that the futhark was created not later than the end of the second century AD (This idea is now obsolete, as the ï-rune originally stood for c4).

(2) The oldest known runic inscriptions (Øvre Stabu, Illerup) are dated on archaeological evidence to c. AD 200, but if the inscription on the Meldorf fibula is runic – and of course it is – then the date of our earliest inscription has to be moved back by another 150 years, to c. AD 50. If we follow cautious practice in alphabet history and allow one or two centuries of as yet undiscovered finds to precede the oldest known inscriptions, we arrive at a date around the birth of Christ, or perhaps as far back as 100-150 BC, for the origin of runes. It might seem safe to say the year 0± 100 (50) years.

(3) For chronological reasons the runes cannot stem from the Phoenician alphabet, and for reasons of letter-shape they cannot be derived from the Greek alphabet (particularly not Greek cursive). Derivation from Etruscan is ruled out by letter-shapes and by principles of alphabet history (cf. also point (7) below).

(4) Runes are based on the Roman capital letters of imperial times. Some ten were taken over directly, others were imitated, and some completely new signs were invented.

(5) The futhark's independence of classical alphabets is shown in its new sequence of the letters, which is as unaccountable in phonetic terms as the original alphabetical order of the Phoenicians.

(6) The oldest runic inscriptions have all the primitive characteristics observed in the early phase of the classical alphabets (several centuries before the runes came into existence): irregularity of size and line, writing direction both to right and left, bustrophedon, inconsistent or non-existent punctuation, and the fact that each rune has its individual name. [The younger futhark inscriptions have the same characteristics, cf. e.g. Glavendrup, JCB]

(7) Points (4)–(6) lead to the conclusion that the futhark could not have arisen in the immediate vicinity of the classical alphabets.

(8) Judging from an abundance of early inscriptions in a relatively confined area, Denmark is the most likely place for the invention of runes. They were an independent creation based on Roman writing. The inspiration could have come from the Rhineland."

MOLTKE 1985: 64-65

Note 4

"Semitic consonantal writing, as developed and attested in the North Semitic scripts, was the ancestor of three geographically and linguistically diversified developments: […] and the third spreading toward the west, where it led to the creation of fully alphabetic writing systems for the Indo-European languages.

[…] of the Phoenician consonantal script (22 signs) to the Greeks […]

The derivation of the Greek alphabet from the Phoenician script is evident from: [a] the shapes of the letters, obvious despite reflection, elaboration, or simplification; [b] their ordering; [c] their numerical value; [d] and their names […] *These names have meanings only in Phoenician (or Semitic in general), not in Greek (or Indo-European).* […]

The Greeks created an alphabet capable of transcribing all the segmental components of the Greek language *by adding signs with vocalic value to the consonantal inventory of Phoenician*. The signs of the Greek alphabet constitute the basis of all alphabets that developed in the West."

DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : 261. [My italics and parentheses, JCB]

Note 5

Cf. Moltke's point 3 (Note 3)

Note 6
"I hope to point out throughout the course of this investigation that *we simply do not know with certainty* where the runes come from and that *we should keep an open mind* concerning investigations which reevaluate the data and come to conclusions which do not agree with presently or formerly held beliefs. *To assume a priori that the runes cannot be older than the birth of Christ, is not only based on insufficient evidence, but it also leads to fallacious interpretations* of the inscriptions themselves.

I intend […] to bring to light the many *striking similarities* which the runic tradition *shares with* the Mediterranean epigraphic traditions. […] by examining the Greek and Latin traditions in their *preclassical stages, for* this is the period in which *a source for* runic tradition must be sought. Similarities between the runic writing system and the *archaic* Latin and Greek systems have *heretofore been ignored or explained away* as being the result of imperfect attempts by a primitive Germanic people to master epigraphic writing, *because scholars sought to* compare the runic tradition with *the highly refined classical traditions of Imperial Rome and Hellenistic Greece*. Strikingly different results are obtained when the runic tradition is juxtaposed to the Mediterranean traditions in their earlier stages of development."

MORRIS (1988:1-2) [My italics JCB]

Note 7
The English version (MOLTKE 1985: 66) includes a passage that is not included in the Danish version:
"On this point I have had a laconic query from Michael Barnes, of University College London, who asks, "Isn't the p-rune ᛕ ᛒ with two of the side staves moved?", and adds, "Cf. the phonetic relationship of p and b." Brilliant! He must certainly be right. It then becomes illuminatingly obvious that ᛕ was modelled on an existing ᛒ , in the same way as we may legitimately suppose that ᛟ o was hit upon, "designed", after ᛜ ng and ᛗ after ᛘ (Σ) e (though in these there is no "phonetic relationship" to compare) *[Yes, indeed, in the Semitic words, or syllables,* AYIN/OJING ('eye', 'øjne'), MEM/EM/ME*, cf. my interpretations, JCB]* In all probability the first runic forms to be sanctioned were those that were directly copied from Roman capital letters, ᛒ < B, ᚠ < F, ᚱ < R, and so on."

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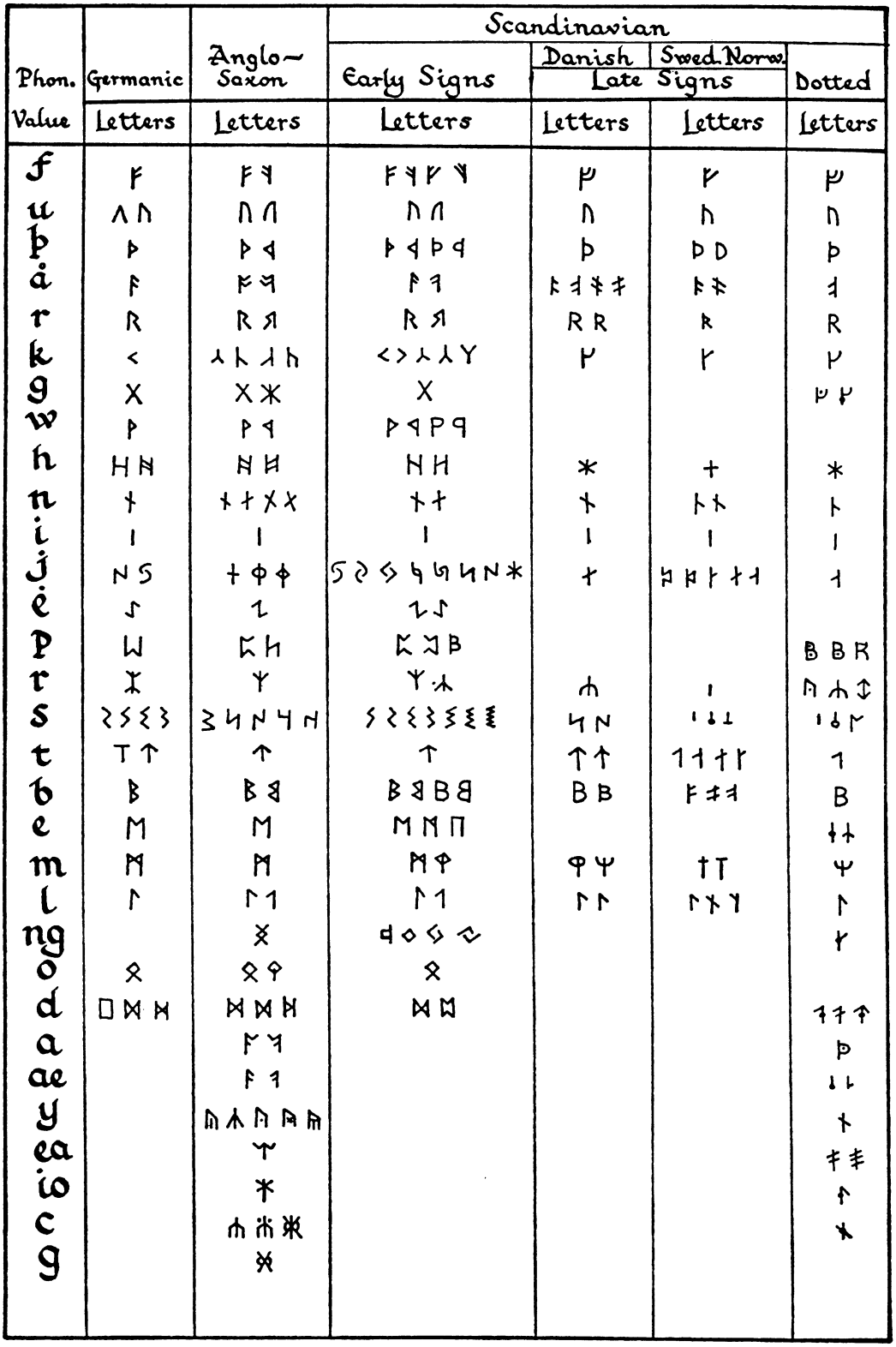
Appendices

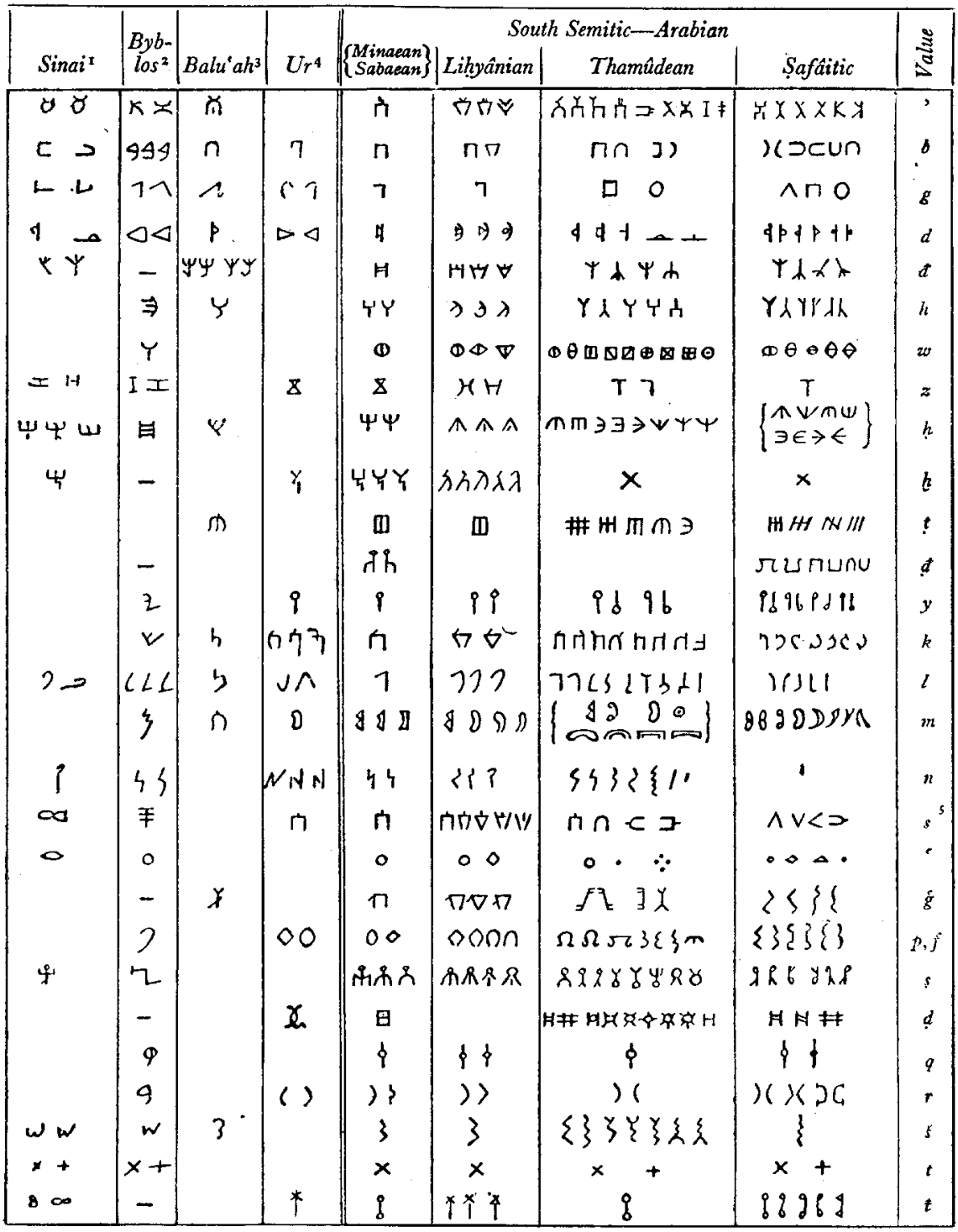
Appendix 1

Runes (Germanic, Anglo-Saxon, and Scandinavian) (DIRINGER 1962 : 163)



Appendix 2 A

Sinaitic and South Sinaitic signs (DRIVER 1976 : 145)

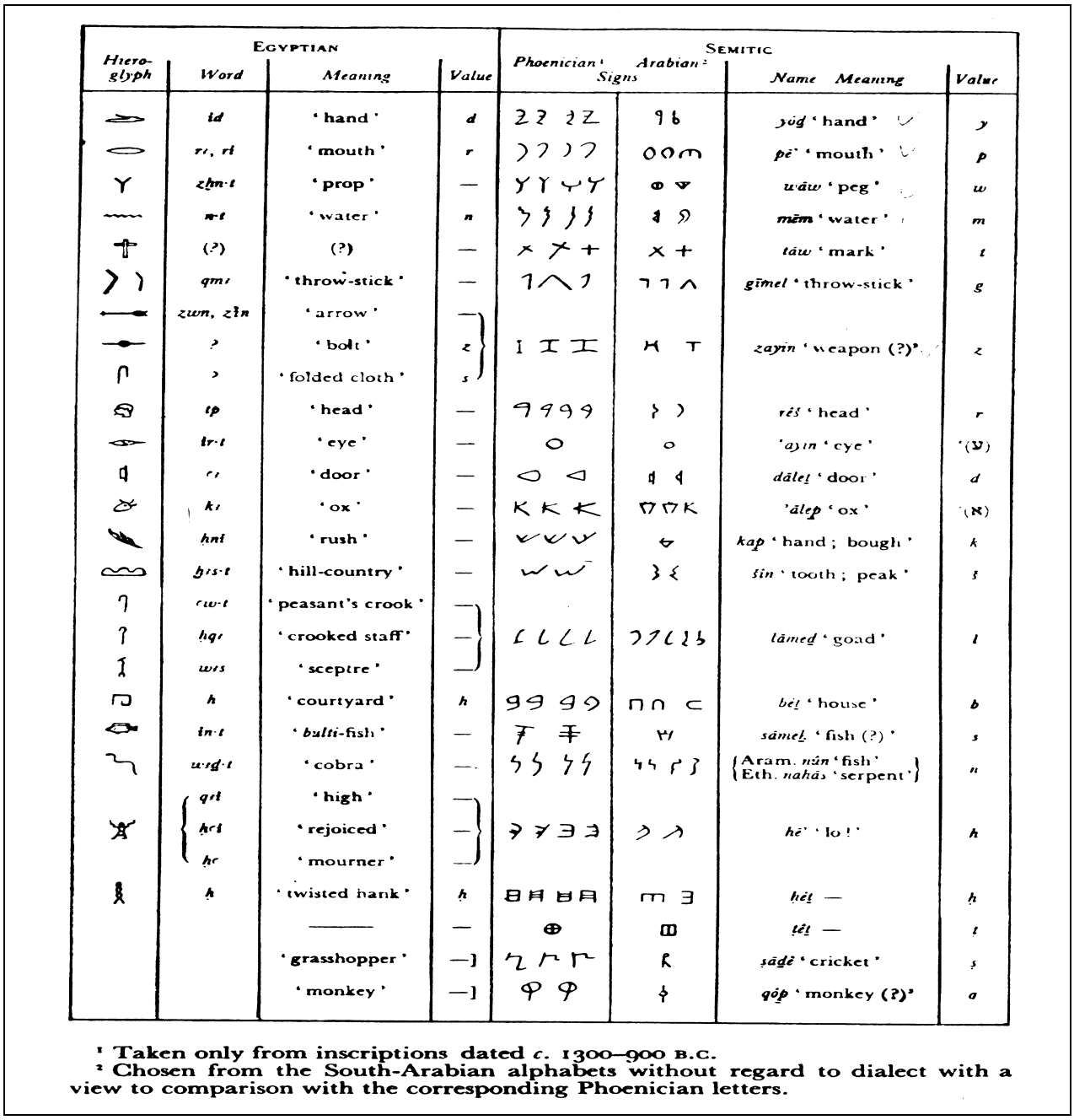


[1] S. pp. 94–8. [2] S. pp. 104–7. [3] S. p. 123.
[4] S. p. 124. [5] Or 𐤔 = *ś* (שׂ) and 𐤎 = *s* (ס).

FIG. 82. Comparative table of Sinaitic and South-Semitic signs.

Appendix 2 B

Comparison of Egyptian and Semitic Scripts (DRIVER 1976 : 167)



Egyptian: Hieroglyph	Word	Meaning	Value	Semitic: Phoenician[1] Signs	Arabian[2] Signs	Name Meaning	Value
	id	'hand'	*d*			*yōḏ* 'hand'	*y*
	r, *rỉ*	'mouth'	*r*			*pē'* 'mouth'	*p*
	ẓḫn·t	'prop'	—			*wāw* 'peg'	*w*
	n·t	'water'	*n*			*mēm* 'water'	*m*
	(?)	(?)	—			*tāw* 'mark'	*t*
	qmỉ	'throw-stick'	—			*gīmel* 'throw-stick'	*g*
	ẓwn, *ẓỉn*	'arrow'	—				
	ỉ	'bolt'	*ẓ*			*zayin* 'weapon (?)'	*z*
	ỉ	'folded cloth'	*s*				
	tp	'head'	—			*rēš* 'head'	*r*
	ỉr·t	'eye'	—			*'ayin* 'eye'	*'* (ʿ)
	ỉ	'door'	—			*dāleṯ* 'door'	*d*
	ỉ	'ox'	—			*'ālep* 'ox'	*'* (ʾ)
	ḥnỉ	'rush'	—			*kap* 'hand; bough'	*k*
	ḫỉs·t	'hill-country'	—			*šin* 'tooth; peak'	*š*
	ỉw·t	'peasant's crook'	—				
	ḥqỉ	'crooked staff'	—			*lāmeḏ* 'goad'	*l*
	wỉs	'sceptre'	—				
	h	'courtyard'	*h*			*bēṯ* 'house'	*b*
	ỉn·t	'*bulti*-fish'	—			*sāmeḵ* 'fish (?)'	*s*
	w·rḍ·t	'cobra'	—			Aram. *nūn* 'fish' / Eth. *nahāš* 'serpent'	*n*
	qỉ	'high'	—				
	ḫỉ	'rejoiced'	—			*hē'* 'lo!'	*h*
	ḫr	'mourner'	—				
	ḥ	'twisted hank'	*ḥ*			*ḥēṯ* —	*ḥ*
	———		—			*ṭēṯ* —	*ṭ*
		'grasshopper'	—			*šāḏē* 'cricket'	*š*
		'monkey'	—			*qōp* 'monkey (?)'	*q*

[1] Taken only from inscriptions dated *c.* 1300–900 B.C.
[2] Chosen from the South-Arabian alphabets without regard to dialect with a view to comparison with the corresponding Phoenician letters.

Appendix 3

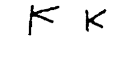
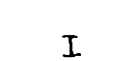
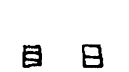
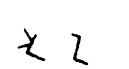
From Hieroglyphs to Roman Script (ARNESEN 1987 : 35)

Hieroglyffer	Sinai-skrift	Hebraisk	Semittisk skrift	Gresk	Romersk
		Alef - okse		AA	A
		Beth - hus		BB	B
		Gimel - kamel		ΓΓ	C
		Daleth - dør		Δ	D
		He - vindu		ΗΕ	E
		Vav - krok		(Ϝ)	F
		Zajin - våpen		Ζ	Z
		Heth - gjerde		Η	H
		Jod - hånd		ΙΙ	I
		Kaf - håndflate		ΚΚ	K
		Lamed - stav		Λ	L
		Mem - vann		Μ	M
		Nun - fisk		Ν	N
		Ajin - øye		Ο	O
		Pe - munn		ΓΓ	P
		Qof			Q
		Res - hode		ΡR	R
		Sin - tann		ΣΣ	S
		Tav - tegn		Τ	T
		Waw		Υ	V
				Φ	
		Samek		Χ	X
				Ψ	
				Ω	

Oversikten viser utviklingen av Sinai-skriftens «bokstaver» fram til romersk monumentalskrift. De greske bokstavene er vist slik de forekom i bustrofedon (plogskrift), der skriftlinjene fram til ca. 500 f. Kr. ble skrevet hverannen linje fra høyre mot venstre, hverannen fra venstre mot høyre.

Appendix 4 A
The Earliest Linear Scripts (DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : Table 5.1)

TABLE 5.1: *The Earliest Linear Scripts (Garbini 1979, fig. 1)*[a]

	I	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*V*
ʾ					
b					
g					
d					
h					
w					
z					
ḥ					
ṭ					
y					
k					
l					
m					
n					
s					
ʿ					
p					
ṣ					
q					
r					
š					
t					

a. Col. I, Arrowheads from Lebanon; col. II, Byblos 7765; col. III, Aḥiram inscription; col. IV, Inscriptions from Palestine; col. V, Gezer calendar.

Appendix 4 B
Northern Linear Cursive Scripts (DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : Table 5.3)

TABLE 5.3: *Northern Linear Cursive Scripts (Garbini 1979, fig. 4)*[a]

	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
ʾ						
b						
g						
d						
h						
w						
z						
ḥ						
ṭ						
y						
k						
l						
m						
n						
s						
ʿ						
p						
ṣ						
q						
r						
š						
t						

a. Col. VI, Mozia, 6th c. B.C.E., stela, Punic; col. VII, Malta, 3rd–2nd c. C.E., ostraca, Late Phoenician cursive; col. VIII, Sidon, 5th c. B.C.E., Phoenician; col. IX, Phoenician papyrus, 4th–3rd c. B.C.E.; col. X, Samaria, mid 8th c. B.C.E., ostraca, Hebrew cursive; col. XI, Aramaic papyrus, 465 B.C.E.

Appendix 4 C

Northern Linear Monumental Scripts (DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : Table 5.4)

TABLE 5.4: *Northern Linear Monumental Scripts (Garbini 1979, fig. 5)*[a]

	XII	*XIII*	*XIV*	*XV*	*XVI*
ʾ					
b					
g					
d					
h					
w					
z					
ḥ					
ṭ					
y					
k					
l					
m					
n					
s					
ʿ					
p					
ṣ					
q					
r					
š					
t					

a. Col. XII, Siloam inscription, Hebrew; col. XIII, Hebrew seals; col. XIV, Mesha inscription, Moabite; col. XV, Ammonite script; col. XVI, Hasmonean coins and Abba inscription, 2nd–1st c. B.C.E., "Paleo-Hebrew" script.

Appendix 4 D
North Arabic Scripts (DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : Table 5.6)

TABLE 5.6: *North Arabic Scripts (Garbini 1979, fig. 9)*[a]

	XXI	*XXII*	*XXIII*	*XXIV*	*XXV*	*XXVI*
ʾ						
b						
g						
d						
h						
w						
z						
ḥ						
ṭ						
y						
k						
l						
m						
n						
s						
ʿ						
p						
ṣ						
q						
r						
š						
t						

a. Col. XXI, Dedanite; col. XXII, Late Liḥyanite; cols. XXIII–XXV, Thamudic (XXIII, Teima; XXIV, Hejaz; XXV, Tabuk); col. XXVI, Safaitic.

Appendix 4 E

Monumental Script of Yemen and Ethiopia (DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : Table 5.7)

TABLE 5.7: *Monumental Scripts of Yemen and Ethiopia (Garbini 1979, fig. 10)*[a]

	XXVII	*XXVIII*	*XXIX*	*XXX*
ʾ				
b				
g				
d				
ḏ				
h				
w				
z				
ḥ				
ḫ				
ṭ				
ẓ				
y				
k				
l				
m				
n				
s[1]				
ʿ				
ǵ				
p				
ṣ				
ḍ				
q				
r				
s[2]				
s[3]				
t				
ṯ				

a. Col. XXVII, Epigraphic South Arabian script (forms in parentheses are of the North Arabic type, found in some older inscriptions); col. XXVIII, Later South Arabian script; col. XXIX, "Thamudic" type of Ethiopic script; col. XXX, Ethiopic consonantal script. The order of letters in this table is artificially based on the North Semitic order; for the ancient South Semitic order, see SECTION 68.

Note 1

"The Semitic languages are spoken across major sections of the Old World […] In ancient times they were spoken in the area of south-western Asia known nowadays as the *Near East or the Middle East, from the banks of the Tigris in the east to the Mediterranean in the west, and from the Armenian mountains in the north to the Arabian peninsula in the south*; then, as now, they were used alongside a variety of languages from other families." [My italics, JCB]

DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : 88

Note 2

"The runic futhark, so named from the first six symbols […] in the traditional common Germanic sequence of its letters, is *of uncertain origin*. It *may* have been *the creation of an individual familiar both with the Roman alphabet*, as there are many formal parallels, and with some northern Italic alphabet or alphabets which share some more unusual runic forms as well as the variable directions of writing found in some runic inscriptions, but not in Latin. *That the futhark was invented in Denmark has been argued strongly by Moltke* (1985: 64-65).

The earliest runic inscriptions from Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein are all on portable objects dating from the first century C.E. Others, also using the common Germanic futhark, belong to the period of the Germanic migrations and have been found in various parts of central Europe. Despite some minor formal variations, *they all show remarkable uniformity of lettering and variable direction of writing*. Their language has been called "Runic" or, better, "Northwest Germanic." [My italics, JCB]

DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : 333

Note 3

"Let us conclude our survey by summarising:

(1) The presence of two i-runes shows that the futhark was created not later than the end of the second century AD (This idea is now obsolete, as the ï-rune originally stood for c4).

(2) The oldest known runic inscriptions (Øvre Stabu, Illerup) are dated on archaeological evidence to c. AD 200, but if the inscription on the Meldorf fibula is runic – and of course it is – then the date of our earliest inscription has to be moved back by another 150 years, to c. AD 50. If we follow cautious practice in alphabet history and allow one or two centuries of as yet undiscovered finds to precede the oldest known inscriptions, we arrive at a date around the birth of Christ, or perhaps as far back as 100-150 BC, for the origin of runes. It might seem safe to say the year 0± 100 (50) years.

(3) For chronological reasons the runes cannot stem from the Phoenician alphabet, and for reasons of letter-shape they cannot be derived from the Greek alphabet (particularly not Greek cursive). Derivation from Etruscan is ruled out by letter-shapes and by principles of

alphabet history (cf. also point (7) below).

(4) Runes are based on the Roman capital letters of imperial times. Some ten were taken over directly, others were imitated, and some completely new signs were invented.

(5) The futhark's independence of classical alphabets is shown in its new sequence of the letters, which is as unaccountable in phonetic terms as the original alphabetical order of the Phoenicians.

(6) The oldest runic inscriptions have all the primitive characteristics observed in the early phase of the classical alphabets (several centuries before the runes came into existence): irregularity of size and line, writing direction both to right and left, bustrophedon, inconsistent or non-existent punctuation, and the fact that each rune has its individual name. [The younger futhark inscriptions have the same characteristics, cf. e.g. Glavendrup, JCB]

(7) Points (4)–(6) lead to the conclusion that the futhark could not have arisen in the immediate vicinity of the classical alphabets.

(8) Judging from an abundance of early inscriptions in a relatively confined area, Denmark is the most likely place for the invention of runes. They were an independent creation based on Roman writing. The inspiration could have come from the Rhineland."

MOLTKE 1985: 64-65

Note 4

"Semitic consonantal writing, as developed and attested in the North Semitic scripts, was the ancestor of three geographically and linguistically diversified developments: […] and the third spreading toward the west, where it led to the creation of fully alphabetic writing systems for the Indo-European languages.

[…] of the Phoenician consonantal script (22 signs) to the Greeks […]

The derivation of the Greek alphabet from the Phoenician script is evident from: [a] the shapes of the letters, obvious despite reflection, elaboration, or simplification; [b] their ordering; [c] their numerical value; [d] and their names […] *These names have meanings only in Phoenician (or Semitic in general), not in Greek (or Indo-European).* […]

The Greeks created an alphabet capable of transcribing all the segmental components of the Greek language *by adding signs with vocalic value to the consonantal inventory of Phoenician*. The signs of the Greek alphabet constitute the basis of all alphabets that developed in the West."

DANIELS & BRIGHT 1996 : 261. [My italics and parentheses, JCB]

Note 5

Cf. Moltke's point 3 (Note 3): "(3) For chronological reasons the runes cannot stem from the Phoenician alphabet, and for reasons of letter-shape they cannot be derived from the

Greek alphabet (particularly not Greek cursive). Derivation from Etruscan is ruled out by letter-shapes and by principles of alphabet history (cf. also point (7) below)."

[6] **Note 6**

"I hope to point out throughout the course of this investigation that *we simply do not know with certainty* where the runes come from and that *we should keep an open mind* concerning investigations which reevaluate the data and come to conclusions which do not agree with presently or formerly held beliefs. *To assume a priori that the runes cannot be older than the birth of Christ, is not only based on insufficient evidence, but it also leads to fallacious interpretations* of the inscriptions themselves.

I intend […] to bring to light the many *striking similarities* which the runic tradition *shares with* the Mediterranean epigraphic traditions. […] by examining the Greek and Latin traditions in their *preclassical stages, for* this is the period in which *a source for* runic tradition must be sought. Similarities between the runic writing system and the *archaic* Latin and Greek systems have *heretofore been ignored or explained away* as being the result of imperfect attempts by a primitive Germanic people to master epigraphic writing, *because scholars sought to* compare the runic tradition with *the highly refined classical traditions of Imperial Rome and Hellenistic Greece*. Strikingly different results are obtained when the runic tradition is juxtaposed to the Mediterranean traditions in their earlier stages of development."

MORRIS (1988:1-2) [My italics JCB]

Note 7

The English version (MOLTKE 1985: 66) includes a passage that is not included in the Danish version:

"On this point I have had a laconic query from Michael Barnes, of University College London, who asks, "Isn't the p-rune ᛕ ᛒ with two of the side staves moved?", and adds, "Cf. the phonetic relationship of p and b." Brilliant! He must certainly be right. It then becomes illuminatingly obvious that ᛕ was modelled on an existing ᛒ , in the same way as we may legitimately suppose that ᛟ o was hit upon, "designed", after ᛜ ng and ᛗ after ᛖ (Σ) e (though in these there is no "phonetic relationship" to compare) *[Yes, indeed, in the Semitic words, or syllables,* AYIN/OJING ('eye', 'øjne'), MEM/EM/ME*, cf. my interpretations, JCB]* In all probability the first runic forms to be sanctioned were those that were directly copied from Roman capital letters, ᛒ < B, ᚠ < F, ᚱ < R, and so on."

(/)

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Old Assyrian Metal Trade, its Volume and Interactions

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Keywords: Old Assyrian, Ancient Anatolia, Colony Period, Commerce, Metals

The information based on written sources about the period roughly 1972- 1718 BC, known as the Old Assyrian Colony Period in Anatolian history, comes from more than 23,000 Old Assyrian cuneiform texts most of which belong to the Assyrian traders' personal archives which were discovered at Kültepe, ancient Kaniš. Many aspects, especially economy and the commerce practices of the Old Assyrian society in Anatolia, can be studied through these texts. Among them, the records off er detailed information about the metals in circulation of the trade. On the subject of Old Assyrian metals, especially on some certain metals, several studies have been produced up to now.[**1**] However, the total volume of the Old Assyrian metal trade and accessing regions of metals has not been evaluated since Veenhof in 1972.[**2**] In this study, I produce a general view especially about the metal trade volume by means of information gathered from the available Kültepe texts.[**3**]

Let me begin by listing some of the problems one comes across in calculating the commercial volumes of traded metals in the Kültepe texts. Firstly, it is not always possible to determine the defi nite amount of a given material in a specifi c context. This is especially due to incompletely known situations and vague concepts used in the records. However, within the available corpus, and by the help of some certain texts in particular, an approximate fi gure for the amount of a metal traded, especially between Assur and Anatolia, can be off ered. Secondly, it needs to be stressed that one specifi c transaction of metal from Assur to Anatolia or vice versa was sometimes recorded in more than one text (as is the case in the texts EL 108; TC 3, 67; CCT 3, 27a and KTS 38a) and that it is not always possible to identify such situations. In some rare cases, the same transaction may therefore be counted twice in the study.

It also needs to be stressed in advance that although the long distance trading traffi c between Assur and Anatolia seems to be continued nearly 250 years according to the chronological data,[**4**] by far the most intense period of its documentation, nearly 90% of it, in fact, comprises just over 30 years between 1893 and 1863 BC.[**5**] Therefore, one must keep in mind that the results obtained from the texts scanning do not comprise all 250 years of Colony Period, but compress data on volume into a much denser time-frame.

1. Silver

Because of its intensive use especially as a currency during the Old Assyrian Colony Trade, silver (KÙ.BABBAR; kaspum) appears in almost half of the Kültepe texts. Due to some of the obstacles related to available texts mentioned above, an accurate amount of silver that transported from Anatolia to Assur cannot be calculated for certain. However, some signifi cant types of texts, such as business reports, which were sent from Assur in particular, and in which the amount of transported silver were recorded (i.e. caravan accounts),[**6**] some witnessed records that include the amount of the taxes paid silver which are to be entrusted to the transporter(s) (i.e. the transport contracts) and some letters that specify silver transported to Assur (e.g. notifying messages)[**7**] provide some measure of the volume of silver transported to Assur.

The total amount of silver shipped from Anatolia to Assur according to this study was at most 232 talents, 22 minas (approximately 7 tons).[**8**] This sum is a result of simply adding up amounts recorded in all texts that refer to the transport of silver and where the direction of movement from Anatolia to Assur is sometimes in doubt. According to 510 texts, the total amount of shipped silver to Assur is at least 174 talents, 30 minas (approximately 5 tons 220 kg). Considering the total number of 23.000 texts excavated at Kaniš, and including those not yet edited, Larsen gave an estimation of about 12.5 tons of silver sent to Assur by the Assyrian traders during the period of 30 years.[**9**] This amount seems not too far from the results of the calculations presented here.

a. Qualifi cations of Silver

The Assyrian records use several qualifi cations about silver and its shapes, varieties, qualities, etc.[**10**] These are the known qualifi cations known at the moment, alongside some of their translations into English, when known: SAHAR. BA “in its dust”;[**11**] *tirum*; [**12**] *līṭum*; [**13**] *hušā’ū* “scraps”;[**14**] *šabartum*$^{?}$ “lump”;[**15**] *ṣarrupum* “purifi ed”;[**16**] *amurrum* “checked$^{?}$ ”;[**17**] *ha’atim* “faulty$^{?}$ ” ;[**18**] *massuhum* “dirty”;[**19**] *damqum* “fi ne”; and *ša ma-a-sú*.[**20**] The meanings of some of these terms are still uncertain or contradictive.

b. The Artifacts Made of Silver

Compared to the common attestation of silver in the texts, there are a limited number of silver artifacts recorded. In addition, we are not certain in what shapes the silver was traded inside Anatolia or taken to Assur. The most common artifacts made of silver in the texts are “ring”; *hīdum* “bead”; *šawirum* “bracelet/ coil”; *supannum* “a cup”; *tuditum* “brooch/pin”; *kassum* “cup”; *ilum* “divine fi gurine” and *libbum* “heart fi gurine”.

c. Silver and the Anatolian Cities

One of the main reasons that Assyrian traders established themselves in Anatolia must have been its wealth of silver, the acquisition of which was one of the main goals of the traders. The Taurus Mountains, parts of which were called the “Silver Mountains” in some Mesopotamian records,[**21**] has been known for its rich silver deposits since ancient times. [**22**] Consequently, these deposits must have been mined by local Anatolians in the Colony Period and constituted the origin of a large part of the silver in circulation during the period.

The cities from which the Assyrian traders obtained the silver can be determined by reference to the texts. Accordingly, except for Kaniš, Assyrian traders transported and sold their goods for silver mainly in Purušhattum, Wahšušana, Turhumit, Šalatuwar and Hattum. The cities of Purušhattum, Wahšušana and Šalatuwar were located in the western part of Central Anatolia and were probably important market centers for the circulation of the silver, rather than being producers themselves.[**23**]

Judging from the recorded silver in the commercial texts for which a geographical location is explicitly provided for the acquirement of silver, by far the largest markets appear to have been Purušhattum and Wahšušana (see fi gure 1). Together they account for 76% of the total attestations among the other cities. The image provided by the origin of the silver acquired through commercial activities supports the image of a western directionality of the trade fl ow also obtained in recent studies of the geography and underlines the importance of the western circuit for Assyrian business in Anatolia.[**24**]

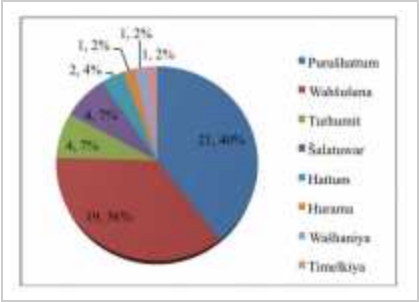

Figure 1. The number of attestations and the percentages of the cities in which the Assyrian traders obtained silver through commercial transactions (except Kaniš)

2. Gold

Gold (hurāṣum; KÙ.GI/KÙ.KI) is recorded with weight specifi ed in more than 600 Kültepe texts. The occurrences can be classifi ed into three main groups: gold shipped to Assur; gold invested in the naruqqum-partnerships,[**25**] and gold credited in loans. As in the case of silver, it is not easy to calculate the exact amount of gold transported from Anatolia to Assur, but the same criteria can be implemented for calculating the approximate volume of metal shipped.

The total amount of gold recorded in the texts comes to about 16 talents 5 minas or approximately 482 kg. Out of this sum, 5 talents 49 minas (approximately 175 kilos) are credits invested in *naruqqum*-partnerships. Those partnerships were one of the main types of commercial venture in Assyrian merchant society. Although the actual investment in *naruqqum*-partnerships was mainly made in silver, these were calculated in gold. Consequently, it needs to be emphasized that the gold recorded in this type of investment must be considered generally as fi ctive gold equivalencies.

In addition to the *naruqqum*-partnerships, some 2 talents 26 minas of gold (approximately 73 kilos) were credited to others as loans. Also these amounts may to a small or large extent have been expressed as gold currency and do not necessarily relate to a physical volume of metal.

This leaves at least 3 talents 2 minas (approximately 91 kilos) of gold shipped to Assur from Anatolia during the Colony period, corresponding to about 3 kg per year on average during the 30 densely documented years. This total seems very low because it is known from the letter Kt 79/k 101[**26**] from the *waklum* of Assur to *kārum*-Kaniš that one of the Assyrian policies was to hoard the gold in Assur. Hence, Assyrian authorities must have given special importance to the import of quality gold by the Assyrian traders both in Anatolia and elsewhere. When the Assyrians nevertheless seem reluctant to obtain the gold in order to ship it to their home city,[**27**] the reason may have been the high risk of incurring a loss when exchanging gold into silver due to diffi culties determining its degree of purity. There are several examples showing that Assyrian traders could sell their gold inside Anatolia as well. Furthermore, according to Kt 92/k 347[**28**] translated below, it seems as if the Assyrian *līmum*-offi cials did not always approve of the quality of the gold that was being transported to Assur, and that gold of poor quality could also be sold to people of *hupšum* class:

[1-3)] To Luzina and the trader, from Ilī-bāni: [4-7)] We showed the gold that I brought to the *līmum*-official and they off ered four shekels of (silver for per shekel of gold). [8-12)] We will sell the gold and make purchases and then I will set out and come. [13-16)] There is no member of the *hupšum*-class[**29**] who will take the gold![**30**]

a. The Qualifi cations and the Prices of the Gold

Ten kinds of gold are recorded in the Kültepe texts: *liqtum*, [**31**] *pašallum*, [**32**] *kupuršinnum*, [**33**] *ša tiamtim* (“of the sea”),[**34**] *pāṣi’um* (“white”),[**35**] HU.SÁ / *sāmu* = “red”);36 *ša damē* (“blood”),[**37**] *kīšum*[**38**], *sādum*, [**39**] and *zakium* (perhaps “pure”).[**40**] The precise meaning of some of these terms is still not known.

The following set of terms was used to specify a quality and/or feature of the gold: *damqum* (SIG5) “fi ne”, *damqum watrum* (SIG5 DIRI) “extra fi ne”, *ša mā’īšu* “good”,[**41**] *ša mātim* “of the country”,[**42**] *ša mahirim* “of the market *(pašallam ša mahirim* in Kt n/k 1566: 78)”, *ša harran ālim* “for sending to Assur”; *ša šabšulim* “for smelting”.

The price ranges between 3 1/3 and 15 shekels of silver per shekel of gold. The reason for this variance appears to stem from great diff erences in purity. As stated above, the most inexpensive type of gold – the HU.SÁ or "red" gold – presumably contained a high rate of copper. The most expensive type was *liqtum* of "select" quality. The most commonly traded gold types were *pašallum* with an average exchange ratio with silver being 8:1, and *kupuršinnum* with the average unit price being 6:1. It seems that there was no diff erence in the exchange rate between gold and silver in Anatolia and Assur.

b. Artifacts Made of Gold

Gold was generally used in molded shapes such as rings (*annuqum*) and beads (*hīdum*) in the commercial circulation. In addition, it was also traded in the form of ore (*ša abnišu*). Except for the rings and beads, artifacts and shapes made of gold recorded in the Kültepe texts include *šamšum* "a sun disc", *kassum* "a cup", *supānum* "a type of container", *takaltum* "a sheath? ", *ilum* "a divine fi gurine", *ūrum "a vulva fi gurine", tudittum* "a pin or brooch", *zimizzum* "a kind of bead", *kiplum* "gold foil", *uqurtum* "an object", and *iṣṣabtū* "earrings".

c. Gold and the Anatolian Cities

The Assyrian traders had access to gold mainly in the cities located in the western part of Central Anatolia. The most prominent of these cities is Wahšušana, which is recorded in 18 texts as place where gold was obtained. In the debt note Kt n/k 1426 from the archive of Uṣur-ša-Ištar, Wahšušana is specifi ed as the origin of the good-quality *pašallum* gold.[**43**] Wahšušana is generally thought to have been located somewhere south of modern Ankara, perhaps on the banks of the Kızılırmak River west of Kültepe.[**44**] The location of Purušhattum remains disputed, but a comprehensive recent study points to the area between modern-day Konya and Afyonkarahisar, probably near modern Akşehir.[**45**] The city attested in eight texts as a place in which the gold was acquired. Finally, another western city, Šalatuwar, which was probably located at or near the confl uence of the Sakarya River and Porsuk Çay,[**46**] occurs four times as the source of gold for the Assyrian traders.

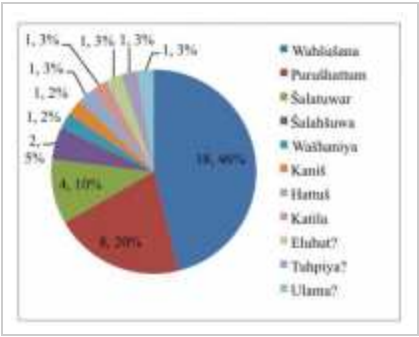

Figure 2. The number of attestations and the percentages of the cities from which the gold was acquired according to the records from Kültepe.

d. Possible Sources of Gold

Anatolia is one of the main sources of gold in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East. Especially the regions of Western[**47**] and Northeastern Anatolia and Southern Caucasus have substantial gold reserves. Signifi cant ancient mining activities have been determined in these latter two regions.[**48**] Gold in Western Anatolia is documented through more detailed studies through ancient workshops. Especially the Sardis River is well known as a main source of wealth of ancient Lydia and gold workshops have been found in the archeological excavations of its capital city.[**49**] Golden artifacts found at Alacahöyük near modern-day Çorum, and dated to the Early Bronze Age, brings to mind that there were likewise gold resources in that region, or at least in the periphery of it. The Çoruh River basin on the southern side of the Black Sea mountain range has been suggested as a source of these artifacts.[**50**]

The well-known passage in Gudea Stat. B VI 33-35 that: *"he extracted gold in its dust from the Hahhum mountain"* illustrates that one of the sources of gold for the Mesopotamian cities was Hahhum on the western bank of the Euphrates River in Southern Anatolia.[**51**] According to Steinkeller, along with the gold of Hahhum, there are important

gold sources in Bolkardağ mining region in the Taurus Mountains. He states that the local cultures of Anatolia, Northern Syria, and especially Northern Mesopotamia received gold primarily from these sources through third and early second millennium BC.[**52**]

3. Tin

The main commercial good of the Old Assyrian metal trade was tin (AN. NA = *annakum*). The metal as a commodity is recorded in a large number of Kültepe texts. The volume of tin transported to Anatolia is diffi cult to calculate or estimate, given the diffi culties of sometimes deciding whether a given amount was being shipped from Assur to Anatolia, or whether it was in circulation inside Anatolia in transit from one town to another. Besides, as in the case of some of the other metals, but much more so in the case of tin, it is sometimes diffi cult to prevent the same transaction from being counted twice due to uncertainty about whether it might appear multiple times across diff erent records. Finally, the total value declared (*awītum*) of merchandise and equipment contained in a caravan traveling from Assur to Kaniš was calculated in tin.[**53**] Accordingly, it is generally not possible to estimate the actual proportion contained in a given shipment.

The total search of the Kültepe texts has produced an amount of at least 2360 talents (approximately 70.8 tons) of tin. It is determined that at least a total of 1383 talents (approximately 41.49 tons) of tin whiten all these amounts were sent from Assur to Anatolia. The total amount of *awītum* apart from this fi gure comes to 714 talents (approximately 21.42 tons) of tin. Since at least one-third of the *awītum* would on average have been constituted by actual tin bars, one can thus determined that at least 1600 talents (approximately 48 tons) of tin was shipped from Assur to Anatolia, mainly during the 30-year period c. 1893-1863 BC. At least 75 talents (approximately 2.25 tons) of the tin included in this sum was used for expenses (*annak qātim*) paid by the caravans on the road to Anatolia.

a. Qualifi cations and Prices of Tin

Tin was probably mainly traded in the shape of plates or ingots (*lē'um*).[**54**] However, a few texts state that tin could also be cast into beads (*hīdum*).[**55**] Records refer to two kinds of tin *mašitum*, [**56**] and *mazīrum*, [**57**] both of uncertain meaning, but apparently not mutually exclusive. The adjectives used to express the quality of the tin were *damqum* (SIG5) "fi ne"; *damqum watrum* (SIG5 DIRI) "extra fi ne"; *zakium* "pure"; *massuhum* "bad"; *ṭapšum* "bad? ", [**58**] and *lemmenum* "very bad".

Assyrian traders purchased the tin in Assur at a price for ranging from 11 shekels to 17 1/3 shekels of tin for one shekel of silver with an average price of 15:1.[**59**] The diff erence in price seems to have depended mainly upon its availability in the time of purchase with quality as a secondary factor. The tin was sold in Anatolia at a price ranging from 4 to 10 shekels of tin per shekel of silver, depending not only upon quality and demand, but also upon whether it was sold for cash or on credit. The average price of tin in Anatolia was 7 shekels to 1 shekel of silver.[**60**]

b. The Tin Trade in Anatolia

Except for those who used the smuggling road (harran sukinnim) to reach to the copper market at Turhumit[**61**] located generally north of Kaniš, almost all of the Assyrian caravans arrived at Kaniš fi rst. The goods could be sold for cash on the spot there, or credited to other agents or retail sellers, or they could be shipped further into Anatolia for more profi t. The cities to which the tin was shipped after Kaniš can be clearly identifi ed by searching the texts. As already predicted by the geographical analysis of the Kültepe-texts,[**62**] these cities can now be shown to cluster to the west of Kaniš, i.e. on the border to Western Anatolia. As seen in the chart below, the most commonly attested cities as a destination for the tin are Purušhattum and Wahšušana.[**63**]

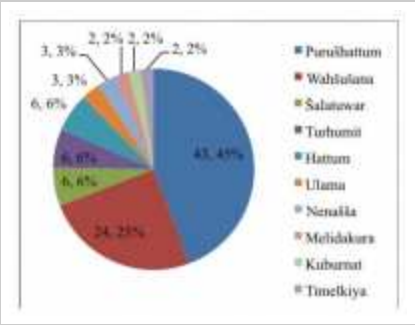

Figure 3. The number of attestations and the percentages of the cities to which Assyrian traders transported the tin at least two times in the texts.

4. Copper

Copper (URUDU = *werium*) is one of the most commonly attested metal in the Kültepe texts. It is clear that the Assyrian traders limited their trade in copper to the area inside Anatolia. There are a few attestations of copper going to Assur, but in those rare cases, the copper appears mainly as currency to cover travel expenses, or in the form of funds sent to family members in Assur. Hence, the commodity was not one of the goods traded between Assur and Anatolia.[**64**]

a. Qualifi cations and the Price of Copper

The total weight of all copper attested in the Kültepe texts comes to around 315 tons covering many diff erent forms and qualities. Some of the commonly recorded qualifi cations used about copper are masium “washed”; *ṣallamum* “black”; *damqum* “fine”; *damqum watrum* “extra fi ne”; *zakium* “pure”; *lammunum* “bad (quality)”; *massuhum* “dirty” and *šikkum/šabburum* “broken”; *ša šadui-šu* “native copper”; *ṣahhirum* “small pieces”. A detailed study of the copper trade, qualities and origins was conducted in Dercksen 1996. The great infl ux of newly edited texts confi rm his main conclusions with the diff erence that the geography of the trade is now better understood than previously.

Among the cities involved in the trade, Turhumit was the central market, and especially Haburata, Kunanamit, Taritar, and Tišmurna are prominent as sources of copper. As in the case of other metals, the price of copper diff ered in relation to supply and demand, proximity production sites, and quality of both the copper and the silver used as currency.[**65**]

b. Copper and the Anatolian Cities

Anatolia has a multitude of copper deposits and some of its sources are known to have been exploited since the Chalcolithic. The Assyrian traders acquired copper primarily from cities located to the north of Kaniš and shipped the major part of it to the western part of Central Anatolia, with some additional traffi c in the direction of Kaniš.

The traders generally procured the metal in Turhumit, Tuhpiya, Tišmurna, Taritar, and Marithum, all thought to have been located Middle Black Sea Region in the north. Some records show that the Assyrian traders acquired copper in Wahšušana and Kaniš as well, but there it seems the transactions were mainly in copper that was in transit and did not originate there. As for the cities to which the copper generally was shipped or sold in, Purušhattum, Wahšušana, Šalatuwar, Kaniš, and Ulama are prominent.[**66**]

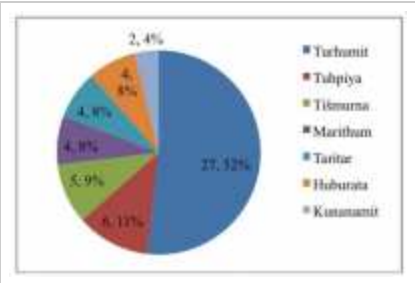

Figure 4. The number of attestations and the percentages of the cities which are attested at least two times as copper obtained centers and qualifi ed as origin of the copper in the texts

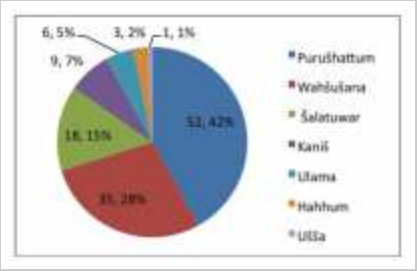

Figure 5. The number of attestations and the percentages of the cities to which the copper was shipped there for sale.

5. Bronze

A main factor behind the Assyrian trade in Anatolia and its continuation for more than 250 years was probably the bronze alloy. Each year, the Assyrian caravans transported tons of tin that was especially needed by Anatolian authorities in order to produce this hard alloy.[**67**] However, interestingly bronze was not really a commercial commodity in this lucrative trade. Furthermore, the number of bronze artifacts discovered at Kültepe is relatively low compared to the huge amount of tin shipped from Assur to Anatolia.[**68**] The reason for this apparent discrepancy is unclear.

In comparison to most other metals, there are only limited references to the bronze in the Kültepe texts. The alloy is recorded in about 80 texts under the sumerogram ZABAR or as Akkadian *siparrum*. In addition, we fi nd the phrase GAL ZABAR (literally “large (of) bronze”) which is always counted by number and not measured by weight. Finally, one fi nds occasional reference to *siparātum* “bronze nails”.

The total weight of bronze in the texts amounts to 7 talents and 47 minas (approximately 234 kg). Out of this sum, 3 talents 8 minas (approximately 94 kg) are the weight of manufactured objects. There is also a total of 317 GAL ZABAR mentioned in the texts. The total number of *siparātum* comes to 1743.

There is only one text listing the value of bronze in relation to silver and copper. Kt n/k 1697[**69**] records that 1 shekel of silver costs 11 shekels of bronze and also mentions GAL ZABAR, which it divides into three groups of 105 pieces each one of weighing 18, 18 and 20 shekels each. The text also shows that the price of one piece of GAL ZABAR was about 1 mina of broken copper (*eri’um šikkum*).

Bronze was used extensively to cast household artifacts as well as weapons. A long series of terms for diff erent kinds of bronze objects appear in the Kültepe texts. The most commonly attested artifacts are kitchenware, such as *itqurum* “spoon” and *kassum* “cup”. For example, a single text records 83 diff erent kinds of bronze artifacts; another one lists 76 diff erent objects.[**70**]

Colony Period has been insignifi cant in comparison to the intensive trade of tin and copper evidenced in the texts. One of the reasons for this could be that most of the metal was in fact shipped to cities in part of Anatolia and taken to even more remote regions.[**71**] One can also assume that metal utensils have been widely melted down and re-used or plundered by looting armies.[**72**]

6. Iron

The study for this article shows that the metal referred to alternatively as *amūtum, ašium, parzillum* and KÙ.AN is recorded at least in 200 of the texts from Kültepe. The exact translation of these terms is still debated. KÙ.AN is known to be the logographic writing of *amūtum*. And the text AKT 3, 45 suggests that *ašium* was another synonym for *amūtum*. [**73**] Finally, *parzillum*, attested in very few Old Assyrian texts and its logographic writing AN.BAR known to denote “iron” in other cuneiform corpora does not occur at Kültepe.

It has been generally suggested that the terms *amūtum* and *ašium* were used for “meteoric iron”.[**74**] However, some researchers do not accept this suggestion and pointing out that due to its high content of nickel, meteoric iron could not be processed in the ways attested for *amūtum* with the technology of that time.[**75**] For the purpose of the current

study, the neutral term “iron” is retained for all four writings.

The total amount of iron recorded in the Kültepe texts comes to more than 30 minas (about 15 kg), but it must be stressed that in some cases the same iron may be counted twice because it is impossible for some cases to determine whether two records refer to the same transaction. When taking into consideration its price and the fact that the Kültepe texts were written about 500 years before the beginning of the Iron Age in Anatolia, the amount of iron in the

a. The Qualifi cations and Price of the Iron texts is astounding.

Five diff erent shapes of iron are attested in the texts: *ṣahhartum* “small pieces”; *kiṣrum* “lump”; *abnum* “stone” and *ša* KI.DIRI “raw iron” (which contains other minerals). In the unpublished text Kt n/k 67: 11 an amount of pure (*zakūtum*) KÙ.AN is qualifi ed as *ša harsa* the meaning of which is unknown. It is not certain whether it refers to a toponym or perhaps signifi es a special type of iron.[**76**] The most commonly attested artifact made of iron is *annuqum* “ring”. One can learn from a text that a ring made of *amūtum* could also be adorned by wrapping with gold.[**77**] Other objects include *tudittum* “pin/brooch”, *kassum* “cup”, *urākum* “bar”, and maybe even *šinnātum* “teeth” (Kt 94/k 208).[**78**] Adjectives used to qualify iron are: *damqum* (SIG5) “fi ne”; *damqum watrum* (SIG5 DIRI) “extra fi ne”; *zakium/zakītum* “pure” and *ša šarruttim* “of royal quality.”

Information about the price of iron is found in about a dozen texts and fluctuates greatly between 11 2/3[**79**] to 140 shekels of silver per shekel of iron. This huge diff erence must be related to its kind and degree of purity and cannot simply be ascribed to the forces of market. According to Kt n/k 1697:[**80**] 34, the price for one shekel of *parzillum* was 20 shekels of silver. The price of *amūtum* alone ranges between 40 and 140 shekels of silver.

The iron seems to have been used mainly to produce jewelry and ornaments, presumably due to of its scarcity. There is no mention of weapons made from iron in the archeological excavations at Kültepe. However, an unpublished texts (Kt b/k 93+167) that lists especially diff erent kinds of cups mentions “a big dagger handle of which was made of iron (*amūtum*) and gold”.[**81**] Apart from Kültepe, an iron dagger with gold handle was discovered among the iron artifacts of Alacahöyük, dated to the Early Bronze Age[**82**] and the Anitta-text famously mentions that the Great King of Purušhattum brought him a gift of an iron throne and an iron scepter.[**83**]

Assyrian traders purchased the iron not only form the city hall *bēt ālim/līmim)* in Assur, but also within Anatolia, and they sold this valuable metal to Anatolian elites where it was in demand.[**84**] The source of the iron purchased in Assur is not known, but it may be assumed that the origin of most of the iron traded in Anatolia was of local origin.[**85**]

It is clear that the city of Assur paid special importance to the trade in iron. The reason for this could be the *išrātum*-tax (the tithe; 10%) levied initially by the City Hall and later by the *kārum* Kaniš.[**86**] The *kārum* authorities at Kaniš were notifi ed about this decision passed by the City Assembly and forwarded the required instructions on the matter to the remaining Anatolian colonies by the letter AKT 5, 1 (Kt 92/k 221). This text is undated, but considering the years in which the owner of archive in which it was found was active, Veenhof assumes that the text should date to the end of the lower town Level II at Kaniš.[**87**]

A damaged *waklum*-letter Kt 92/k 432 excavated in the same year, but said to belong to a diff erent archive recounts another decision made by the City Assembly, namely that no *kārum* should levy the *šaddu’utum* and *išrātum*-tax on *amūtum* metal and Akkadian textiles that had been bought directly from the City Hall by Assyrian traders. It is clear from the text that this decision was made in regard to a certain Aššur-lamassī, but that it also involved other merchants in the same situation.

Kt 92/k 432 *(1-391-92; 3.6x4.3x1.6)*

Obv 1 *um-ma wa-a[k-lu]m-ma*
a-na Puzur$_4$ -ì-lí
Ti-ti-na-tal
ší-ip-r[i ša a-lim^{ki}]
ù kà-r[i-im Kà-ni-iš]
5 *[qí-bí-ma x x x x]*

˹3 x˺ [x x x x x]
ší-im : a-[x x x x]
ša É [x x x x x]
i-na z[i ? -x x x x]
10 *d A-šùr-[x x x x]*
[x x] d A-š[ùr? x x x x]
[x x] ˹d ˺A-š[ùr? -x x x x]
[x x x]-ni-[x x x]
[x x x]-tù-[x x x]
15 *[x x šá]l-ki-a [x x]*
[x x x] KÙ.BABBAR : a-n[a]?
[x x x A-š]ùr-lá-ma-sí
[x x x] : šu-ma
Lo.e. *[(x) A-šùr]-lá-ma-sí*
20 *[x x] : lá wa-ša-ab*
[a-na] ˹ša ki-ma˺
Rev *[A-šùr-lá-ma-sí]*
[x x x x x x x-i]m
[x x x x x x]-a-ra
25 *[x x x x x x]*
[x x x x x x]-lá
[x x x x x n]i
[x x x x-x-t]ám
˹i˺-[x x x x-t]a? –im
30 *: a-mu-tim : ša A-šùr-lá-/ma-sí*
: É a-limki
il5 -qé-ú-ni : ù lá ta--qé-a
ù kà-ru-um : šu-um-šu
a-šar : A-šùr-lá-ma-sí
35 *uš-te6 -bu-lu-ni*
ša-du-a-tám
ù iš-ra-tim : i-na
ší-im : a-mu-tim
ù-lá i-lá-qé-ú
40 *lá ša A-šùr-lá-ma-sí-/ma*
*ma-ma-an : **DUMU** A-šùr*
U.e. *: É a-limki : a-mu-tám*
ù TÚG.HI.A ša A-ki-dí-e
L.e. *il5 -qé-ú-ni : ša-du-a-tám ˹ù˺ [iš-ra-tim]*
45 *ša a-mu-tim ù **TÚG.HI.A** ša ˹A˺-[ki-dí-e]*
ú-lá ta-lá-qé-a ù kà-ru-um [šu-um-šu ú-lá i-lá-qé-ú?]

[1-4)] From the Chairman *(waklum)* to Puzur-ilī, Titinatal, the envoys of [the city of Assur], and the *kārum* [Kaniš] [5-15)] [……] [16-22)] […] the silver to […] if Aššur-lamassī […] is not present [in …] [… to] the representatives of [Aššur-lamassī] [23-27)] [……..] [28-32)] You shall not take the […….] of the *amūtum* that Aššur-lamassī bought (from) the City Hall. [33-39)] In addition, (the authorities of) a *kārum* to which Aššur-lamassī has shipped the amūtum may not levy the *šaddu'utum* and *išrātum*-tax on the price of the *amūtum*. [40-46)] Apart from Aššurlamassī, you shall not levy *šaddu'utum* and *išrātum*-tax on any *amūtum* or Akkadian textiles from any citizen of Assur who *bought* the *amūtum* or the Akkadian textiles in the City Hall. No matter which (one) it is, no other *kārum* can levy it (either).[**88**]

7. Lead

Lead is mentioned in eight Kültepe texts as *abārum* with its weight recorded only in Kt h/k 16: 3 at 20 minas. In the letter TMH 1, 3b, an Assyrian trader complains about the absence of any material for purchase except lead, and in KT 6-d: 789 an Anatolian woman writes her husband to express her anger over him not sending her any funds to feed her and their children. At one point, she asks him what they are supposed to eat, since nobody wants to buy the lead which he apparently left behind for them to sell for their subsistence. At Kültepe, objects made of lead are found in a wide variety of uses, including lead fi gurines and weights.[**89**] However, the low number of attestations in the texts and the instances above show that lead had an insignifi cant place in the Assyrian commerce, presumably due its relatively low value and high bulk compared to other metals.[**90**]

8. Antimony[?] *(Lulūm)*

The term *lulûm*, for which the meaning “antimony” has been suggested (CAD L, 243a), appears in 18 Kültepe texts with a total weight of 20 talents and 53 minas (about 630 kg). If the translation is correct, the use of this metal in Anatolia during the Colony Period is not known. Since it occurs several times alongside copper in the texts, it seems possible that *lulûm* was used in alloys as an alternative to tin and arsenic.[**91**]

Conclusion

The main goal of this study is to off er a general idea about the total volume and geographical scope of the metal trade in Anatolia as evidenced in the Assyrian texts from Kültepe. The information presented here was gathered from nearly 12 thousand texts many of which are still unpublished. In addition to those documents, another 10 thousand cuneiform texts wait unedited in the Ankara Museum. Furthermore, there must still be innumerable documents in the ground at Kaniš, as well as at Assur and in some of the other Assyrian settlements in Anatolia. Many more have of course disappeared over the course of time. Consequently, it is not possible to determine the exact volume of metals traded during the almost 250 years that the Old Assyrian Colony Period lasted. However, this sort of analysis can help estimate the amounts of traded metal and also reveals a clear geographical pattern in the trade that was focused on a small number of Assyrian colonies and generally oriented in a westerly direction.

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EKLER. Kt 92/k 432

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- CCT 1-6 Cuneiform Texts From Cappodocian Tablets in the British Museum, London.
- CDA J. Black - A. George - N. Postgate, A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian, Wiesbaden, 2000.
- CTMMA 1 M. T. Larsen, Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art 1, New York, 1988
- Dalley St. Dalley, A Catalogue of the Akkadian Cuneiform Tablets in the Collections of the Royal Scottish Museum Edinburgh, Art and Archeology 2, Edinburgh, 1979.
- EL Eisser, G. – Lewy, J., Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkenden vom Kültepe, MVAG 33 EL 1, 1930 – MVAG 35/3 = EL 2, 1935.
- ICK 1 Hyrozny, B., <em<Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé, Vol. 1, Stántí Pedagogické Nakladatelství, Prague, 1952.
- KTK Jankowskaja, N. B., Klinopisnye Teksty iz Kjul’Tepe v Sobranijach SSSR, Moscou, 1968.
- KTS 1 Lewy, J., Die altassyrischen Texte von Kültepe, Keilschrifttexte in den Antiken - Musees zu Stambul, İstanbul 1926
- PRAG I Hecker, K.-Kryszat, G.-Matouš, L., Kappadokische Keilschrifttafeln aus den Sammlungen der Karlsuniversität Prag, Prag 1998.
- Sadberg Donbaz, V., Sadberk Hanım Müzesi’nden Bulunan Çiviyazılı Belgeler, İstanbul, 1999
- TC 1 Contenau, G., Tablettes cappadociennes du Louvre (TCL 4), Paris, 1920.
- TC 3 Lewy, J., Tablettes cappadociennes de Luvre, (TCL 19, 20, 21), Paris 1935- 1937.
- WAG Walters Art Gallery (WAG 48)

Footnotes

1. J. G. Dercksen off ered a detailed study of the copper trade (J. Gerrit Dercksen, The Old Assyrian Copper Trade in Anatolia, PIHANS 75, Leiden/İstanbul 1996); a summary of metals attested at Kültepe (J. Gerrit Dercksen, “Metals According to Documents from Kültepe-Kanish Dating to the Old Assyrian Colony Period”, (ed.) Ü. Yalçın, Anatolian Metal III, Der Anschnitt, Beiheft 18, Bochum (2005)), and a brief study on tin (J. Gerrit Dercksen “Zinn”, Reallexikon der Assyriologie, (2017)). K. R. Veenhof studied silver (Klaas R. Veenhof, “Silver in Old Assyrian Trade. Shapes, Qualities and Purifi cation”, (ed.) Zoltán Csabai, Studies in Economic and Social History of the Ancient Near East in Memory of Péter Vargyas, Department of Ancient History, the University of Pécs L’Harmattan, Budapest, (2014)) and Veenhof 2016 iron (Klaas R Veenhof, “A Diffi cult Old Assyrian Business Venture. Mannum-Kī-Aššur Tries his Luck with Iron”, Bibliotheca Orientalis, Jaargang LLXXIII, no. 1-2, (2016)). A broader discussion of the trade volume (including metal) is off ered in Gojko Barjamovic, A Historical Geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period, Copenhagen 2011: ch. 1.3, and in Edward Stratford, A Year of Vengeance: Time Narrative, and the Assyrian Trans-Taurus Trade in 1891 BCE. SANER, Boston: De Gruyter 2017: ch, 18. Lastly, especially for the prices of the metals and within the contexts of the available texts, L.G. Gökçek produced a detailed list in L. Gürkan Gökçek, “Kültepe Vesikalarında Geçen Nesnelerin Fiyatları”, (ed.) M. Şahin, II. Kayseri ve Yöresi Tarih Sempozyumu Bildirileri (16-17 Nisan 1998), Kayseri (1998).
2. Klaas R. Veenhof, Aspects of Old Assyrian Trade and its Terminology, BRILL, Leiden, 1972: pp. 79-80.
3. The research behind this article was carried out as a visiting scholar at Harvard University with the support of The Scientifi c and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK). The main target of my research was to fi nd answers to questions related to metals and metal trade in the Old Assyrian Colony Period as recorded in a wide

range of texts. Within the scope of this project, the attestations of gold, silver, tin, iron, copper, and lead metals and bronze alloy were collected from a database that includes nearly 12 thousand Old Assyrian texts, about half of which are still unpublished. I would like to express my gratitude to the TÜBİTAK for the fi nancial support for this research, and to the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University and my colleagues there Gojko Barjamovic and Piotr Steinkeller for hosting me during my work. I am grateful to G. Barjamovic also for both his editing the language of the article and his valuable comments on it.

4. See for the Old Assyrian Chronology Klaas R. Veenhof, The Old Assyrian List of Year Eponyms from Karum Kanish and Its Chronological Implications, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, VI/64, Ankara 2003; Cahit Günbattı, "An Aponym List (KEL G) from Kultepe", Altorientalische Forschungen 35, (2008); Gojko Barjamovic, Thomas Hertel, Mogens T. Larsen, Ups and Downs at Kanesh-Observations on Chronology, History and Society in the Old Assyrian Period, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden 2012.
5. Barjamovic et all., Ups and Downs, p. 55-57.
6. The terminology of caravan accounts, transport contracts, and notifying messages is adapted from Mogens T. Larsen, Old Assyrian Caravan Procedures, PIHANS, 22 (Leiden : Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten), 1967.
7. Larsen, ibid, p. 6.
8. About 30 talents (900 kg) of silver mentioned in texts (e.g. Dalley 12; I, 742) as a currency – awītum or "declared value" – can perhaps be added to this sum. However, one may think that this currency was used for the silver value of other commercial materials that were being brought to Anatolia from Assur and have thus been excluded from the present analysis.
9. Mogens T. Larsen, Ancient Kanesh, A Merchant Colony in Bronze Age Anatolia, Cambridge University Press, Cabridge 2015: 190.
10. Most of these qualifi cations have recently been discussed in detail in Veenhof, "Silver in Old Assyrian Trade".
11. SAHAR.BA "in its dust" does not indicate a type or quality of silver, but its shape. It occurs in about a dozen records, most of which are loan contracts. Silver in this shape is further qualifi ed in CTMMA 1, 87a as being sarrupum, i.e. "refi ned/pure".
12. For detailed information about tiri-silver which occurs in about 50 Kültepe texts, see Mogens T. Larsen, "Four Letters from the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore", (ed.) B . Hruska ve G. Komoroczy, Festschrift Lubor Matouš, vol.1-11, Budapest (1978), p. 115, Dercksen, "Metals", p. 22, and Veenhof, "Silver in Old Assyrian Trade", p. 397. tiri-silver does not occur with any qualifi cation. It is used as beulātum-credit in a few texts.
13. The term līum, which is attested in numerous loan contracts generally related to the dealings of local Anatolians probably designates a form of silver. It is clear that līum-silver had an Anatolian feature (Veenhof, "Silver in Old Assyrian Trade", p. 396). It is qualifi ed by damqum (SIG5) "good" in some texts.
14. The term huša'um "scrap" occurs only once and is qualifi ed by SIG5 "good": CCT 4, 2a: 7) … 6 mana 8) KÙ.BABBAR hu-ša-e SIG5 "6 minas of fi ne silver scraps". Except for this attestation, this term huša'um is used exclusively about copper in the Kültepe texts.
15. J. G. Dercksen ("metals", p. 22) interprets the term šabartum attested as ša-ba-ar-tám in ICK 1, 171: 6 and as ša-áb-ra-tum in CCT 2, 2: 9 as a "lump".
16. The most common qualifi cation of silver in Kültepe texts is ṣarrupum "purifi ed". It designates the pure silver that had been refi ned through smelting.
17. The meaning of amurrum as a type of silver was formerly thought to designate a source from Amurrum in Northern Syria, but is now known to be derived from the verb amārum "to check" cf. Th. Sturm, "kaspum ammurum, ein Begriff der Silbermetallurgie in den Kültepe-Texten", Ugarit Forschungen 27, (1995).
18. The term ha-at/ṭ-im which occurs only in CCT 1, 104: 7 and was thought to indicate Hattum as a place of origin, cf. Veenhof, "Silver in Old Assyrian Trade", p. 395, n. 6, can also be associated with the adjective hāṭû "bad, faulty" (CDA, 112-b).

19. The word massuhum that is also attested as a qualifi cation of tin, gold, and copper occurs in about two dozen texts about silver in the meaning “poor quality” or “dirty”.
20. This term occurs only in the unpublished Kt n/k 84: 1) 6 1/3 ma-na 3 1/2 GÍN 2) KÙ.BABBAR 6 1/2 GÍN 3) ša ma-a-sú 4) ša A-šur-na-da 5) ku-nu-ki-ni 6) Ṣí-li-d IM 7) ú-bi-il5 -šu-um “Aššur-nādā’s 6 minas 23.5 shekels of silver; 6.5 shekels of it … Ṣilli-Adad shipped to him under our seal”. The word may represent the adjective mādum “much” and not be a qualifi cation of silver.
21. P. R. S. Moorey, Ancient Mesopotamian Materials and Industries, the Archaeological Evidence, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1994, p. 134.
22. Pretiss S. de Jesus, “Metal Resources in Ancient Anatolia”, Anatolian Studies, 28, (1978), p. 100.
23. Barjamovic, A Historical Geography, p. 372-374, 412-413 contra e.g. Mogens T. Larsen, Old Assyrian Caravan Procedures, PIHANS, 22 (Leiden : Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten), 1967, p. 94 n. 47; 1976: 104; Klaas R. Veenhof-Jesper Eidem, Mesopotamia: The Old Assyrian Period, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 160/5, Fribourg, 2008, p. 150-151; Massimo Forlanini, “The historical geography of Anatolia and the transition from the karum-period to the Early Hittite Empire,” (ed.) J. G. Dercksen Anatolia and the Jazira during the Old Assyrian Period. (OAAS 3. PIHANS 111), Leiden 2008: 64-65
24. Gojko Barjamovic, “The Geography of Trade - Assyrian Colonies in Anatolia c. 1975- 1725 B.C. and the Study of Early Interregional Networks of Exchange,” (ed.) J.G. Dercksen Anatolia and the Jazira during the Old Assyrian Period. (PIHANS lll. OAAS 3). Leiden, 2008; Barjamovic, A Historical Geography
25. For the partnerships in the Old Assyrian trade, see Mogens T. Larsen, “Partnerships in the Old Assyrian Trade”, Iraq , 39, (1977).
26. Kt 79/k 101: 4-25) … ṭup-pá-am ša dì-in a-limki ša a-šu-mì KÙ.GI ša ni-iš-pu-ra-ku-nu-tí-ni ṭup-pu-um šuut a-ku-uš a-šu-mì KÙ.GI i-ṣu-ur-tám ù-la né-ṣú-ur a-wa-tum ša KÙ.GI pá-ni-a-tum-ma a-hu-um a-na a-hi-im a-na ší-mì-im i-da-an ki-ma a-wa-at na-ru-a-im DUMU A-šùr šu-um-šu KÙ.GI a-na A-ki-dí-im A-mu-ri-im ù Šu-bi-ri-im ma-ma-an la i-da-an ša i-du-nu ú-lá i-ba-la-aṭ “The tablet with the verdict of the City, which concerns gold, which we sent to you, that tablet is cancelled. We have not fi xed any rule concerning gold. The earlier rule concerning gold still obtains: Assyrians may sell gold among each other, (but) in accordance with the words of the stela, no Assyrian whosoever shall sell gold to any Akkadian, Amorite, or Shubarean. The one who does so shall not stay alive”.” Transl. Klaas R. Veenhof, “In Accordance with the Words of the Stele: Evidence for Old Asyrian Legislation”, Chicago-Kent Law Review, Vol. 70, (1995), p. 1733, see also Hüseyin Sever, “Yeni Kültepe Tabletlerinde Geçen ‘Kima awat narua’im’ Tabiri ve Değerlendirilmesi”, DTCFD, V. 34, I. 1-2, p. 260-262 1990 and J. Gerrit Dercksen, Old Assyrian Institutions, PIHANS 98, Leiden 2004, p. 81f
27. Dercksen, “Metals”, p. 25.
28. Hakan Erol, Kültepe’de 1992 Yılında Bulunmuş Šu-Ištar Arşivi, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Ankara, 2012.
29. For the term hupšum, cf. J. Gerrit Dercksen, “Some Elements of Old Anatolian Society in Kaniš”, (ed.) J. G. Dercksen, Assyria and Beyond, Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen, Nederlands Instituut het Nabije Oosten, Leiden (2004), p. 146.
30. Kt 92/k 347: 1) a-na Lu-zi-na 2) ù DAM.GÀR qí-bi-ma 3) um-ma DINGIR-ba-ni-ma 4) KÙ.GI : ša a-niiš-a-/ni 5) li-ma-am 6) nu-kà-li-im-ma 7) 4 GÍN.TA ú-kà-lu 8) KÙ.GI ni-da-an-/ma 9) ší-ma-am 10) ni-ša-am-ma 11) a-ta-bi-a-ma 12) a-ta-lá-kam 13) hu-up-šu-um 14) ma-ma-an ša KÙ.GI 15) i-lá-qé-ú 16) lá i-ba-ší
31. liqtum gold occurs in two texts: Kt 84/k 3: 1 (Veysel Donbaz, “More Old Assyrian Tablets from Assur”, Akkadica 42, (1985), p. 7) and Kt n/k 1697: 1. Salih Çeçen and Hakan Erol, “Kültepe’den Değişik Bir Ticarî Mal Listesi”, Archivum Anatolicum 12/2, (2008), p. 56-58). The unit price is 1:15 shekels in both texts. CAD L, 206a gives “a choice quality of gold and garments” for the fourth meaning of this term, which occurs in Old Babylonian texts. Clearly derived from the verb laqātum “gather, collect” so perhaps “choice gold” is an appropriate translation.
32. pašallum is the most preferred kind of gold by the traders. It occurs in about 30 texts. Its unit price is 8 shekels of silver on average. pašallum gold is generally qualifi ed as “fi ne” (SIG5) or “extra fi ne” (SIG5 DIRI) in the texts, and has been interpreted as “nugget” by Dercksen, “Metals”, p. 26.

33. The term kub/puršinnum is described as a “foreign word” in CAD K, 489b. What feature of gold kub/puršinnum indicates is not clear. The unit price is recorded in about 20 texts at an average of 1:6.

34. ša tiamtim “of the sea” is recorded in four texts: TC 1, 104: 8; WAG 48-1463: 6; Kt 75/k 86: 15; Kt h/k 104: 8. The qualifi cation suggests the gold was literally obtained from the sea (cf. Karin Reiter, Die Metalle im Alten Orient: unter besonderer Berücksichtigung altbabylonischer Quellen, Ugarit-Verlag, Münster 1997, p. 14).

35. hurāṣum pāṣi’um “white gold” suggests gold that containing a high ratio of silver. It occurs at least twice: WAG 48-1462: 24, 27; KTS 1, 52b: 5.

36. The HU.SÁ (sāmum) “red” gold occurs in four Old Assyrian texts: Ass 130058f:2 (Donbaz, “Tablets from Assur”, p. 16); CCT 4, 22b: 19; WAG 48-1462: 17; Kt n/k 1697: 3? (Çeçen and Erol, “Ticarî Mal Listesi”, p. 58). This type of gold is the most inexpensive one (1: 3 1/3), presumably due to its high content of copper (H. Waetzoldt, “Rotes Gold?”, Oriens antiquus 24, (1985), p. 1; Moorey, Materials and Industries, p. 226). The HU.SA gold is once qualifi ed as “very fi ne” (SIG5 DIRI) in CCT 4, 22b.

37. hurāṣum ša damē “blood gold” occurs only in Kt c/k 48: 36 (Kemal Balkan, Mama Kralı Anum-Hirbi’nin Kaniš Kralı Waršama’ya Gönderdiği Mektup, TTKY 7-31, Ankara 1957, p. 13) and has been associated with hurāṣum sāmum, “red gold”, cf. Larsen, “Four Letter”, p. 115 and Dercksen, Metals”, p. 26. However, the “blood gold” is expected to fetch a price of 8.5 or 9 : 1 in the text, which is signifi cantly above what would be expected for “red gold”.

38. kīšum gold is recorded in at least six Kültepe texts: KTK 99: 1; Kt c/k 440: 3, 15; AKT 5, 16: 13’; AKT 7-a, 211: 9, 23, 32; AKT 7-a, 212: 7, 12, 32; AKT 7-a, 240: 6. It is characterized as “kīšum of the land” (kīšam ša mātim) in Kt c/k 440 and qualifi ed as “fi ne” (SIG5) in AKT 7-a, 211 and 212. The meaning of the term is not clear, cf. Dercksen, “Metals”, p. 26.

39. For the sādum gold that occurs only in Kt c/k 18: 25, 40 cf. J. Gerrit Dercksen, “The Goddess Who was Robbed of her Jewellery. Ishtar and her Priest in an Assyrian Colony”, Anatolica 41, (2015), p. 40.

40. It is not certain that the term zakium refers to the type or quality of the gold. zakium, meaning “clear; clean; plain; refi ned” (CAD Z: 23a-b), is recorded as qualifi cation of gold in at least three Old Assyrian texts, one of which was excavated at Assur: Ass 13058e (Donbaz, “Tablets from Assur”, p. 6); Kt a/k 178:2; Kt n/k 1697: 5. The unit price of zakium gold in all three instances is 5.5: 1 in silver.

41. CAD M/II, 156b translates the ša mā’ešu, as “a fi ne quality” (See also Veenhof, Aspects, p. 181). ša mā’ešu gold, which was interpreted literally as “of its water” and thought to refer to “alluvial gold” in Dercksen “Metals”, p. 26, occurs in three additional texts from Kültepe: TC 1, 47: 16; Kt c/k 48: 39; AKT 11-a, 125: 5. This kind gold is recorded as an alternative to kupuršinnum gold in TC 1, 47, but was qualifi ed as kupuršinnum in AKT 11-a: 4) … 4 1/3 GÍN KÙ.GI 5) ša ma-e-šu : ku-pur-ší-ni-im “4 1/3 shekels of ša mā’ešu kupuršinnum gold”. It is therefore diffi cult to suggest a precise translation of this word.

42. The phrase ša mātim “of the land” is attested as the qualifi cation of kīšum gold only in Kt c/k 440: 3 and 6.

43. Kt n/k 1426: 1-5) 3 ma-na KÙ.GI ša Wa-ah-šu-ša-na pá-ša-lam SIG5 i-ṣé-er Hu-ra-sà-nim A-šur-i-mì-tí i-šu “Hurasānum owes Aššur-imití three minas of fi ne quality pašallum gold of Wahšušana”.

44. Barjamovic, A Historical Geography, p. 400-401, 411 suggests identifying Wahšušana with the site of Büklükale on the river, or a site in it relative vicinity.

45. Barjmovic, ibid, p. 366, 378; Goko Barjamovic, “A Commercial Geography of Anatolia: Integrating Hittite and Assyrian Texts, Archaeology and Topography”, (ed.) M. Weeden ve L. Z. Ullmann, Brill, Leiden/Boston (2017), p. 315

46. Barjamovic, A Historical Geography, p. 401. Based on recent studies of the course of the Sahariya River in antiquity, Barjamovic, “A Commercial Geography”, p. 313 adds the site of Gordion/Yassıhöyük as a possible candidate for the site.

47. Pretiss S. de Jesus, The Development of Prehistoric Mining and Metallurgy in Anatolia, Part I, B.A.R. International Series 74, Oxford 1980, p. 199-201.

48. Piotr Steinkeller, “The Role of Iran in the Inter-Regional Exchange of Metals: Tin, Copper, Silver and Gold in the Second Half of the Third Millennium BC”, (ed.) K. Maekawa, Ancient Iran, New Perspectives from Archaeology and

Cuneiform Studies. Ancient Texts Studies in the National Museum, Vol. 2, (2016), p. 128.

49. De Jesus, “Metal Resources”, p. 101.
50. De Jesus, ibid, p. 101-102.
51. Reiter, Die Metalle, p. 13.
52. Steinkeller, “The Role of Iran”, p. 128.
53. Dercksen, Old Assyrian Institutions, p. 148-163.
54. The term le’um occurs in just four texts: AKT 3, 49: 24; AKT 6-c, 606: 3; 659: 9; AKT 6-d, 808: 18. J. G. Dercksen (Copper Trade, p. 57) and K. R. Veenhof (AKT 5, 59: 3) take the term to refer to a “metal plaque; plate”, whereas M. T. Larsen prefers to translate them as “ingot” and states that there was not a standard weight of a le’um, its weight fl uctuating between 4 and 12 minas (AKT 6-c, 606: 3).
55. Look for the tin in the shape of beads Sadberg-ARK 154-9472:7, AKT 8, 146: 20 and may be in AKT 8, 357: 4, 6
56. mašitum appears in seven texts: Kt n/k 518: 27, 32; AKT 3, 70: 5; BIN 6, 64: 4, 6, 22; Kt 87/k 366: 2; Kt 87/k 382: 5 (in which mazīru-tin is qualifi ed as being mašitum); Kt 87/k 443: 4; Kt 87/k 448: 5 (hand tin or tin for expenses qualifi ed as mašitum). The meaning and/or origin of this term are not clear. The CAD M/I, p. 389b lists mašitum in BIN 6, 64, under maššītum “delivery; ingredients” and derives it from the verb našā’um. It is also possible to derive it from the adjective maššum “polished” (CAD M/I, p. 390a), which is used as a qualifi er for gold and copper in other sources.
57. The term mazirum appears about ten times in the records from Kültepe, normally qualifying small quantities of tin. The exception is Kt n/k 500: 6 which lists 2 talents 20 minas of mazirum-tin. In Kt 87/k 382 the mazirum-tin is characterized also as mašitum.
58. For the term ṭapšum as a bad quality of tin, see Dercksen, “Metals”, p. 20.
59. Dercksen, ibid, p. 20.
60. See also Larsen, Ancient Kanesh, p. 191.
61. Barjamovic, A Historical Geography, ch. 4.9.
62. Barjamovic, “A Commercial Geography”.
63. The volumes of the shipped tin, and any other commodities, to these cities are not given generally in the texts. According to the calculation of tin shipments, amount of which was directly mentioned in texts, at least 1.5 tons of tin was transported to Purušhattum and at least 930 kilos of tin to Wahšušana.
64. Dercksen, Copper Trade, p. 1-3. İrfan Albayrak, “Uṣur-ša-İštar Arşivinden Bakır Ticareti ile ilgili Bir Mektup”, (ed.) S. Erkut ve Ö. S. Gavaz, Studies in Honour of Ahmet Ünal Armağanı, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, İstanbul (2016), p. 26. 25-34.
65. For a detailed discussion see Dercksen, Copper Trade, p. 158-159, 227-230.
66. The amount of the copper transported to these cities is given only in in a limited number of texts. According to calculations of based on these volumes, at least 16,71 tons of copper was shipped to Purušhattum, 3,78 tons to Wahšušana, and 3,07 to Šalatuwar.
67. Veenhof-Eidem, Mesopotamia, p. 212f.
68. Larsen 2015, Ancient Kanesh, p. 191, 196.
69. Salih Çeçen and Hakan Erol, “Kültepe’den Değişik Bir Ticari Mal Listesi”, Archivum Anatolicum 12/2, (2018), p. 56-58.
70. Dercksen, “Metals”, p. 30.
71. Barjamovic 2008, “A Commercial Geography, p. 97-99; Larsen, Ancient Kanesh, p. 192.
72. Larsen, ibid, p. 196.
73. Dercksen, “Metals”, p. 28.

74. The discussion goes back to Benno Landsberger, “Kommt Hattum, “Hethiterland” und Hattium, “Hethiter”, in den Kültepe Tafeln vor?”, Archiv Orientálni 18/I-II (1950) and was recently summed up in Veenhof, “Business Venture”. For this metal see also Salih Çeçen, “Kaniš Kārum’unun Diğer Kārum ve Wabartumlar’a ‘KÙ.AN’ (amutum) ile ilgili Önemli Talimatları”, Belleten LXI/231, (1997), p. 219-232.
75. Reiter, Die Metalle, 390; Dercksen, ibid, p. 28.
76. Kt n/k 67: 10) …. KÙ.AN za-ku-tám 11) ša HA-ar-ša ú ša KI.DIRI
77. Kt a/k 1072: 2 a-nu-qú ša a-mu-tim ki-ip-lu KÙ.Gİ 16 GÍN KI.LÁ.Bİ a-na İ-ku-pì-A-šur a-dí-in-ma “I sold Ikūn-pī-Aššur 2 rings of iron weighing 16 shekels (and) wrapping with gold …”. Çeçen, ibid,p. 220, n. 11.
78. Veenhof, “Business Venture”, p. 15.
79. The price of KÙ.AN in Kt u/k 3: 51, cf. Dercksen, “Metals”, p. 28; Veenhof, ibid, p. 15.
80. Çeçen and Erol, “Ticari Mal Listesi”, p. 56-58.
81. Kt b/k 93+167: 13) 1 GÍR GAL ša-kàr-šu 14) a-mu-tum ù KÙ.GI “a big dagger, handle of which is made of iron and gold”.
82. Ünsal Yalçın, “Early Iron Metalurgy in Anatolia”. Anatolian Studies, vol. 49, (1999), p. 177.
83. Itamar Singer, “Hittites and Hattians in Anatolia at the Beginning of the Second Millennium B.C.”, Journal of Indo-European Studies (JIES) 9, (1981), p. 130-131, n. 7.
84. Veenhof, ibid, p. 13.
85. Dercksen, ibid, p. 28; Veenhof, ibid, p. 13.
86. Veenhof, ibid, p. 14. For detailed information see also AKT 5, p. 67, 82-85.
87. AKT 5, p. 82.
88. A text relating to the same incident NBC 1649H is currently being edited for publication by G. Barjamovic.
89. Kutlu Emre, Anadolu Kurşun Figürinleri ve Taş Kalıpları, TTKY, Ankara 1971; Fikri Kulakoğlu-Selmin Kangal, Anadolu’nun Önsözü, Kültepe Kaniş-Karumu, Asurlular İstanbul’da, (Katalog), Kayseri Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları No: 78, İstanbul 2011, p. 271-274.
90. Dercksen, “Metals”, p. 29.
91. Moorey, Materials and Industries, p. 241; Dercksen, “The Goddess”, p. 29.

Şekil ve Tablolar

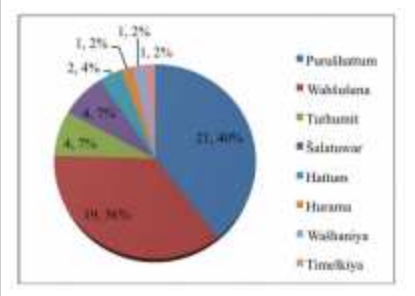

Figure 1. The number of attestations and the percentages of the cities in which the Assyrian traders obtained silver through commercial transactions (except Kaniš)

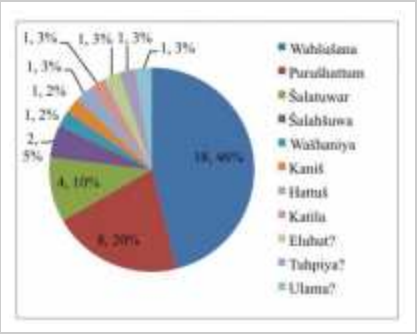

Figure 2. The number of attestations and the percentages of the cities from which the gold was acquired according to the records from Kültepe.

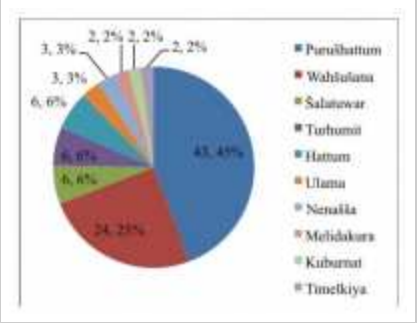

Figure 3. The number of attestations and the percentages of the cities to which Assyrian traders transported the tin at least two times in the texts.

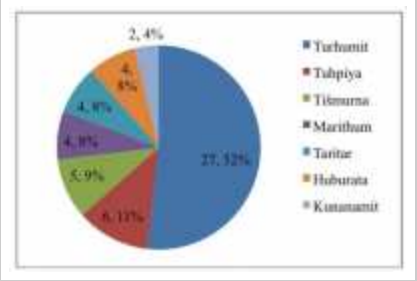

Figure 4. The number of attestations and the percentages of the cities which are attested at least two times as copper obtained centers and qualifi ed as origin of the copper in the texts

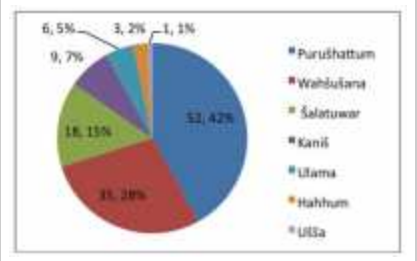

Figure 5. The number of attestations and the percentages of the cities to which the copper was shipped there for sale.

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ANTIQUITY XXXV, 1961 PLATES XXIV, XXV

Early Bronze Age Colonists in Iberia

by BEATRICE BLANCE

Dr Beatrice Blance, a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, has for the last few years been engaged in research on prehistory in Spain, Portugal and Germany, as a Research Scholar of the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, and as a Scholar of the Instituto de Alta Cultura *in Lisbon. In this article she marshals the evidence for the establishment of East Mediterranean colonies in the Iberian Peninsula. Fig.* 1 *is a distribution map of some of the sites mentioned in the text. An appendix to this article lists the sites with bastions and with imported or imitation imported ware.*

THE object of this paper is to show that certain Early Bronze Age sites in the Iberian Peninsula are actually colonies established by people coming from the Eastern Mediterranean.

The term 'colony' is used here in contrast to the term 'culture'. It is selected because, besides being the term used by Siret, who believed that Los Millares was a Phoenician colony, and the Leisners (*Factorei*), it is the term which best describes these sites. The following account will demonstrate that they were solitary, heavily-defended settlements situated in a culturally foreign environment. Their best parallels are to be found in the East Mediterranean area, where, from very early times politically independent city states which owed their existence to either a rich hinterland or to trade and commerce, are known. These sites in the Peninsula may, in fact, be regarded as primitive examples of the types of colonies established later by the Phoenicians and the Greeks.

In the following account the method of investigation is briefly described, but the chief advantages and disadvantages of each method cannot be discussed here. This side of the subject has been fully dealt with in a recent survey (Blance 1960). In this survey it was noticed that before the position of the colonies could be fully understood it was essential to take into consideration the Neolithic cultures present in the Peninsula. These can be briefly summarized as follows.

The earliest Neolithic groups in the Peninsula were the impressed-ware groups. Cardial impressed ware is found chiefly in North-East Spain and around the Tagus Estuary, while non-cardial impressed ware which is found in both these areas is also very common in Southern Spain. The cultural assemblage of these groups was less easy to ascertain, but it certainly included flint blades, trapeze-shaped arrowheads, and bone points and spatulae. The decoration on the pottery was nearly always confined to the upper part of the pot.

The Almeria culture was found principally in South-East Spain where some 150 graves are known, most of which seem to have been used for collective burial. A statistical analysis of the finds from these graves showed that they could be divided into two groups, which reflected a cultural rather than a chronological distinction. The 'indigenous' group was characterized by trapeze-shaped arrowheads, stone axes, bone points and probably also shell bracelets. The other group contained bifacially-worked flint arrowheads, flat idols, green-stone beads, and certain pottery types. It was thought that this group already in-

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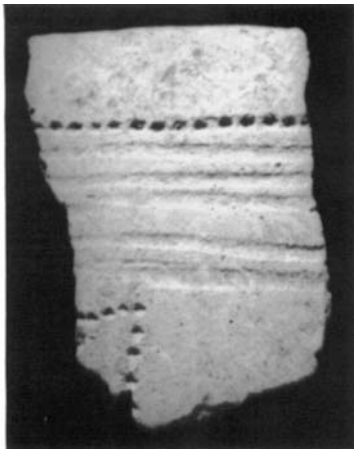
PLATE XXIV

(a)



(a) *Sherd of coarser pottery from Vila Nova de S. Pedro, probably an imitation of the imported pottery.*

(b) *Pyxides from the Cyclades.*

(c) *Fragment of stroke-burnished 'imported pottery'.*

(c)

(b)

EARLY BRONZE AGE COLONISTS IN IBERIA

See pp. 192 ff.]

[*Photo:* (b), Ashmolean Museum.

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dicated early East Mediterranean influence in the Peninsula. There was evidence, too, that some of the Almeria graves were more likely to have been communal ossuaries than actual collective tombs, for example, Loma de la Torre 4, which was only 1·20 m. in diameter and 0·50 m. deep contained nine burials (G. and V. Leisner, 1943, 15).

This culture seems to have spread westwards, possibly due to the arrival of Los Millares people in the south-east, and to have played an important part in the formation of the

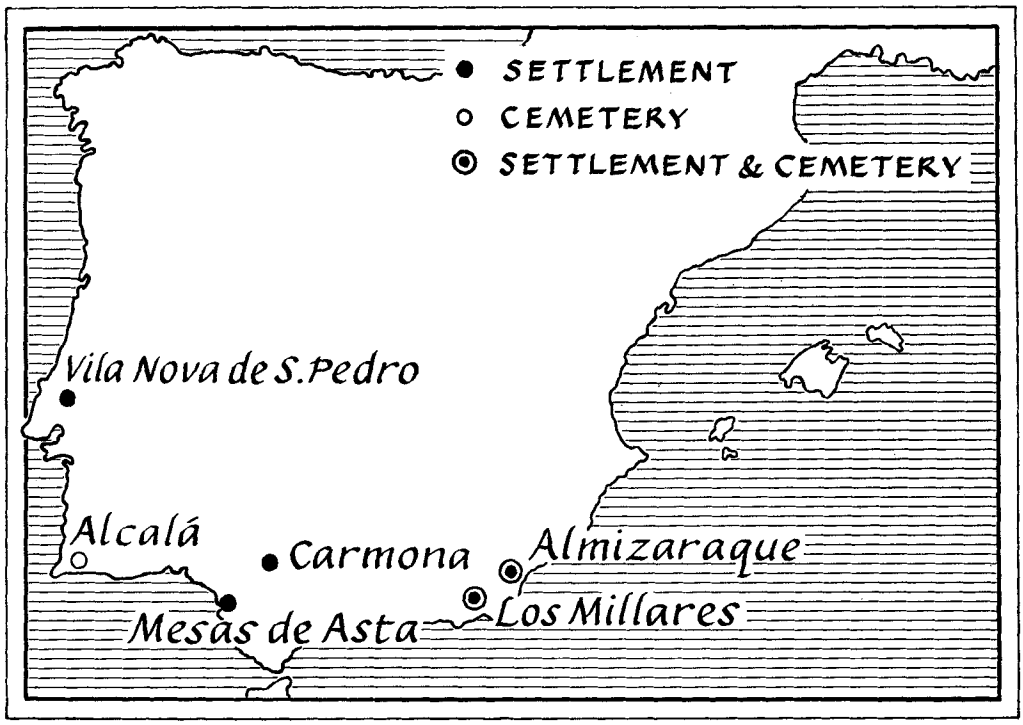

Fig. 1. Settlements and Cemeteries of the Early Bronze Age Colonists in Iberia.

Portuguese dolmen group, which is found chiefly in the Alentejo and South-West Spain. This group was characterized by trapeze-shaped and leaf-shaped arrowheads, stone axes, and decorated slate plaques, which are a later development from flat idols.

In North-East Spain there was an interesting local culture known chiefly from its 'Sepulturas de Fosa'. This culture, as the name suggests, was typified by single burial in earth graves; and the grave goods, which were very characteristic, consisted of stone axes with pointed butts, flint trapezes, bone points, and big olive-shaped callais beads. This group had clear Italian relationships and must be contemporary with the 'Neolitico Medio' of Arene Candide.

In Murcia and Alicante there was a special group of caves which appeared to have had some contact with all the Neolithic groups so far referred to (Monte de la Barsella, La Pastora, etc.).

Sites, which by general consent were dated to Early Bronze Age times, were next examined in order to find out how much of the earlier Neolithic influence could be traced in them.

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The two main sites were Los Millares and Vila Nova de S. Pedro.

Los Millares was a large, naturally-defended settlement site on a high promontory between two rivers in the present-day province of Almeria. Nearby was a cemetery of over seventy collective tombs. The settlement was defended by a stone-built wall which had bastions at regular intervals. There were complex devices for restricting and channelling the entrance to the settlement. It seems likely that there was also an inner defensive wall. A further defensive measure consisted of four small fortifications on the ridge of hills which bounded the site in the south-west. The graves were all collective tombs and most seem to have been corbelled. There were some, however, the construction of which suggested that they were probably to be regarded as 'round graves with passages'. During the 1955 excavations, it was noted that some graves had forecourts and often a cluster of baetyls or a scatter of pottery was found in them. A glance at the illustrations of the finds from these graves (G. and V. Leisner, 1943) showed that Neolithic features such as flat idols, trapezes, and green-stone beads, etc., were very rare at the site, and were found together in certain graves (e.g. grave 8). The majority of the finds from Los Millares could not be assigned to the Neolithic cultures nor could they be considered as belonging to the Beaker culture. The finds, in fact, consisted mainly of stone and bone containers, painted pottery, ivory and metal objects, baetyls or round idols, and symbol pottery. The distribution of these objects among the graves showed that there was a tendency for them to be found together, and very often in round graves with passages. A further study of the associated finds indicated that the phalanges, flint daggers, and deeply hollow-base arrowheads could also be included in this group. The graves containing objects typical of this group are: 7, 40, 9, 57, Loma de Huechar 2, 5, 8, 12, 15, 16, 23, 2, 25, 67, 10, 74, 41, 71, 21, 17, 32, 39 and 37. Thus at Los Millares it was possible to show that there was a certain assemblage of grave goods which cannot be related at all either to the earlier Neolithic cultures or to the later Bell Beaker culture.

A survey of the finds from the other sites in Almeria showed that, with the exception of Almizaraque, none of these sites had a typical Los Millares assemblage. Usually only isolated features typical of Los Millares were noted, and they occurred within a context more reminiscent of the Almeria culture (e.g. Loma del Belmonte 1; Llano de la Atalaya 3, 5 and 6, etc.). Almizaraque, a tell-like settlement site, situated in the Almanzora valley, yielded finds of a similar kind to those from Los Millares, and in addition a decorated stone sandal, many decorated long bones, and a pit which contained a bull burial (Cuadrado 1946). As at Los Millares there was also some slight evidence for contact with the Almeria culture (e.g. a flat idol and a stone bracelet, etc.).

In the neighbouring province of Granada, the position was even clearer, only a few objects typical of Los Millares were found in the graves there, and the characteristic grave goods were of Neolithic derivation.

The other main site, Vila Nova de S. Pedro, is situated near the village of the same name, about 9 km. north-west of Cartaxo, Ribatejo, in Portugal. This site is stoutly defended by three settlement walls, the two innermost of which are known to have bastions (Paço and Sangmeister 1956 and *Diario de Noticias*, Lisbon, 25 September, 1958). Recently three levels have been noted at the site. The earliest of these was found *under* the innermost defensive wall (here called the 'citadel') and consisted of a layer of earth which contained pottery decorated by stroke-burnishing (PLATES XXIV (*c*) and XXV). This pottery has sometimes been referred to in the publications as 'imported pottery'. The next level was represented by the citadel and its period of use. Both of these periods are called here for convenience V.N.S.P. I (Sangmeister (1956) refers to them as V.N.S.P. I and II*a*). There are signs that the wall had been destroyed, hastily reconstructed, and destroyed again;

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PLATE XXV

EARLY BRONZE AGE COLONISTS IN IBERIA

Magnification of the stroke burnished pottery in PLATE XXIV(*c*) *to show the fineness of the technique. This is 'imported pottery' of the type found under the citadel wall, at Vila Nova de S. Pedro.*

See p. 194]

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above this level of destruction abundant sherds of beaker ware have been found. This level is called V.N.S.P. II (II*b* of Sangmeister). As this distinction between V.N.S.P. I and II has only recently been noted, few of the finds can be attributed to either phase with any stratigraphical certainty. If, however, one dismisses the quantity of obviously beaker and later material there remains a group of finds which are similar to those known from Los Millares—stone and bone containers, round (or cylinder) idols, flint 'daggers', bifacially-worked arrowheads, and metal objects. To this list can be added the bone pins, which were replaced in beaker times by buttons, and the imported pottery and imitations of it, the statigraphical position of which indicates an early date. Very little trace of Neolithic influence could be seen at Vila Nova de S. Pedro; of over six thousand arrowheads found for example, only three were trapezes and none was leaf-shaped; and only about a dozen slate plaques have been found. The evidence is, however, sufficient to suggest that although Vila Nova de S. Pedro owed nothing to the local Neolithic cultures, those cultures were still in existence in the area.

An examination of the finds from thirty-eight sites in the area around the Tagus mouth, which included settlements, rock-cut tombs, corbel-vaulted tombs, caves and dolmens, yielded most interesting and instructive results. With the exception of the corbel-vaulted tombs, none of the sites showed an assemblage of finds typical only of V.N.S.P. I, but rather there were indications of a mixture of V.N.S.P. I features and features derived from the Neolithic cultures. For example, grave 3 at Palmela, besides cylinder idols, typical V.N.S.P. I arrowheads and metal objects, also contained decorated slate plaques, sixteen trapezes and some leaf-shaped arrowheads; or the dolmen of Monte Abraão contained imitation imported pottery, cylinder idols, and bone containers, as well as slate plaques, leaf-shaped arrowheads and a flat bone idol.

The study of finds from the Tagus region made it possible to establish the typical assemblage for the V.N.S.P. I phase, which was imported pottery and imitations of it (PLATE XXIV), certain exotic pottery objects such as spit-supports, stone and bone containers, stone cylinder idols, all cult objects such as stone lunulae, pinecones, mattocks, horns, sandals, etc., bone pins, flint daggers, hollow-base arrowheads (especially mitre and Eiffel tower type), and metal objects such as axes, chisels, and one-sided knives (these knives are quite distinct from Beaker knives).

It is clear then that both Los Millares and Vila Nova de S. Pedro do not represent a developed stage of the local Neolithic cultures because they show so little contact with the Neolithic; nor do they indicate a widespread invasion of the Peninsula by new cultures, because the assemblage of finds from these two sites differs from the typical assemblage of finds from contemporary sites in their immediate neighbourhood. In fact, they stand out as isolated settlements against a different cultural environment. There are a few other sites which by their finds must be included in this category. These are Almizaraque, Alcalá, with its corbel-vaulted tombs (G. and V. Leisner 1943), and Mesas de Asta (Esteve Guerrero 1945 and 1950). The last-named is situated in the swampy zone near the mouth of the Guadalquivir, and north-west of the town of Jerez. Below the Roman and Iberic remains at this site the excavator found Beaker ware, and also sherds of pattern-burnished and monochrome red or grey ware.

The similarity of finds at these colonies has been emphasized. It must be added, however, that there are regional variations. For example, painted pottery is commonest in South-East Spain, while pattern-burnished ware is found in South-West Spain at Mesas de Asta and Acebuchal, and stroke-burnished ware in the Tagus area. Stone and bone containers in Portugal are either completely plain or decorated by a variety of motifs, those of South-East Spain are usually decorated only by incised cross-hatching; bone pin

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types are simple in South-East Spain and more varied in Portugal; stone cult objects are more common in Portugal, but phalanges, sometimes decorated, are more common in South-East Spain. These differences are, however, regional, and do not hide the basic similarities between the sites.

It has long been recognized that sites such as Los Millares have parallels in the Eastern Mediterranean, though these have not always been easy to trace. The available evidence for East Mediterranean contact is briefly examined below in order to show that these colonies, whose culture is quite different from that of the Neolithic in Southern Iberia, are in fact closely related to East Mediterranean areas. It should be noted that when references are given below to East Mediterranean sites they are not meant to be exhaustive, but rather are intended to give an indication of the possible areas involved in the setting up of colonies in the Iberian Peninsula. These parallels will be considered in roughly the following order: architecture, pottery, stone, bone and metal objects.

Among the most striking of recent discoveries in the Peninsula is the use of complex defensive systems at the colonies. Bastions, complicated entrances, multiple enclosure walls and outlying defences are all known. The Los Millares entrance is so unusual that parallels cannot yet be pointed out in the East Mediterranean area.

Sangmeister has already drawn attention to the similarity between the Los Millares settlement wall and a similar wall with bastions at Chalandriani in Syros (Paço and Sangmeister 1956, 229; Tsountas, 1899, fig. 32) and with the exception of some later Egyptian examples (Somers Clarke 1916) this is, in fact, the only site in the East Mediterranean where semi-circular bastions are known because elsewhere, bastions, if they occur, are rectangular (Blance 1957; Schachermeyr 1955, fig. 57; Lamb 1936, 24, 44, 210).

The use of multiple enclosure walls is also known at Chalandriani, and even the narrow entrance in the citadel wall at Vila Nova de S. Pedro can be paralleled at this site.

A few stretches of herring-bone walling were noted in both the settlement wall and the graves at Los Millares, and this technique is familiar at East Mediterranean sites such as Troy, Thermi, Haghios Kosmas and Eutresis (Lamb 1936, 15; Mylonas 1934, fig. 2; Goldman 1931, 15, fig. 12).

Knowledge of the Neolithic cultures of the Peninsula shows that this type of fortification cannot have evolved independently in the Peninsula, and the evidence cited above suggests that it came from the East Mediterranean. It is probable too that the ultimate origin of the towers of the Sardinian Nuraghe and of some sites in Mallorca should be traced back to this same tradition which arrived in the Peninsula in Early Bronze Age times.

A long-standing enigma is that of the corbel-vaulted tomb. What is its origin? Such tombs are not known in the Eastern Mediterranean before Mycenean times. Many unsuccessful attempts have been made to find exact parallels for the Iberian grave types, and here it is proposed only to show that certain features, common in the Iberian graves, can be paralleled in the East Mediterranean.

In the Peninsula, and particularly at Los Millares, the following features were noted in connection with 'corbel-vaulted' tombs: (*a*) probably not all were corbelled; (*b*) collective burial was practised; (*c*) offerings were made to the dead outside the graves, sometimes in a special niche; (*d*) the entrance to the graves was frequently constricted, usually by means of a port-hole slab; (*e*) the grave mound was often demarcated by stone slabs; (*f*) children were buried apart in niches (G. and V. Leisner 1943, 47, grave 20); (*g*) there was also a possibility that a grave of the Almeria culture had been used as a communal ossuary; (*h*) some rock-cut tombs were imitations of corbel-vaulted tombs.

Collective burial was known in the East from early times, when it was practised in

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caves and rock shelters. Later these caves might be modified or enlarged for use as communal tombs, or certain houses might be set aside for use as communal ossuaries as, for example, in Gournia.

With regard to the various features noted in the Iberian graves the site of Haghios Kosmas is particularly interesting. There Mylonas found two types of graves, both of which had probably been used as ossuaries. One of these types had stone-built walls which inclined inwards giving them the appearance of primitive tholoi, and similar graves are known from Chalandriani in Syros (Mylonas 1934, 269; Tsountas 1899, figs. 5 and 10). The entrances to the graves at Haghios Kosmas were often very small and access must have been through the roof, and similar constriction of the entrance was noted in the Syros graves and at Krasi (Mylonas 1934, 268; Tsountas 1899, 83; and Marinatos 1929, 138). The area of the graves, too, at Haghios Kosmas, and also in Leukas, was often demarcated by a circle of stones (Mylonas 1934, 270, and Dörpfeld 1927, 207, 220). The custom of placing offerings for the dead outside the grave, often in a special niche, was a common practice at Haghios Kosmas, and was also noted in the Syros graves and in the Mesara tombs (Mylonas 1934, 271; Tsountas 1899, 80; Xanthoudides 1924, 51).

It is clear then that many individual features of the Iberian graves were also known in the East Mediterranean and it is not difficult to imagine that, owing to peculiar local conditions in South-East (?) Spain, the vaulted tomb, so typical of that area, arose.

A study of the pottery from the colonies is very interesting, and particularly the pottery from Mesas de Asta because, with the possible exception of El Acebuchal, it is the only site in the Peninsula which has yielded pattern-burnished ware.

In the Aegean, pattern-burnished ware is found in Neolithic and Early Bronze Age contexts. Mrs Ozanne (née Furness) considers that the pottery from Mesas de Asta is most closely paralleled in the material from Tigani in Samos, where pattern-burnished ware is characteristic of phase II. At Tigani, as at Mesas, both grey and brown pattern-burnished ware is found (the colours are most likely due to firing, rather than to any deliberate attempt to vary the colour); the pattern is frequently on the inside of the sherds, and the decorative motifs employed are also similar, with zones of cross-hatching occurring between completely burnished panels. Though this motif is fairly common in pattern-burnished ware, the cross-hatching at both Mesas and Tigani is noticeably elongated. At Tigani pattern-burnishing is found on deep open bowls. It is unfortunate that little information is available regarding the forms of this ware at Mesas, but open bowls must certainly have been represented there if the appearance of pattern-burnishing on the inside of the sherd is to be explained. A sherd from Orchomenos (Künze 1931, pl. IX, 3) has a plaited pattern-burnished design reminiscent of a sherd from Mesas.

Mrs Ozanne gives an excellent brief survey of the distribution of this type of pottery in the East Mediterranean (Furness 1956, 205–8). She was able to show that Tigani can be related to Besiktepe and Kumtepe I*a*. Phase I*c* at Kumtepe is contemporary with Troy I and thus Kumtepe I*a* and related sites must be earlier than Troy I. From her survey it is obvious that pattern-burnished ware is confined to the Neolithic period and is probably earlier than Troy I.

Red monochrome and highly burnished grey wares were also found at Mesas de Asta; it is not easy to point to immediate parallels in the East. Besides being known at Sesklo, red ware, in the form of bowls with rounded profiles or incurved rims, was found at Tigani. The paste was not good and was covered by a red slip which tended to flake away. The slip had been applied to the outside surfaces only of certain of the vessels or to the inside of open bowls (Furness 1956, 187). The strawberry-red colour of the slip on the Mesas ware is more like the Tigani material than the orange-red slip of the Sesklo material.

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It was also noticed in the grey wares at Mesas that the burnishing was restricted to the visible surfaces only. There is, however, no parallel in the shape of the vessels at Mesas and Tigani. Red or grey monochrome ware is found in Asia Minor at sites such as Bujuk Gullucek (Kosay and Akok 1948), Alisar and Alaca. Lunate or horseshoe lugs which are found at Mesas de Asta are known on dark burnished wares from several sites in Asia Minor, and also from Tigani, Troy I, Dimini, and Sesklo (Furness 1956, 185).

In Lipari, monochrome red ware is characteristic of the late Neolithic Diana culture. Although the shades of red are slightly different at Mesas and Diana, and Diana pottery is also characterized by trumpet lugs, which are never found in Mesas, some of the forms in both areas are similar. It is interesting to notice that according to Brea, bifacially-worked arrowheads (apparently hollow-base type) arrived with the Diana culture (Brea 1951, 94) and that the first signs of metallurgy were also encountered in a Diana culture level (Brea and Cavalier 1956, 35). At Diana, the red ware is not associated with grey ware or pattern-burnished ware.

White, or light on dark, painted pottery was confined to South-East Spain, and it was applied to various shapes of pottery. The decorated motif used was most frequently the herring-bone pattern, which was arranged either vertically or horizontally. G. and V. Leisner (1943, 589) compared this pottery with white-painted pottery of the E.M. III period in Crete. This technique, however, was not confined to Crete but was comparatively widespread. A recent study of the distribution of white-painted pottery undertaken by Mellaart (1954, 194 ff., 202 ff.) shows a concentration of this ware at a number of new sites in South-West Anatolia. He suggests that there are two phases in the use of this pottery, the first was contemporary with Troy I and the second was during the E.H. III–E.M. III period.

Stroke-burnished ware (and imitations of it) is found only in the Tagus area. Although it is known from about fourteen sites, Vila Nova de S. Pedro has undoubtedly yielded the most important finds. The finest sherds are of a very high quality, especially in comparison with the local Neolithic pottery, and the grooves are very regularly and finely executed (PLATE XXV). The typical form is a cylindrical vessel with slightly convex base and concave sides (compare with a white-painted vase from Belmonte I, G. and V. Leisner 1943, 127, I, 14), but the simple bowl shape is also found. Decoration usually consists of three or four rows of horizontal grooves below the rim, and above the base, and the space between may be left plain or it may be decorated by fine herring-bone patterns, which have been lightly burnished into the surface of the vessel. Little is known about the use of stroke-burnishing in the East Mediterranean, but Sangmeister has already drawn attention to the resemblance between this pottery and the Cycladic pyxides (Paço and Sangmeister 1956, 222, footnote; Tsountas 1898, pl. 9, 18 and 31). In the Cyclades, herring-bone decoration occurs mainly on squat cylindrical or on taller jars, but the pattern always appears to be incised into the pottery, and it is never confined to the surface as in the Portuguese material (our PLATE XXIV (*c*), and Zervos 1957, figs. 81 and 82). The Portuguese material is, in fact, of better quality and craftsmanship than the Cycladic!

The burnished red colour of the Portuguese sherds, together with their form and decoration, suggest that both they and the Cycladic pottery may have originated in attempts to copy decorated metal objects such as the jug from Tomb B at Alaca Hüyük (Arik, R.O., 1937, CLXXI, 242), although, of course, this is too late to be directly connected with the Cycladic pottery.

In view of the other Cycladic connections noticed at Vila Nova de S. Pedro it is perhaps not unreasonable to consider that this pottery has also some relationship with the Cycladic pottery.

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A mention must also be made of a pattern-burnished bowl from Aigina, which is remarkably like stroke-burnished vessels from Vila Nova de S. Pedro (Welter 1938, fig. 4, cf. Paço 1958, fig. 7).

Horned and plain cylindrical spit-supports were found at Vila Nova de S. Pedro (Jalhay and Paço 1945, XXI, fig. 7), but they are not known elsewhere in the Peninsula. Horned spit-supports, which are the more interesting of the two, were found at Asine, Troy, Thermi and in the Cyclades, while cylindrical ones with horizontal perforations are known from Olynthus, Eutresis, Rakhmani, Gozlu Kule, and Kusura (Frodin and Person, 1938, 232–3, No. 169–7; Sjövall, 1925, 185; Blegen *et al.*, vol. 1, fig. 369, 38–102; Lamb, 1936, fig. 44, 30, 6; Mylonas 1929, fig. 89*a*; Goldman, 1931, No. 266–4, 193; Wace and Thompson, 1912, 43, fig. 19; Goldman, 1956, 324, Nos. 16–21; Lamb, 1937, fig. 16, 4–6).

Stone containers which first appear in the Peninsula at this time are well known features of East Mediterranean cultures and the bone containers appear by their form and decoration to be closely related to them. There are a few instances of pottery imitations of stone vessels. Small pottery vessels with three or more mouths may be imitations of small stone vases of a type found in great numbers in the Cretan Tholoi (Xanthoudides 1924, pl. x). A few zoomorphic vases of stone or pottery are also known in the Peninsula.

While simple pin-types were found throughout Southern Spain, finds of vase and bird-headed pins were confined to the Tagus area. Sangmeister has already drawn attention to their similarity with the bird-headed pins from Syros (Paço and Sangmeister 1956, 225, fn. 13, and Tsountas 1899, pl. 10, 13), and there is also a vase-headed pin from this site *ibid.*, pl. 10, 14). Vase-headed pins and similar types are also known from early levels at Eutresis, Thermi, Troy, Alisar Hüyük and Gozlu Kule (Goldman 1931, fig. 284, Nos. 5, 7; Lamb 1936, 167; Blegen *et al.*, 1950, No. 37, 615; Van der Osten 1937, vol. I, fig. 196*c*, 2142; Goldman 1956, 313, fig. 438, Nos. 50, 51, 54).

The bone or ivory combs which have been found at several sites in the Peninsula are too simple to be able to show immediate East Mediterranean parallels.

The evidence suggests that the colonists introduced the knowledge of metal-working into the Peninsula and this included knowledge of casting in a closed mould (e.g. the Alcalá daggers). This is important because the succeeding Beaker phase used only hammered metal and heavy cast objects, such as axes, are not known in any Beaker assemblage.

The Alcalá dagger type with its bifacial mid-ribs is a general East Mediterranean type and similar dagger forms are known in the Cyclades, Crete, Lemnos, etc. (Xanthoudides 1924, pls. XXIV and XXIX; Zervos 1956, figs. 290–292; Brea 1959, fig. 8). It is also suggested that some of the flint daggers and halberds so common in Southern Spain during this period may be imitations of some East Mediterranean dagger types such as those from Haghia Triada in Crete.

The axe type, typical of the colonies, is long with almost parallel sides and a lightly splayed cutting edge. Such axes are a common early type in many areas of the Eastern Mediterranean, and are often regarded as of Anatolian origin (Tsountas 1898, pl. 12, 7; Goldman 1931, fig. 286, 2; Brea 1959, fig. 9; Lamb 1936; Kosay 1944; Van der Osten 1937, 197, e 480, d 1877, c 2477; Kosay and Akok 1948, pl. XCIX; Goldman 1956, 289; Lamb 1937, fig. 19, 1; Daux, 1959).

At Eutresis, in Boetia, a curved knife and a metal seal found there may be compared to similar objects from Vila Nova de S. Pedro and Monte do Cabeço dolmen (Paço and Sangmeister, 1955; the Leisners, 1959, pl. 16, 1, 1).

Mention must also be made of a painting, which could be interpreted as a ship with a high prow and stern and many oars, on an upright stone in the dolmen of Antelas, near Aviero (Albuquerque, Veiga Ferreira and Viana, 1957).

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There can be no doubt that, despite regional differences, some of which may be due to the difference between grave and settlement finds, there is a remarkable uniformity between the main colonial sites, Los Millares, Almizaraque, Alcalá and Vila Nova de S. Pedro. Some of the differences may be due to the fact that each colony had a different source in the Eastern Mediterranean. Other differences may have developed as the colonies became cut off from their motherland and also, possibly, from one another. Thus the use of criss-cross decoration on the bone containers of South-East Spain may be an early feature, since this motif is known from early objects, such as the ivory sandal in Los Millares 7 and the ivory comb in Marcella. The variety of design on the bone containers in the West may, on the other hand, have been a later, local development. Differences, such as the presence or absence of spit-supports, vase-headed pins, or white-painted pottery, are more likely to be the result of different East Mediterranean sources. The influence of the Cyclades, the West Anatolian Islands and Anatolia is clearly suggested by the study of the finds. It would probably be wrong to regard any one of these areas as being responsible for the planting of all the colonies in the Iberian Peninsula, and it is likely that each of the main sites in the Peninsula was colonized from a different area in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Vila Nova de S. Pedro, which was shown to have several links with the Cyclades, must belong to a period when herring-bone design was still popular there and before the typical Cycladic spiral pattern had been developed. This implies a time before the E.C. II period which is usually dated about 2400 B.C. (Matz, 1950).

Mesas de Asta shows little contact with the other colonies and the find of pattern-burnished ware makes it probable that it is of an earlier period. If the parallel with Tigani in Samos, the dating of which depends on the date of Troy I (*c.* 2700 B.C.) is correct, the site must be dated about 2700–2600 B.C. This date would coincide approximately with the arrival of flat idols, etc., in Almeria.

The East Mediterranean parallels to Los Millares are less easy to trace to one particular area, but there are obvious contacts with the Cyclades and, of course, the earlier Almeria culture was characterized by Cycladic type idols. A sample of carbon, found *below the tumble* of the settlement wall at Los Millares, was dated by carbon 14 to 2345 ± 85 B.C. (Schwabedissen and Otto, 1958, 142), and this date agrees well with the one suggested above for Vila Nova de S. Pedro. Sangmeister (1956, 229) also obtained a similar date for the beginning of Los Millares and Vila Nova de S. Pedro.

It is interesting that the Iberian relationships are with the Cycladic and West Anatolian areas, where sailing would have developed of necessity, and the inhabitants would be capable of undertaking long sea voyages, such as the route to Spain. It is, at first sight, surprising that this phase is not so evident in Sicily, Lipari, or Malta. This may be due to the fact that the colonists preferred to sail along the continuous coastline of the South Mediterranean, or they may have feared the risk of piracy on the part of the islanders.

It is permissible to conclude that the evidence available indicates that during the Early Bronze Age in the Peninsula there appears a group of sites which cannot be directly related to the earlier Neolithic cultures. These sites do, however, show close contact with the Eastern Mediterranean, and particularly with the Cyclades and Western Anatolia. The earliest of these sites is probably Mesas de Asta (*c.* 2700–2600 B.C.) and it is possible that the foreign elements in the Almeria culture, which is earlier than Los Millares I, also arrived about this time. Vila Nova de S. Pedro and Los Millares were founded later and they can both be dated to before 2400 B.C. It is suggested that later, when contact with the homeland ceased, these colonies developed local characteristics. There was probably more contact between them and the Neolithic inhabitants, who had already been influenced by the colonists even to the extent of imitating among other things their pottery and their

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building achievements. The fusion of these two groups may well be behind the origin of the beaker culture, which in time overthrew the colonies, whether by destruction or domination, so that by Argaric times little evidence of this golden age in Iberian prehistory remains.

APPENDIX

The following sites in Southern Iberia have *bastions*: Los Millares, walls of settlement and of fort (Santa Fe de Mondujar, Almeria, Spain); Campos, a house (Cuevas de Vera, Almeria, Spain); Vila Nova de S. Pedro, in at least two of the settlement walls (Cartaxo, Ribatejo, Portugal); and (?) Zambujal, walls of settlement (near Torres Vedras, Estremadura, Portugal).

The following sites in Portugal have yielded *imported pottery* either true or imitation: Castro de Chibannes, Palmela; Licea, Barcarena; Pedra de Ouro, Alenquer; S. Mamede, Obidos; Quinta do Anjo, Palmela; Alapraia, S. João de Estoril; Carenque, Belas; Monge, Serra de Sintra; Agualva, Caçem; Monte Abraão, Belas; Samarra, Acafora, Sintra; Arruda II, Freiria, Torres Vedras; Poço Velho, Cascais; Cova da Moura, Torres Vedras; Vila Nova de S. Pedro, Cartaxo, Ribatejo; S. Pedro de Estoril, Estoril; Parcede, Estoril; Gruta de Carvalhal, Turquel, Obidos; Cartaxo, Vila de S. Pedro.

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Topoi

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Henry Innes Macadam

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PHOENICIANS AT HOME
PHOENICIANS ABROAD [1]

John D. GRAINGER, *Hellenistic Phoenicia* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991). I-IX, pp. 228. 7 maps. U.S.$ 60.00. ISBN 0-19-814770-8.

There has been something of a renaissance in Phoenician studies in the past several decades, but one would not be aware of that after reading John Grainger's new book. Perhaps the most spectacular and comprehensive publication of recent years was the massive tome *I Fenici* [2] developed from a sumptuous and well-received exhibition of Phoeniciana at the Palazzo Grassi in Venice in 1988. The popular journals *Archaeology* and *Dossiers Histoire et Archéologie* devoted portions or all of recent issues to the Phoenicians, as did the more scholarly *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* [3].

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1. Grateful acknowledgement is made to John Pairman Brown who provided much helpful criticism of an earlier draft and to whom I turned for the benefit of much wisdom on fundamental aspects of Phoenician history. Thanks also to the editors of *Topoi* for several useful suggestions. Any remaining errors are my responsibility.
Note the following abbreviations : AAE = *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* ; ABD = *Anchor Bible Dictionary* ; AÉ = *Année Épigraphique* ; ANET = *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* ; BICS = *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* ; BJRL = *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* ; BMC = *British Museum Catalogue* ; BN = *Biblische Notizen* ; CBQ = *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* ; CIS : *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* ; HSCP = *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* ; IGLS = *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie* ; KAI = *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften* ; NT = *Novum Testamentum* ; PCPS = *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* ; PL = *Patrologia Latina* ; SCI = *Scripta Classica Israelica* ; SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* ; VT = *Vetus Testamentum* ; WO = *Die Welt des Orients* ; ZDNW = *Zeitschrift für Die Neutestmentliche Wissenschaft.*

2. S. Moscati (ed.) *I Fenici* (Milano, 1988). The volume runs to nearly 800 pages and is lavishly illustrated (often with color plates). It was published simultaneously with French, German, Spanish and English translations. The contributors are among the most eminent scholars in the field. See (e.g.) the review by S. Segert in *JAOS*, 111 (1991), p. 811-14.

3. *Archaeology*, p. 43 (Mar./Apr. 1990), p. 22-35. Under the heading « Special Section : The Phoenicians » are articles on Phoenician trade and artistry, with brief glimpses at

French and Belgian publications on aspects of Phoenician history and culture are especially abundant in the past twenty years. Notable broader studies are Michel Gras, Pierre Rouillard, and Javier Teixidor *L'Univers phénicien* (Paris, 1989) and Guy Bunnens, *L'expansion phénicienne en Méditerranée* (Bruxelles, 1979). Maurice Saliba's *Index Libanicus* (Jouniah [Lebanon], 1979 ; new ed. planned), while a bibliography of sources for *all* historical periods, nevertheless contains many useful references for the classical age. These are among the most prominent of the works not mentioned by the author, who relegated his bibliography to the footnotes.

Mention should be made of other important publications, some utilized by Grainger and others too recent for him to acknowledge. Fundamental to any study of the Hellenistic period is Édouard Will's two-volume *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique (323-30 av. J.-C.)* (2nd ed. Nancy, 1979-82). As far as I can tell it was consulted only twice (60 note 28 ; 83 note 106). I found no reference at all to A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides (323-64 avant J.-C.)* (Paris, 1913), still serviceable despite its eighty years. The Belgian series *Studia Phoenicia*, ongoing since 1983, is now at volume XI : *Phoenicia and the Bible*. [4] Closely related to that is the monograph by F. Briquel-Chatonnet, *Les relations entre les cités de la côte phénicienne et les royaumes d'Israël et de Juda* (Leuven, 1991) [5]. Single-city studies now include a thorough appraisal of Sidon in the Achaemenid period by Josette Elayi, *Sidon : Cité autonome de l'Empire perse* (Paris, 1990) which Grainger utilized, and Hassan Sarkis' « Histoire de Tripoli (des origines à l'occupation franque) » [6], which he did not.

The entire issue of Phoenician origins has been reviewed with admirable clarity and conciseness by Jean-François Salles, « Les Phéniciens de la Mer Erythrée » [7]. This should serve as the needed catalyst for an open discussion of a vexed issue. Salles has also surveyed a broader field of history in a review article entitled « Du Bon et du Mauvais Usage des Phéniciens » [8]. Thorough

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international relations and the Phoenician pantheon. The entire issue (# 132, November, 1988) of *Dossiers* was devoted to the Phoenicians under the title « Les Phéniciens à la conquête de la Méditerranée ». *BASOR*, 279 (1990) includes articles on Levantine geopolitics in the early Iron Age, as well as contributions on Phoenician art, ceramics and religion, and a select bibliography of « suggested readings » on Phoenician history and culture *c.* 1935-1988. See also the section entitled « Les Phéniciens » in *Archeologia*, 146 (Sept. 1980), p. 6-37.

4. E. Lipinski (ed.), *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 44 (1991) (Leuven, Peeters).

5. For an earlier treatment of this topic, see H.-P. MULLER, « Phoenizien und Juda in exilish-nachexilischer Zeit », *WO*, 6 (1970/71), p. 189-204.

6. *Les Cahiers de l'Oronte*, 10 (1971/72), p. 80-102.

7. *AAE*, 3 (1992).

8. *Topoi*, 1 (1991), p. 48-70, reviewing *L'univers phénicien* (noted above) and J. ELAYI, *Pénétration grecque en Phénicie sous l'empire perse* (Nancy, 1988).

studies of Phoenician coinage and economic affairs are the theme of Tony Hackens (ed.), *Phoenician and Punic Numismatics and Economic History* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1988) [9]. The long-awaited *Manuel d'Études Phéniciennes et Puniques* is still in press [10]. The *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York, 1992) has just appeared in six volumes [11]. We are fortunate to have the speedy publication of a preliminary report by Gioacchino Falsone, « Third International Congress of Phoenician and Punic Studies (Tunis, Nov. 11-16, 1991) » [12].

Hellenistic Phoenicia is introduced by discussing the term « Phoenicia » with all the geographical and political connotations which that expression entails, and the chronological parameters to which the author will adhere. We are offered at the beginning only general apologias for the book : « The absence of an ancient account of Phoenician history... cannot be a reasonable excuse for failing to study the subject » (p. 1), and (more to the point) the claim (2) that « this [is] the first modern study of the Hellenistic period in Phoenicia ». Much later, when introducing the final chapter, Grainger adds in a parenthetical way that « ...one of the objects of this book is to emancipate the Phoenicians of the Hellenistic period... » (187).

We are not told from what constraints this emancipation will be effected. Simple obscurity may be implied. Even such a catholic scholar as Arnaldo Momigliano [13] pleaded lack of information for exclusion of the Phoenicians (i.e. Carthaginians) in his study of non-Greek cultures of the Hellenistic Mediterranean. Momigliano failed completely to address the Phoenicians of the Levant. Cultural deprivation, however, seems to be G.'s concern : « Their [the

9. Perhaps best read in conjunction with B. TRELL, « The Coins of the Phoenician World-East and West » in W. Heckel & R. Sullivan (eds.), *Ancient Coins of the Graeco-Roman World : The Nickle Numismatic Papers* (Calgary, 1984), p. 117-39.

10. Published by l'Université de Liège (Séminaire d'Histoire Grecque). Tome I : Problèmes, méthodes et perspectives (les sources ; initiation à la civilisation, les aires de la recherche). Tome II : Guide bibliographique.

11. Many of the *ABD*'s entries are specifically or tangentially relevant to Phoenician studies, but of the Iron Age and Persian period *only*. See in particular Brian PECKHAM's « History of Phoenicia », *ABD*, 5, p. 349-57 and Philip C. SCHMITZ, « Phoenician Religion », *ibid.*, p. 359-63.

12. *Berytus*, 38 (1990), p. 185-190.

13. *Alien Wisdom : The Limits of Hellenization* (London, 1975), p. 4 ; 6 : « I would gladly talk about the ideas of the Carthaginians, if we only knew them... [u]nfortunately there is not enough evidence to make a coherent account of how Carthaginians and Greeks saw each other in the third and second centuries B. C..... ». This is the minimalist view. The evidence is indeed fragmentary, but hardly nonexistent. Philip Hitti, overzealous and nationalistic in his treatment of the Phoenicians, nevertheless provided a useful glimpse at Greek-Phoenician relations in the Hellenistic era ; see his *Lebanon in History* (2nd ed., London, 1962), Chap. XI « Alexander and His Successors », p. 159-73 ; Chap. XII « Economic and Cultural Aspects : Hellenization », p. 174-84.

Phoenicians'] cultural heritage was... surely mutilated [by the ravages of war] beyond repair, leaving an impoverishment which Greek culture could hope to fill » (50) [14]. This is a a modern echo of the ancient condescension expressed in the famous exchange between Jesus and the Syro-Phoenician woman in *Mk.* 7 : 24-31 and parallels [15]. While G. appears to relegate the Phoenicians to the rôle of victims of cultural imperialism, the evangelists imply Phoenician acceptance of religious exclusion (vis à vis the Jews of Palestine) except for the enlightened few. Either assumption is baseless. Zeno of Citium, a Cypro-Phoenician of Sidonian ancestry [16], bequeathed to the Hellenistic world the principles of Stoicism, the most ethically demanding and widely influential philosophical system of classical antiquity. That it was transmitted (as were the Gospels) through the Greek language, or that it embodies (as does the Pauline correspondence) certain elements of prior Hellenic thought, should not obscure the Semitic identity of its articulator [17].

Phoenicia produced more than its share of innovative and seminal thinkers from the Hellenistic period through late antiquity [18]. G. is right to note (79 ; 110)

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14. Here G. agrees with Momigliano's pessimistic view : « Carthaginian culture... did not decline : it was murdered by the Romans... » *Alien Wisdom*, p. 4. But we have Augustine's word for it that Carthaginian culture was still a viable factor in his own day : *Unde interrogati rustici nostri quid sint, punice respondentes Chanani...* (*PL* Vol. 35 : 2096). As long as a language lives in its spoken form, so lives the culture it embodies.

15. T.A. Burkill has devoted much attention to this vignette ; see « The Syrophoenician Woman : The Congruence of Mark 7 : 24-31, *ZDNW*, 57 (1966), p. 23-37 ; *idem*, « Mark 6 : 31-8 : 26 : The Context of the Story of the Syro-Phoenician Woman » in L. Wallach (ed.), *The Classical Tradition : Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan* (Ithaca, U.S.A., 1966), p. 329-44 ; *idem*, « The Historical Development of the Story of the Syrophoenician Woman », *NT*, 9 (1967), p. 161-77.

16. The relevant sources on Zeno's ethnic identity and his association with Sidon are noted in W.W. TARN & G.T. GRIFFITH, *Hellenistic Civilisation* (3rd ed., London, 1966), p. 330 and note 1. Grainger (79) judges this evidence as « poor » but leaves the question open. « Cypro-Phoenician » is a term used by Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, p. 180. It has the same bi-cultural sense as « Syro-Phoenician » in the Gospel of Mark and « Libo-Phoenician » of other classical sources. Citium had a tri-cultural ambiance throughout the Hellenistic period, though G. seems ambivalent about this. On p. 9 he refers to it as « a sixth Phoenician city... partly Cypriot, partly Greek in population, but also with an ancient Phoenician participation... » but on p. 22 he states that « Kition was basically a non-Phoenician city... ».

17. On the impact of Stoicism see the magisterial treatment by Marcia COLISH, *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages.* Vol. 1 : *Stoicism in Classical Antiquity.* Vol. 2 : *Stoicism in Christian Latin Thought through the Sixth Century* (Leiden, 1985). Not surprisingly most of the known Phoenician or Graeco-Phoenician philosophers were Stoics : « Stoicism from the outset proved congenial to the Semitic conception of life » (Hitti, *Lebanon in History* 180).

18. On this see C. VIROLLEAUD, « Littérature Phénicienne » in R. Queneau (ed.), *Histoire des Littératures I* (Paris, 1955), p. 277-91. Strabo (*Geog.* 16.2.24) notes that the atomic

that there are « no [Phoenician] historians, poets or playwrights » known to us from the third century. But Sidon produced two philosophers (Zeno and Boethius) and a poet (Antipatros) in the second century, and Tyre attracted the hellenophile Syrian poet/philosopher Meleager of Gadara in the early first century. It is only academic racists of the stripe described by Martin Bernal [19] who would deny the influence of Phoenician thought on the Graeco-Roman world. Perhaps the most extreme view was that of George Rawlinson who a century ago summarized the quality of Phoenician literature on the basis of the extant fragments of Philo of Byblos' *Phoenician History* :

> « ...the literary value of Philo's work was exceedingly small. His style is complicated and confused ; his matter, for the most part, worthless, and his mixture of Greek, Phoenician, and Egyptian etymologies absurd. If we were bound to believe that he translated a real Phoenician original, and that the original was a fair specimen of Phoenician literary talent, the only conclusion to which we could come would be, that the literature of the nation was beneath contempt » [20].

G. does make it clear on p. 2 that the main thrust of *Hellenistic Phoenicia* is the *political* history of the coastal city-states, for which he relies heavily upon numismatic evidence. Within that « framework » two main « themes » are identified : trade and Hellenization. This means, unfortunately, that the *indigenous* cultural aspects (language, art, architecture, religion) of Phoenician civilization are largely ignored. This seems particularly odd given the intense interest in nationalism expressed by Near Easterners generally and reflected in extant Hellenistic literature and citations in later authors [21]. While the Phoenicians at home struggled to maintain some political equilibrium amidst the shifting sands of contending Macedonian dynasties, Phoenicians abroad were

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theory associated with Democritus « originated with Moschus the Sidonian, of the Trojan [War] era ». On a common Graeco-Phoenician motif of one-eyed monsters (e.g. *Odyssey* Bk. 9) see T. POLJAKOV, « A Phoenician Ancestor of the Cyclops », *ZPE*, 53 (1983), p. 95-8 and the literature cited at p. 95 note 3.

19. M. BERNAL, *Black Athena : The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization. Vol. I : The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985* (New Brunswick, 1987) *passim.*

20. G. RAWLINSON, *History of Phoenicia* (London & New York, 1889), p. 388-9.

21. D. MENDELS, « Preliminary Thoughts on "Creative History" in the Hellenistic Near East in the Third and Second Centuries B. C. », *SCI*, 8/9 (1989/90), p. 132-7.

either active participants in Carthage's three great struggles with Rome, or were passive spectators of that drama.

It may have been precisely those internal and external forces acting upon a culture acutely aware of its antiquity and value which led to the preparation of the first coherent account of Phoenician history. Philo of Byblos, though a writer of the middle Antonine period, drew upon an earlier Phoenician source for his *Phoenician History* [22]. Recent studies of the extant fragments of Philo [23] indicate that his source, which he himself identified as a chronicler named Sanchuniathon and claimed to be of the Trojan War era, was of Hellenistic rather than Homeric date. Sanchuniathon [24] will have been an historical personage, perhaps the Manetho of Phoenicia but lacking either the ability or the desire to render his compendium of Phoenician culture into Greek.

G. sets the geographical limits at Aradus (Ruad) island in the north and Ptolemais (Acre) in the south, with some attention given to Phoenician settlements (notably Citium) in southern Cyprus. The Phoenician interior is ignored save for the references in Polybius to the military campaigns of Antiochus III [25], and the later emergence of the Ituraean kingdom. The chronological parameters are *c.*360 - 15 B. C. *Hellenistic Phoenicia* comprises seven chapters, all except the last governed by political events. Thus we have « Time of Troubles (360-287) », « Ptolemaic Peace (287-225) », « Conquest (225-193) », « Seleukid [*sic*) Peace (193-129) », « Autonomy and Independence (129-64) » and « Roman Takeover (64-15) ». Chapter 7, « Phoenicians

22. For a more judicious appraisal of it than that of Rawlinson (quotation above) see P. NAUTIN, « La valeur documentaire de *l'Histoire Phénicienne* », *RB*, 56 (1949), p. 573-8.

23. Apart from the reference at p. 50 n. 176, Grainger seems unaware of the state of recent literature on Philo of Byblos : see J. BARR, « Philo of Byblos and his "Phoenician History" », *BJRL*, 57 (1974), p. 17-68 ; J. EBACH *Weltentsehung und Kulturentwicklung bei Philo von Byblos* (Stuttgart, 1979) ; M.J. EDWARDS, « Philo or Sanchuniathon ? A Phoenicean [sic] Cosmogony », *CQ*, 41 (1991), p. 213-19. A major fault of several of these studies is their proclivity to discuss the extant fragments of the *Phoenician History* as if they had a complete and coherent text in front of them. On the Hellenistic date of Sanchuniathon see especially R.A. ODEN, « Philo of Byblos and Hellenistic Historiography », *PEQ*, 110 (1978), p. 115-26 ; A.I. BAUMGARTEN, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos : A Commentary* (Leiden, 1981) ; H.W. ATTRIDGE & R.A. ODEN, *Philo of Byblos, The Phoenician History : Introduction, Critical Text, Translation, Notes* (Washington, D.C., 1981). For earlier studies see the bibliographies in the works just cited and J.P. BROWN, « Kothar, Kinyras, and Kythereia », *JSS*, 10 (1965), p. 202 note 1.

24. *Sanchuniathon* was long ago attested as a Phoenician name (i.e. *Sknytn*) ; see M. LIDZBARSKI, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, Vol. I (Weimar, 1898 ; reprint Hildescheim, 1962), p. 482.

25. G.'s account (90-93) of this campaign would have benefitted greatly from J.-P. REY-COQUAIS, « Notes de géographie syrienne antique », *MUSJ*, 40 (1964) 287-312 esp. p. 289-296.

Oversees », is a curious catchall, heavy on epigraphy (albeit only Greek and Latin) and regrettably scanty on archaeology. Throughout the book much is made of Phoenician-Greek cultural contacts, but except for some fleeting references to relations with the Hasmonaeans and Herodians of Palestine there is no contact indicated between the Phoenicians and any other Semitic people [26] !

G.'s Graecized rendering of some proper names and place-names is something of an affectation (e. g. Kleopatra, Dareios, Baktria, Kilikia), and several (e. g. Iannaios for Jannaeus ; Karrhai for Carrhae ; Kyros for Cyrus ; Kassandros for Cassander) are particularly annoying. « Ake » is an awkward rendering of either « Akko » or « Acre ». Seleukid for Seleucid, which G. preferred in earlier works [27], is an incorrect spelling of the adjectival form which I believe was introduced (in English) some thirty years ago by Samuel Eddy [28]. It is time to end the use of this *grammatoid*. Typographical errors are frequent, e. g. on p. 77 line 4 read « contemplate » ; p. 84 second line from bottom, insert « be » between « would » and « no » ; p. 122 third line from bottom read « through » ; p. 176, six lines from top, read « Actium ». In several places the index cites *blank* pages for information ; see (e. g.) the entry for « Ituraeans » on p. 224 where a « filler-page » (p. 158) is cited twice. The town of Abila (of Lysanias) is incorrectly located in the southern Biqâ` Valley on p. 113, but correctly placed east of the Anti-Lebanon Mountains (in the Abilenê of *Luke* 3 :1) at p. 150.

We are left wondering what editor(s) missed muddled sentences such as « This [the minting of coins at Aradus in 212 B. C.] seems to be too coincidental to be a mere coincidence » (98) or « this time the king [Azemelek] was helpless to resist public opinion ; but he also survived, this time » (37) and « There is no reason to believe he [Attalus] left any men or ships in Tyre when he left » (40). We are also presented with tendentious value judgements such as « ...even to a hardened nomad it is better to farm for food than to herd goats in the desert » (115) and « Phoenician traders and travellers... had a much easier linguistic time of it than... the cuneiform-writing Babylonians, or the syllabic-writing Egyptians, or the barely literate Iranians » (191). Hyperbole is well-served by statements on the order of « The presence of huge Roman armies in Syria, usually in the north but lungeing [sic] into Palestine every now and again,

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26. G.'s statement (145) that Tyrians and Hasmonaeans forged a common bond *c.* 104 B. C. because the two « ...were self-consciously Semitic » implies that the concept of Semitism was understood in antiquity. There is no evidence whatever for that. The bond between them was their Hellenophobia, an observation I owe to J.P. Brown.

27. J. GRAINGER, *The Cities of Seleukid Syria* (Oxford, 1989) ; ID, *Seleukos Nikator : Constructing a Hellenistic Kingdom* (London & New York, 1990).

28. S.K. EDDY, *The King is Dead : Studies in the Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism* (Lincoln, U.S.A., 1961), *passim*. The spelling of « Seleukid » in the reference (136 note 13) to a 1938 article by E.T. Newell is Grainger's rendering, not the author's.

would persuade any Syrian prince to keep his head down and pay up like a man » (163).

There are also erroneous statements such as « Phoenician was an Aramaic dialect » (191) and a reference to the Ituraeans « ...who were at times regarded as Arabs, presumably because of the language they spoke » (19) [29]. The latter two semantic gaffes highlight G.'s apparent ignorance of the Phoenician language in particular, and of other Semitic languages in general. This is evident elsewhere in the book by his use of the *CIS* rather than the more appropriate *KAI* [30], or his use of translations from other standard sources (e. g. *ANET*).

On p. 155 and again on p. 160 G. ascribes the name « Kinyras » to the Ituraean *tyrannos* of Byblos *c.* 65 B. C. on the basis of the text of Strabo (*Geog.* 16.2.18.) « Kinyras the Ituraean » is an enduring historical *factoid*, perpetrated by « modern historians who are not also, like Strabo, mythographers » [31]. Strabo's reference is to the Homeric Kinyras of Cyprus (*Iliad* 11. 20) from whom Agamemnon received the gift of a corselet. Strabo the antiquarian is here simply concerned to alert his readers to the fact that « Byblos, the *basileion* of Kinyras, is sacred to [the god] Adonis ». Strabo adds that the Ituraean tyrant of Byblos, whom he does *not* name, was ultimately beheaded by Pompey during the Roman occupation of Phoenicia.

The maps average one per chapter and are minimally useful. That of « Greater Phoenicia » omits any inland sites except for several places in Cyprus. The map of « Akhaimenid Phoenicia » omits the sacred precinct of Eshmun near Sidon, the one site of southern Phoenicia with a strong Persian element in architecture and decorative motifs. Several other sites mentioned in the text do not appear on any map. « Phoenicia in the First Century B. C. ». misleadingly depicts the Ituraean Arabs controlling about 70% of Phoenician territory. For comments on the map labled « Phoenicians in the West » see below. The reader would do well to consult instead the splendid series of historical maps in Ulrich Kahrstedt's *Syrische Territorien in Hellenistischer Zeit* [32].

There are several all-too-brief references to Phoenician deities or religious shrines, some of which need clarification. G. correctly identifies (14 and *passim*) Melqart as the special god of Tyre without noting that to date only one

29. On pp. 74-5 G. cites a papyrus from Hermoupolis in Egypt as being written « in Phoenician » when the editor of that document, J.T. Milik, refers to it as « araméen ». Greek historians of the period would identify the Ituraeans as Arabs by cultural traits *other than* language. I owe these observations to J.P. Brown.

30. H. Donner and W. Röllig (eds.), (3 vols.) 2nd. ed. (Wiesbaden, 1973-79).

31. John Pairman Brown in a letter to me of 14 August 1992. See his « Kothar, Kinyras and Kythereia », p. 205 note 4. I am indebted to the author for bringing that article to my attention.

32. (Berlin, 1926). See in particular maps Ib (« Phoinikien um 340 ») ; IIa (« Die Emanzipation der *Poleis* ») ; IIIa (« Syrien bei dem Eingreifen des Pompeius ») ; IIIb (« Syrien nach Pompeius »).

Phoenician grafitto [33] gives that explicit connection. It reads *LMLQRT BSR* : « To Melqart in Tyre (Sur) ». Ba`al Shamin is taken (16) to be the god of Baitokaike, the inland shrine of Arados. This is still conjectural and should be so stated [34]. The shrine to Eshmun/Aesclepius is said (16) to be on the Nahr Barouq when in fact the site is on the Nahr Awali. Non-Phoenician deities also get short shrift. The evidence for Isis-worship at Kharayab near the mouth of the Litani is noted (69 ; 77). G. sees this as an « attempt to attract the attention of Greeks out of Egypt » but his reasoning here is not at all clear.

In his survey of the Phoenician cities just prior to the Macedonian conquest G. stresses the amount of rebuilding (on the basis of historical reports, not archaeological data) undertaken by certain of them with no reference to the possibility of earthquake damage, rather than hostilities, as a destructive factor in their history. An earthquake catalogue for the Phoenician coast was called for a generation ago by John Pairman Brown [35]. G. then laments (14-15) that the urban plans of Phoenician cities are impossible to recover. City plans of the Persian or Hellenistic period *are* notoriously difficult to ascertain without extraordinary circumstances such as those obtaining at (e. g.) Ai Khannum in northern Afghanistan and Olynthus in northeastern Greece. But complete pessimism is unwarranted.

Père Sauvaget [36] long ago demonstrated that modern maps and photos display important topographical features of earlier periods of continuously inhabited cities. Since those modest beginnings some important studies have been published or are in progress. Note a recent statement regarding ancient Beirut : « ...[early] maps are thus historical source-material of prime importance, as they illustrate the urban physiognomy of the city before its rapid expansion towards the end of the 19th century before the demolition of its defences and the beginning of its urban sprawl » [37].

Prof. Oleg Grabar of the Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton, U.S.A.) has projected a study of the topography of Byzantine, Islamic and Ottoman Jerusalem [38]. Fundamental to his research are the detailed maps created by the Palestine Exploration Fund between 1865 and 1880, and excellent photographs of

33. H. SEYRIG, « Tessère relative à l'asylie de Tyr », *Syria*, 28 (1951), p. 225-8. I wish to thank J.P. Brown for directing my attention to this article.

34. *IGLS* 4028 refers only to *Hagios Ouranios Zeus*. I owe this reference to J.P. Brown.

35. *The Lebanon and Phoenicia : Ancient Texts Illustrating their Physical Geography and Native Industries, Vol. I : The Physical Setting and the Forest* (Beirut, 1969), p. XXIX ; p. 113-43.

36. J. SAUVAGET, « Le plan antique de Damas », *Syria*, 26 (1949), p. 314-58.

37. M.F. DAVIE, « Maps and the Historical Topography of Beirut », *Berytus*, 35 (1987), p. 141-64 at p. 143.

38. A seminar entitled « Jerusalem Past and Present » was held at the I.A.S. on 7 November 1992.

the city dating to the 1850s. Thus we may hope that such optimism is not unwarranted. It is especially unfortunate that the excavations of Sarepta (near Sidon) and Tell Arqa (near Tripoli) were interrupted by the conflict in Lebanon, since those uninhabited sites made it possible for the excavators to anticipate clearing large sections and exposing the urban plan of several periods in each city's history.

What does seem clear is that some Phoenician cities enjoyed a mutually beneficial relationship with their Persian overlords during the two centuries of Achaemenid rule. Amélie Kuhrt [39] has stressed the need for modern historians to guard against over-reliance on Greek sources and the Old Testament. G. contrasts the evidence from elsewhere by stating « ...[i]n the rest of the Levant the cities had died, repeatedly devastated and depopulated by earlier conquerors » (18). But the evidence for this comes largely from the historical sources, especially Diodorus Siculus, who wrote late in the first century B. C. G. takes him to task (25) for suggesting, as he does, that a « common-council » was held at Tripolis. That city was, of course, a tripartite creation in the late fifth century, a joint venture by Arados, Sidon and Tyre. The council there may be related only to the internal arrangements of that city-state. Certainly Phoenicians abroad met in assemblies, for we have epigraphic evidence to that effect [40]. But G. is perhaps right not to extrapolate a « federation » or « federal league » at Tripolis from that external evidence.

Diodorus is similarly castigated by G. (27-8) for first offering an « unsatisfactory account » and a « confused » presentation of events leading up to Artaxerxes III's attack on Sidon (351 B. C.) and then writing a « lucidly clear description of the siege itself ». G. makes no allowance that Diodorus' own sources may have been of very uneven quality. Is the result, as G. claims, a « literary composition » with common *topoi* utilized ? Hieronymus of Cardia's account of Nabataean origins, used by Diodorus during a description of an attack on the Nabataean capital of Petra in 312 B. C., has now been sharply criticized as just such a literary *topos* [41]. It has been fashionable, until recently, to denigrate Diodorus as a latter-day Herodotus, credulous and unreliable. Luckily this view is being revised [42]. From the time of Alexander to the Roman annexation of Syria the Phoenician cities appear and disappear in the fragmentary sources

39. « The Achaemenid Empire : A Babylonian Perspective », *PCPS*, 214 (1988), p. 60-76. She turns to Persian and Babylonian sources which help to balance the portrait of Persia as the domain of « self-indulgent » rulers exercising dwindling authority over an « unwieldy bureaucracy » so that « Alexander, in the fullness of time, had only to stretch out his hand for the empire to drop like a ripe plum into his lap » (61).

40. J. TEIXIDOR, « L'assemblée législative en Phénicie d'après les inscriptions », *Syria*, 57 (1980), p. 453-64. This is noted by Grainger (p. 25 note 78), who states that its evidence « cannot be used for conditions in Phoenicia ».

41. D.F. GRAF, « The Origin of the Nabataeans », *Aram*, 2 (1990), p. 45-75 at p. 51-3.

42. P.A. STADTER, « Thinking About Historians », *AJP*, 113 (1992), p. 81-5.

available to us. G. notes that Tyre alone of the coastal cities resisted Alexander's advance to Egypt [43]. and posits that the Great King himself had *ordered* the city to do so. But to what purpose ? Persia sent no aid during the nine months of the seige. Only twenty years later, in 312 B. C., the resurrected city was again beseiged, this time by the rival dynast Demetrius Poliorcetes. Tyre's repeated uncompromising stance may be seen as a characteristic trait of its inhabitants, demonstrated as early as the Iron Age [44]. and not the logical outcome of a political decision. Herodotus (*Histories*, 1. 1 ; 7. 89), who probably knew better than we do, described Tyre as a repository or archive of Phoenician traditions. Protection of that heritage, often with the aid of its daughter-city Carthage, would be a powerful motivation for resisting aggression [45].

However destructive the wars of Alexander's successors, the treaty of Apamaea (301) ended the first phase of struggle for control of Syria by establishing the boundaries between the Seleucid and Ptolemaic portions. The Phoenician cities revived and, if the sketchy sources are reliable, even prospered for some eighty years. G. suggests that *c.*300 Aradus regained control of its mainland territory, which included the ports of Marathus [46] and Carne and the inland site of Simyra [47], when it was clear that Ptolemaic expansion into northern Syria would be contained at the Eleutherus (Kabir) River frontier just

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43. The creation of the mole by Alexander's engineers has been the subject of a recent, thorough study by A. STEWART, « Diodorus, Curtius and Arrian on Alexander's Mole at Tyre », *Berytus*, 35 (1987), p. 96-9.

44. It took the Neo-Babylonian monarch Nebuchadrezzar *thirteen years* of continuous seige before Tyre eventually capitulated in 572. The city « has been subjected to some 21 different sieges and attacks over the millennia. In A.D. 1291 she was demolished and depopulated as part of the Mamluk `scorched earth' policy to prevent the return of the Crusaders... In every case but that one, she recovered almost immediately ». P.M. BIKAI, « The Phoenicians » in William A. Ward & Martha S. Joukowsky (eds.), *The Crisis Years : The 12th Century B. C. : From Beyond the Danube to the Tigris* (Dubuque, U.S.A., 1992), p. 132-41 at p. 138.

45. It is worth remembering that the library and archives of Carthage were given, as spoils of war in 146 B. C., to Rome's allies, the Hellenized kings of Numidia (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 18.22).

46. For the site of Marathos (mod. Amrit) see now M. DUNAND and N. SALIBY, *Le Temple d'Amrith dans la Pérée d'Aradus* (*BAH* Vol. 121) (Paris, 1985) which is cited by G. (p. 17 note 46) as a work not seen and N. Saliby, « Amrit » in J.-M. Dentzer and N. Othmann (eds.), *Archéologie et Histoire de la Syrie II : La Syrie de l'époque achéménide à l'avènement de l'Islam* (Saarbrüken, 1989), p. 19-30.

47. G.'s references to publications of archaeological work at Simyra/Tell Kazel (88 notes 3-4) are now superseded (inevitably) by the preliminary report of three seasons (1985-87) of excavations at that site. See the collaborative efforts of Leila Badre (« Introduction »), Helen Sader (« Tell Kazel and Ancient Simyra »), Eric Gubel et *al.* (« Areas I-III ») and two appendices, on epigraphy and ceramics respectively, in *Berytus*, 38 (1990), p. 9-124. The Hellenistic cemetery was uncovered in Area II of the tell.

north of Tripolis. It is possible that the inland portion of that boundary, not noted by G., was the enigmatic « Egyptian Wall » [48] in the northern part of the Massyas (Biqâ`) Valley [49].

Toponomy is not a subject of interest in this book [50], which is puzzling because place-names that are clearly dynastic should be of particular interest to the political historian of Hellenistic Phoenicia. Perhaps, in light of the two paragaphs directly above, this is an appropriate place to open a brief discussion which is continued in more detail in the appendix to this article. The Graeco-Roman toponomy of Phoenicia has not yet been the subject of a separate study [51]. Neither the Ptolemies nor the Seleucids made any real attempts to « colonize » Phoenicia with formal settlements of Macedonians or Greeks. This is not surprising in light of the protracted warfare in and around the region while it was nominally under Ptolemaic rule, and the rapid erosion of central authority there in the century and a half of Seleucid hegemony. But there is abundant evidence that certain already-existing settlements were renamed. In most cases the identity of the site is certain, and the approximate date of the renaming can be established. In very few cases has the Greek name survived among the toponyms of the present Lebanese republic. This is generally true where a native

48. Strabo (16.2.19) mentions an « Egyptian wall » near the sources of the Orontes River. Pliny (*HN* 5.77) states that « Opposing [Mt. Libanus], with a valley between, is [Mt.] Antilibanus, once connected [to Libanus] with a wall ». The two sources appear to be talking about the same phenomenon, with Strabo's specificity compensating for Pliny's vagueness.

49. C. GHADBAN, « Les frontières du territoire d'Héliopolis-Baalbek à la lumière de nouveaux documents » in T. Fahd (ed.), *La Géographie Administrative et Politique d'Alexandre à Mahomet* (Paris, 1981), p. 143-68 at p. 158-9. Physical traces of that wall still stand at the northern entrance of the Biqâ` (photos planche VIII).

50. This is well-exemplified in two places. On p. 153 G. introduces Strabo's mention (*Geog.* 16.2.18) of « Sinna and Borrama », two mountain strongholds held by bandits prior to the Roman conquest. Apart from misspelling Borrama, G. states that these sites « are now unlocated ». *Sinna* may be related to Mt. Sannîn, one of the higher peaks of the Lebanon range, and Borrama to the Lebanese town of Brummâna ; both are inland from Beirut. See R. DUSSAUD, *Topographie Historique de la Syrie Antique et Médiévale* (Paris, 1927), p. 89. A few pages later (155) G. claims that the modern location of « Gigartos », another Phoenician place-name in Strabo (*ibid.*), « is not known ». *Gigartos* was plausibly identified with the mountain village of *Zghourta*, inland from Batrûn (anc. Botrys), by Dussaud, *Topographie*, p. 81-3. None of these identifications is noted by S. Wild, *Libanesische Ortsnamen : Typologie und Deutung* (Weisbaden, 1973) ss.vv.

51. The forthcoming *Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, projected for publication by Princeton University Press in 1999, will include double-spread maps of northern Syria (including northern Phoenicia) and southern Syria (including central and southern Phoenicia) at a scale of 1 :500,000. The project editor is Richard Talbert.

name preceded the Greek or Hellenistic name. Much work has already been done on the etymology of the modern place-names of Lebanon [52].

Greek toponyms in Phoenicia are of course not all associated with the Hellenistic age, or with Greeks. Byblos is a Greek toponym which pre-dates Alexander the Great. In that case the « new » name had a happy coincidence of *sound* with the old Canaanite toponym *Gubla*. The same may be true of Tripolis which, as noted above, was a Phoenician foundation of the fifth century B. C. [53]. Leôntopolis and Porphyrion, between Beirut and Sidon, appear in the *Periplus* (l. 78) of Pseudo-Scylax *c.* 400 B. C. But there are other Greek names as well, e. g. the rivers Eleutherus (mod. Kabir), Lycus (mod. Kelb) and Leôn (either the mod. Damour or `Awali [54]), as well as the towns of Ornithopolis (unidentified [55]) and Chalkis (identity disputed), and the promontory of Theouprosopon (Ras al-Shaqqa) [56]. Their exact antiquity is unknown. Particularly puzzling is the Leukê Kômê (« White Village ») between Beirut and Sidon wherein Mark Antony and Cleopatra were said to have met following Antony's Armenian campaign in 34 B. C. [57]. For the specifically Hellenistic toponyms see now the Appendix.

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52. See in particular A. FREYHA, *A Dictionary of the Names of Towns and Villages in Lebanon* (Beirut, 1972 ; in Arabic) and S. WILD, *Libanesische Ortsnamen : Typologie und Deuting* (Weisbaden, 1973). The latter includes some Syrian toponymns from regions contiguous with Lebanon. A concise and colorful introduction to Lebanese geography can be found in Hitti, *Lebanon in History* 11-24. The best maps available are in the series prepared during the French mandate and tabulated by Brown, *The Lebanon and Phoenicia* XXV. A useful bibliography of maps is given in Ghadban, « Les frontières d'Héliopolis-Baalbek », p. 143-45 note 2.

53. K. Galling has suggested that behind Tripolis lay a Phoenician place-name with approximate consonantal values. This has yet to receive independent confirmation. See his « Zur Deutung des Ortsnamens *TRPL* = Tripolis in Syrien », *VT*, 4 (1954), p. 418-22.

54. Brown, *Lebanon and Phoenicia*, 71 rightly notes that equating the river Leôn (or Leontes) with the Litani (anc. *Lita*, which debouches near Tyre) « is a [modern] fiction with no ancient attestation » (for the incorrect identification see e.g. the map of Syria in A.H.M. JONES, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1971) opp. p. 226 ; KAHRSTEDT, *Syrische Territorien*, Karte IIa correctly marks the Litani as « Lita »). Since Ptolemy, *Geog.* 5.14.3 locates the Leôn between Berytus and Sidon, it is either an alternative ancient name for the Tamyras (Damour), halfway between those two cities, or the ancient name of the `Awali just northeast of Sidon.

55. G. hesitantly (II) sites Ornithopolis « between Sarepta and Tyre » ; in the index it is noted as in « Palestine ». It was overlooked by Jones, *Cities*.

56. *Theouprosopon* (or *Lithoprosopon* in a late source) presumably translates an indigenous toponym cognate with Hebrew *Penu-el*. On this see Brown, *Lebanon and Phoenicia* 135.

57. Plutarch, *Antony* 51.1. The site has never been identified. Color-names are of course among the most common of Near Eastern toponyms, with the color white predominant therein.

The king list from the Phoenician coastal cities is notoriously difficult to establish for the Hellenistic period. Many names are repetitious and without clear chronological markers. It is therefore virtually impossible to create a dynastic schema for any one city-state. The name Philoklês at Sidon is a case in point. After reviewing the various attestations of this monarch, G. argues (sensibly, I think) that the person behind the name was in fact a Macedonian, established in an honorary fashion under Ptolemy II Philadelphus. G. likewise makes good use of the archaeological report of Umm al-Amad near Tyre, based on a surface survey in the early 1940s, but not published until two decades later [58]. That site, with its splendid indigenous monuments and securely-dated Phoenician inscriptions, still awaits the attention it is due.

One subject of continual interest to G. is the impact of Greek culture on Phoenicia. He devotes five full pages (78-83) to just that topic. The term « Hellenization » is nowhere defined as it might relate to Phoenicia, and no clear distinction is made between it and « Hellenism ». G.W. Bowersock [59] has carefully, and I think correctly, demonstrated that « Hellenization » was basically a political process and « Hellenism » a cultural process. G. himself in a statement such as « Greek wine did not bring Platonic philosophy » (78) appears to understand this.

Given that Greek-Phoenician contacts are well-established archaeologically in the Bronze Age, G. nevertheless seems to feel that Phoenicia took an unduly long time to manifest its Greekness : « Hellenization... was a desperately slow process » (109). Should we expect any indigenous culture with deep and vibrant roots in its own soil to effect the rapid and profound absorption of another culture's values ? We should, in fact, expect only gradual acceptance of Greek culture in any of the civilized portions of the Near East. To look for that in the immediate aftermath of Alexander's conquest is expecting too much too soon.

By the Augustan age, as G. eventually does concede (185), some very marked cultural transference had taken place. He sees the bilingual (Greek-Phoenician) inscription from Arados [60] attesting a *gymnasiarchos*, as exemplifying « the whole Hellenistic cultural history of Phoenicia, for, by being a gymnasiarch, the man was overseeing the replacement of his Phoenician culture by that of the Greeks, from whom his city had struggled to escape for two centuries » (185-6). This misrepresents the meaning of « Hellenistic » and implies that cultural values were doffed and donned like costume changes.

The volume concludes with a chapter on « Phoenicians Abroad » ; in G.'s words « it is perhaps worth while to bring together into one chapter the evidence for Phoenicians' activity outside their homeland » (187). By the Hellenistic era

58. M. DUNAND & R. DURU, *Oumm el-'Amed : Une ville de l'époque hellénistique aux échelles de Tyr* (Paris, 1962).

59. *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor, 1990), p. XI.

60. *IGLS* 7.4001, dated to 25 B. C.

the great age of Phoenician expansion into the western Mediterranean (and beyond) was long over. But it was not until the destruction of Carthage in 146 B. C. and the creation of a Roman province from its territory that western Phoenicia ceased to be an international, imperial force in the Mediterranean. This presents an awkward situation for the historian, who must assess both the pre- and post-war eras in any discussion of the Hellenistic period. There are difficulties of a different nature concerning the evidence for Phoenicians east of their Levantine homeland, particularly in the Persian/Arabian Gulf.

G. has trouble dealing with the Phoenicians in both areas. Tracking the whereabouts [61] of the western Phoenicians he finds difficult but not impossible : « We have the record of something over two hundred individual Phoenicians spread over the Mediterranean from Cyprus to Carthage during the three Hellenistic centuries. This is not many ». Nevertheless it takes nearly twenty pages of text for G. to sift through this epigraphic evidence, largely Greek and Latin but with some assistance from Phoenician and Punic inscriptions. Where were these expatriate Phoenicians ? The reader who finds difficulty with the following sentence will have, unfortunately, much company : « ...the Phoenicians in the Hellenistic world went where one would expect them to go, where everyone else went » (205). But this does not square with G.'s own observation (216) that there is no evidence of Phoenician entrepreneurs in the Black Sea area. Indeed, he goes so far as to postulate a trade « cartel » [Greeks and Scythians ?] in that region, created specifically to eliminate competition.

We are not aided by the visual evidence G. presents. The map (p. 200) labeled « Phoenicians in the West » terminates just west of Carthage and Sardinia/Corsica. This excludes all of Spain (including the Balearic Islands), Algeria and Morocco (including the Canary Islands), as if they lay outside the Phoenician political and cultural orbit. Those regions were Phoenician until the end of the Second Punic War (202 B. C.), and the Balearics were not claimed by Rome until the late first century B. C. Thus G. effectively has truncated the breadth of Phoenician political geography in an arbitrary manner reminiscent of several popular histories of Phoenicia (e. g. those of Sabatino Moscati and Donald Harden [62]) which terminate Phoenician history with the destruction of Carthage in 146 B. C.

The latest datable monumental Phoenician inscription is probably the short dedication set up by « Abdeshmun the Builder » in a shrine at Byblos. It is

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61. Some idea of the difficulties encountered in identifying a Phoenician presence at a given site may be seen in N. STAMPOLIDES, « A Funerary Cippus at Eleutherna : Evidence of a Phoenician Presence ? », *BICS*, 37 (1990), p. 99-106. Phoenician activity in the Mediterranean grain-market may be attested in the reconstruction of a fragmentary Greek inscription ; see M.B. WALBANK, « Athens, Carthage and Tyre (*IG* II [2nd ed.] 342+) », *ZPE*, 59 (1985), p. 107-11.

62. S. MOSCATI, *The World of the Phoenicians* (London, 1973) ; D. HARDEN, *The Phoenicians* (2nd ed. London, 1980).

hesitantly ascribed to the early first century A. D. [63]. But Phoenician legends on coins continue at least until the very end of the second century. The letter-forms are archaic, as if there is a conscious attempt to establish a link with the past [64]. The Phoenician language, and through it Phoenician culture, were still viable in North Africa at the time of Augustine of Hippo [65]. The Phoenician homeland maintained its ethnic and political identity within the late Roman and Byzantine empires until the Islamic conquest [66].

In spite of the turmoil of the late Seleucid period, and the chronic anarchy of many communities, most Phoenician cities managed to sustain their integrity--several achieved autonomy--and none turned to piracy. Sidon, as G. notes (139) advertised itself on coins not only as *hiera* and *asylos* but also as *nauarchides* (possessing a fleet). The latter epithet was clearly a warning. Berytus was an exception, and G. goes to great lengths to point this out (123 ; 126-7). About 145 it was destroyed by the Seleucid usurper Tryphon, as Strabo (16.2.19) tells us. The motivation is unknown, but there may well be some connection with that city's wealthy trade emporium (« the *koinon* of Poseidoniastes ») on the island of Delos [67]. Strabo implies that Beirut was not restored until his own day.

Four pages (192-6) are devoted to the vexed question of whether or not the Phoenicians were indigenous to the Lebanese coast, or had originated in the Persian/Arabian Gulf, or elsewhere in the « Erythrean Sea ». G. is clear from the beginning that he discounts the very strong ancient tradition (from Homer well into the Byzantine period) that the Phoenicians migrated to the Canaanite coast from farther east. Unfortunately he doesn't tell us just *why* he finds that tradition unconvincing. Indeed, he discusses only the evidence of Strabo and Pliny the Elder and omits references to Homer, Herodotus, Pompeius Trogus (abridged by

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63. *KAI* (3rd ed.) # 12.

64. E. g. *BMC Phoenicia* p. 164 (a coin of Tyre dated to 196).

65. W.M. GREEN, « St. Augustine's Use of Punic », in W.J. Fischel (ed.) *Semitic and Oriental Studies : A Volume Presented to William Popper on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (Berkeley, 1951), p. 179-90. For a popular assessment of the Phoenician literary legacy see M. Sznycer, « Punic Literature », *Archaeologia Viva*, 1 (1968/69), p. 141-8. More Punic influence in late Latin literature has been detected by E. CHAMPLIN, « Serenus Sammonicus », *HSCP*, 85 (1981), p. 189-212.

66. From Pompey until Septimius Severus Phoenicia was administratively part of provincial Syria. *Syria Phoenice* as a separate province was created *c.* 194/5 and was subdivided *c.* 300 into western (*Phoenice*) and eastern (*Augusta Libanensis*) portions. A century later the coastal portion became *Phoenicia Paralia* (or *Maritima*) and the inland portion *Phoenicia Libanensis.* Under the Umayyads all of Phoenicia was administered (with southern Syria) as the *jund* of *Dimashq*.

67. W.A. LAIDLAW, *A History of Delos* (Oxford, 1933), p. 214. See also P. LEVEQUE, « Les Bérytiens à Délos », *L'Archéologie*, 12 (1975), p. 68-75.

Justin) and a scholiast's marginal comment on the *Odyssey* [68]. Pliny's remarks, in fact, have nothing to do with Phoenician *origins*. G. has thus narrowed his sources to just Strabo, who himself displayed some ambiguity about a Phoenician homeland in the Gulf.

In brief, G. reverses Strabo's argument (based on an early Hellenistic source no longer extant) for Gulf islanders colonizing classical Phoenicia and implies that certain Gulf islands (named Tylos and Arados by Strabo) owed their « Phoenician » aspect to « ...the activities and plans of Alexander [the Great] in the Gulf... ». To this speculative assertion he adds the false assumptions that « Strabo's island of Tyre [sic] is certainly not Bahrain (193) » and that Strabo's « Arados island » has vanished altogether in Pliny. Bahrain has by far the strongest claim to be Tylos, and Arados (mod. Muharrak) very plausibly is Pliny's secondary island of *Tylus minor*. G.'s solution to this age-old controversy : Strabo's and Pliny's accounts can be reconciled by assuming « that there were two Phoenician-colonized islands in the eastern Gulf » (194), and both colonies were of Hellenistic date. Subsequent claims that inhabitants from those Gulf islands colonized the central coast of Syria « may have been a joke, or maybe a mistranslation... » (194).

This won't do. The ancient tradition of migrant Phoenicians from the Gulf cannot be explained away in such a mechanical, manipulative fashion. Only one classical source, and that from very late antiquity, argues even parenthetically that the Phoenicians were indigenous to the Levant. That source is the *Dionysiaca* (Bk. 40 and *passim*) of Nonnus of Panopolis (fifth century A.D.). The argument for letting the ancient sources speak for themselves has been made most concisely by G.W. Bowersock [69] with additional comments by me [70]. The entire matter has now been reviewed judiciously and exhaustively by Jean-François Salles [71]. Salles has made it clear that the burden of proof now lies with those who would argue that the Phoenicians were *not* migrants to the eastern Mediterranean.

Hellenistic Phoenicia leaves much to be desired. There is distinct ambivalence shown regarding the social and economic importance of Phoenicia. At one point (75) G. presents us with several disclaimers : « Quantification of trade [i.e. in the third century B. C.] is a task which cannot even be contemplated, since no data exist » followed by « Thus the only possible account

68. All references are given in H.I. MACADAM, « Dilmun Revisited », *AAE*, 1 (1990), p. 49-87 at p. 67-69 esp. note 161.

69. « Tylos and Tyre : Bahrain in the Graeco-Roman World », in H. Khalifa & M. Rice (eds.), *Bahrain Through the Ages : The Archaeology* (London, 1986), p. 399-406.

70. MACADAM, « Dilmun Revisited », p. 67-9.

71. « Les Phéniciens de la Mer Erythrée », *AAE*, 3 (1992) in press.

of Phoenician trade in the third century B. C. is necessarily impressionistic, and inevitably wrong ». Yet G. cannot avoid reference to the Zenon Papyri, that vast and widely-published collection of documents (a portion of which relate directly to Phoenicia) from the archives of an official in the employment of the Ptolemaic minister of finance. Nevertheless « Zenon » appears at the top of p. 76 with no introduction or explanation, and the reference to the Zenon documents (76 note 79) fails to note the now-indispensable concordance, P. W. Pestman, *A Guide to the Zenon Archive* (Leiden, 1981).

But even within the parameters established by the author, i.e. an emphasis on the political history of the Phoenician city-states, his study is incomplete. Two examples will suffice. The Second Syrian War (259-254) [72], which was concluded by a dynastic marriage between the Ptolemies and Seleucids, is marginalized (without being named) in a few sentences (83). Once again the Zenon archive provides a vivid eyewitness to events when the Ptolemaic royal physician Artemidorus writes from Phoenicia to Zenon in Egypt : « We have just arrived in Sidon after escorting the Princess [Berenice] to the frontier [the Eleutherus River] ». From there she went with Seleucid escort to Antioch for the marriage to Antiochus II [73].

The Battle of Raphia (217 B. C.) is duly noted by G. (95-96) as a decisive defeat for Antiochus III, with the consequent loss of Phoenicia. But the reader of his account has no idea of how desperately the Ptolemaic forces fought--even drafting native Egyptians into the army to supplement its dwindling manpower. The latter decision led, predictably, to armed native unrest in Egypt. More importantly for the Hellenistic history of Phoenicia was the subsequent Ptolemaic interest in the northern Biqâ` Valley. G. cites (96 note 33) the recently-discovered Greek inscription (*SEG* 38[1988] #1571) [74] found at Labwe (anc. Libo) attesting an *archigrammateus* making a dedication to Sarapis and Isis on behalf of Ptolemy IV Philopator and Arsinoë III, presumably in the immediate aftermath of Raphia. It is not idle speculation to suggest that the ancient temple-site of Ba`albek (*Shamsimuruna* ? see note 81 below) was thereupon revitalized under the name Heliopolis as a Ptolemaic showpiece advertizing their dominion over Phoenicia [75].

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72. G. notes the First Syrian War at p. 60 ; on p. 83 we find « The next war, the "Third Syrian"... ». There is likewise no entry for the Second Syrian War in the index.

73. *P. Cairo Zenon* 59251 (= A.S. Hunt & C.C. Edgar [eds.], *Select Papyri I* [Loeb Series], Cambridge & London, 1959 # 93 [252 B. C.]).

74. H. SALAME-SARKIS, « Inscription au nom de Ptolémée IV Philopator trouvée dan le nord de la Béqa` », *Berytus*, 34 (1986), p. 207-9.

75. F. RAGETTE, *Baalbek* (London, 1980), p. 28. The podium of the later Roman « Temple of Jupiter » dates to the Hellenistic period.

Four other interrelated aspects of Phoenician history will also demonstrate shortcomings in *Hellenistic Phoenicia*. One is the transitional period in the first century B. C., when the Greek kingdoms became Roman provinces. This is a critically important era, particularly for understanding the later development of the Roman Near East. Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais has been especially attentive to the development of Phoenicia during the Augustan age. Several recent articles by him [76], nowhere noted by G., are now of fundamental importance in understanding this aspect of Phoenician history. A second consideration is the history of the Ituraean Arabs, who dominated Mt. Lebanon and the Syrian Hawran during and after Pompey's restructuring of the east. Their history has been the subject of a recent and far-ranging article of which G. was apparently not aware [77]. Thirdly is the founding of *Colonia Iulia August Felix Berytus* with the settling of veterans from two Roman legions. G. is surely right in arguing (177-8) for a date of 30 B. C. for that event, rather than the « traditional » later date of 15/14. But the literature cited to support his case does not include several important studies, two of them quite recent [78].

Lastly is G.'s briefest of references (66) to that vexed expression of political geography, « Koile Syria ». Other than noting that the term is « vague » there is no indication that it has provoked endless discussions among geographers, historians and philologists. No solution seems in sight, but the state of the debate is best summarized recently by Maurice Sartre [79]. There is much, much more to be done. *Hellenistic Phoenicia* provides the barest of outlines for the history of Phoenicians at home and Phoenicians abroad. It is neither a synthesis nor an in-depth study of this topic. But it does perform a very

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76. J.-P. REY-COQUAIS, « Des montagnes au désert : Baetocécé, le *Pagus Augustus* de Niha, la Ghouta à l'Est de Damas », in E. Frezouls (ed.), *Sociétés Urbaines, Sociétés Rurales dans l'Asie Mineure et la Syrie Hellénistiques et Romaines* (Strasbourg, 1987), p. 198-207 ; *idem*, « Les exemples de l'Afrique romaine peuvent-ils éclairer les rares emplois des termes *pagus* et *vicus* en Syrie romaine ? » in A. Mastino (ed.), *L'Africa romana : Atti del VI convegno di studio Sassari, 16-18 dicembre 1988* (Sassari, 1989), p. 735-41 ; *idem*, « Les grecs en Syrie du IVe siècle avant J.-C. au IVe siècle après J.-C. », in J.M. Fossey (ed.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Hellenic Diaspora from Antiquity to Modern Times, Vol. I : From Antiquity to 1453* (Amsterdam, 1991), p. 185-97.

77. W. SCHOTTROFF, « Die Ituräer », *ZDPV*, 98 (1982), p. 125-52.

78. A date prior to 27 B. C. was proposed by M. REINHOLD, *Marcus Agrippa : A Biography* (New York, 1933), p. 110-11. His argument was revived by L.J.F. KEPPIE, « Legions in the East from Augustus to Trajan » in D.L. Kennedy & P.W.M. Freeman (eds.), *The Defense of the Roman and Byzantine East* Vol. II (Oxford, 1986), p. 412. See also J.-M. RODDAZ, *Marcus Agrippa* (Rome, 1984), p. 431-33 who accepts a settlement at Berytus « au moment de la démobilisation des armées triumvirales » (433).

79. « La Syrie Creuse n'existe pas » in Gatier, *Géographie*, p. 15-40 ; see especially the bibliography cited at p. 28 note 1.

necessary task : it underscores the need for a fully-developed *History of Phoenicia in the Hellenistic Age* yet to be written.

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APPENDIX

Some Hellenistic Toponymns of Phoenicia

The toponomy of Phoenicia provides a number of dynastic names or names clearly associated with one or another of the rival Hellenistic kingdoms in Syria and Egypt. In every case the Greek name would appear to be honorific only, with no political significance other than a royal favor shown to a Phoenician town or city. Such benefaction might be a reward for loyalty or simply recognition of commercial value. Seleucid toponyms [80] are found in northern and central Phoenicia, coastal and inland. Ptolemaic toponyms are associated particularly with the Biqâ` Valley (the one area of Phoenicia which the Ptolemies held until 200 B. C.), and one or two sites on the coast. I shall begin with the latter.

There are three place-names which can be associated with Ptolemaic rule in Phoenicia. One is Heliopolis (Ba`albek), the ancient sacred area in the central Biqâ`. The time and circumstances of its naming are unknown, but there is obviously some correlation between the cultic aspect of the Phoenician site and Egyptian Heliopolis (ancient Om) in what is now Cairo. Polybius makes no mention of Heliopolis in his account of the campaigns made by Antiochus III through the Biqâ`. There is also no reference to the « Egyptian Wall » (noted above) across the northern entrance of the valley. Since the ancient shrine at the site of Heliopolis [81] apparently had no strategic value it may have been among the nameless « other towns of the region » captured (temporarily) by Seleucid forces during the Fourth Syrian War. The major Ptolemaic garrisons were placed precisely where the Biqâ` narrowed, i.e. at Gerrha (Anjarr ?) and Brochoi, both sites with indigenous names.

Another Ptolemaic place-name is Arsinoë. Stephanus of Byzantium's *Ethnica* lists an Arsinoë which is described as a « city of Syria, in the *Aulôn* ». This « Arsinoë of the Aulôn » (presumably named for Arsinoë II, *c.* 276-270)

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80. It is particularly disappointing that GRAINGER, *Cities of Seleukid Syria* did not include the cities of Phoenicia south of the Eleutherus or south of Laodiceia *ad Libanum* in several places in the text where it would have been appropriate : « The Cities and the Villages » (Chap. 4) and Appendix I : « Concordance of City-Names ».

81. The indigenous (Aramaic) place-name for this site may be *Shamsimuruna* (« Shamash is our Lord ») ; see P. BORDREUIL, « A l'origine du nom d'Héliopolis-Baalbek ? » in Gatier, *Géographie Historique*, p. 309-10. Greek *Helioupolis* simply affirms the recognition of the sun-god as the predominant deity of the site.

was long ago identified as Damascus by Victor Tscherikower [82]. But Damascus does not lie in the « Valley of Syria » nor in a « Royal Valley » (Abilene ?) mentioned by Strabo. The Aulôn of Syria, as we know from the Zenon papyri and Polybius, is specifically the « Massyas » or « Marsyas » Valley between the Lebanon and Antilebanon ranges. Arsinoë would be an as yet unidentified site in the Biqâ`, as Père Abel suggested [83]. But it is more likely that the Ptolemaic toponym disguises a known site such as the fortress of Gerrha.

Equally difficult to locate is Stephanus' « Arsinoë of Coele Syria », identified with the preceding Arsinoë (and therefore with Damascus) by A.H.M. Jones [84]. Tscherikower [85] believed it was located in northern Palestine, a supposition strengthened by recent excavations at Tell Anafa in the north-eastern corner of the Huleh Valley in northern Israel [86]. The absence of both Arsinoës in extant Hellenistic sources means nothing.

The third name is « Heracleia in Phoenicia » mentioned in one letter of the Zenon correspondence (*PCZ* 59088.9-10) dated 258 B. C. [87]. It also appears among the thirty Heracleias registered in Stephanus' *Ethnica*. The two Phoenician Heracleias were identified with each other, and with the Heracleia of Strabo's *Geography* (Bk. 16.2.7-8) by Père Vincent [88]. The assumption that the two Heracleias « in Phoenicia » were the same town is probably correct, but Strabo's Heracleia is known to lie between Seleuceia (the port of Antioch) and Laodiceia *ad Mare* (modern Lâdhiqîyah) on the north Syrian coast. That would be near the heartland of the Seleucid kingdom and considerably beyond the limits of territory controlled by the Ptolemies. Furthermore no town or city that far north would be designated as « in Phoenicia ».

The identity of « Heracleia of Phoenicia » was discovered by that indefatigable topographer Ernst Honigmann [89]. He noticed that a list (in Greek) of bishops attending the synod of Antioch (A.D. 444) included an Epiphanius « of Heracleia ». The Latin translation of that list gave Epiphanius' bishopric as

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82. « Die Hellenistische Städtegründungen von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf Die Römerzeit », *Philologus Supplementband*, 19.1 (1927), p. 65-67.

83. F.-M. ABEL, *Géographie de la Palestine*. 2 vols. (Paris, 1967 [Reprint of 1938 edition]) Vol 2 : 131.

84. *Cities* 240 and note 20.

85. V. TSCHERIKOWER, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1959), p. 106.

86. G. FUKS, « Tell Anata : A Proposed Identification », *SCI*, 5 (1979/80), p. 178-84.

87. An improved reading was published in T.C. Skeat (ed.), *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, Vol. 7 : *The Zenon Papyri* # 1933 lines 9-10. « Heracleia » with no qualifier, but almost certainly the same town, is also mentioned in *PCZ* 59044.1-2 and 59093.9, both documents of approximately the same date.

88. L.H. VINCENT, « La Palestine dans les papyrus ptolémaiques de Gerza », *RB*, 17 (1920), p. 161-202 at p. 178 note 2.

89. *Patristic Studies* (Rome, 1953), p. 123-4.

« Arca » (Tell `Arqa, near Tripoli). The curious survival of the Greek name for more than seven centuries solved the mystery. Why Arca would be designated « Heracleia » is now as obscure as when that change of name occurred. Apart from the widespread popularity of the name is the obvious association of Greek Heracles and Phoenician Melqart, e. g. at Tyre and distant Gades (Cadiz in Spain). There is as yet, however, no evidence for a cult of Melqart/Heracles at Arca. Heracles was honored, along with Dionysius, as a « dynastic deity » of the Ptolemies.

Several Seleucid dynastic names are associated with Phoenicia. Two Antiocheias are known. One is clearly identified by Stephanus as « Antiocheia of Pieria which the Syrians call Aradus » [90]. The renaming of Aradus can most probably be attributed to Antiochus II (261-246) following the Third Syrian War. Less certain is the identification of an « Antiocheia under Libanus » mentioned by the second century A.D. historian Appian (*Syriaca* 57). The context is a list of cities attributed to Seleucus I (312-281) and this name occurs between references to a « Laodiceia in Phoenicia » and « Apamea of Syria ». The attempt by Jones [91] to see some analogy between this name and the later *Caesaraea ad Libanum* (Arca) is pure guesswork. Appian's association of « Antiocheia under Libanus » with Seleucus I, if correct, would mean the site must have lain north of the Seleucid/Ptolemaic border at the Eleutherus River.

There are also two Laodiceias within Phoenician territory. One is identified with ancient Qadesh (mod. Tell Nebi Mend) on the western bank of the upper Orontes. This is the « Laodiceia of Lebanon » cited by Polybius (*Hist.* 5.45.1), the Laodiceia *sub Libano* of Pliny the Elder (*Nat. Hist.* 5. 82), and the Laodiceia *Scabiosa* (Rough ?) » of Ptolemy (*Geog.* 5. 14. 16) and the Peutinger Map [92]. The fact that it appears in Polybius in the context of the Third Syrian War means that its re-naming occurred at least as early as the reign of Antiochus II. If this is Appian's (*Syriaca* 57) « Laodiceia in Phoenicia » a foundation date as early as the reign of Seleucus I would be correct [93].

Beirut was re-named « Laodiceia of (or "in") Phoenicia », perhaps by Seleucus IV (187-175). Bilingual coins of the second century B. C. proclaim

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90. *Pieria* refers to the old Macedonian town, and may be a nostalgic reflection of the earliest inhabitants of Antiocheia.

91. *Cities* 244 and note 44

92. *Scabiosa* is Ptolemy's transliteration into Greek of the Latin name, the implications of which are unclear. The nickname begs comparison with that of Laodiceia *Combusta* (« Burnt ») near mod. Konia in Turkey (Strabo, *Geog.* 14. 2. 29). That colorful name was probably due to the smelting-furnaces near the site ; see W.M. CALDER, « A Journey Round the Proseilemmene », *Klio*, 10 (1910), p. 232-42 at p. 242.

93. GRAINGER, *Cities of Seleukid Syria* does not include this site in his discussion (Chap. 3) of cities founded by Seleucus Nicator, nor does it appear on his map, « The Cities of Seleukos » p. 232. Archaeological work at the site has produced some Hellenistic material ; see the reports cited by Grainger, *ibid.* 208.

Beirut as « Laodiceia the *mêtrôpolis* of Phoenicia » (in Greek) and either « Laodiceia which is in Canaan » or « Laodiceia the mother of Canaan » (in Phoenician). Contemporary Greek inscriptions from Delos attest « Laodiceia in Phoenicia » [94]. But if this is to be identified with the « Laodiceia in Phoenicia » of Appian, as seems likely, his attribution of it to Seleucus I is an anachronism.

Modern sites confidently identified with Hellenistic toponyms share some common features. Many are located at strategic points and lend themselves to the garrisoning of military detachments. All but Beirut were on or near borders between Seleucid and Ptolemaic portions of Phoenicia. Only two, however, Antiocheia/Aradus and Laodiceia/Beirut, enjoyed the privilege of coining. The reason for the granting of such a coveted prestige remains unclear. Commercial preeminence was undoutedly a major consideration, and ranked those two cities with the other important coastal emporia of Tripolis, Byblos, Sidon and Tyre.

94. P. ROUSSEL, « Laodicée de Phénicie », *BCH*, 35 (1911), p. 433-41 ; *SEG* 3.676 ; P. BORDREUIL, « Les inscriptions monétaires phéniciennes de Laodicée de Kanaan », in Gatier, *Géographie Historique*, p. 304-08.

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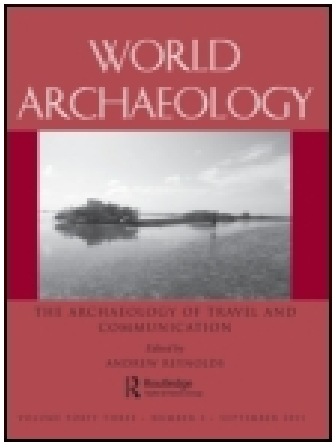

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Thalassocracies in Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean trade: Making and breaking a myth

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Thalassocracies in Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean trade: making and breaking a myth

A. Bernard Knapp

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The long history of archaeological excavation in the Mediterranean, and the long-standing scholarly interest in Bronze Age Mediterranean trade, have provided a nearly unsurpassed collection of material and ideas with which to study prehistoric production and exchange. Four types of trade mechanism have been proposed to explain the wide panorama of data from the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean: (1) centralized political (regional or interregional) control (Minoan, Canaanite); (2) localized control by single polities, with intermediaries or emissaries serving to link different nodes (Ugarit, Enkomi, Knossos); (3) freelance or entrepreneurial trade (from market exchange to 'tramping);' and (4) ceremonial or 'gift' exchange. Such mechanisms tend to crosscut Renfrew's modes of trade (1975: 41–6), which were intended specifically to characterize spatial patterning in archaeological data. The most limiting aspect of these approaches is a failure to consider factors of production and consumption in the overall assessment of trade. Distribution patterns are taken into account, but what survives in the archaeological record is not fully representative of all goods traded or marketed (Fulford 1987: 59–60). Heuristically, these approaches are not without value; but when used as umbrella-like explanations to cover the full range of exchange behaviour (resource acquisition, production, transport, distribution, consumption), their validity must be questioned.

This study presents a reassessment of notions of politico-economic pre-eminence, ethnicity and directionality in Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean trade, and reconsiders the empirical bases for Aegean and Syrian thalassocracies, and for Egyptian supremacy over Mediterranean shipping and trade. Alternative trade mechanisms and models of exchange are suggested, and attention is given to perspectives that may advance our understanding of past political and economic processes.

Thalassocracies

Some interpretations of directionality and ethnicity in Mediterranean trade were formulated over fifty years ago and remain intact despite the weight of evidence against

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unilateral explanations. The concept of a Minoan 'thalassocracy', furthermore, has been around for almost 2,500 years (Thucydides I, 3–8) and formed part of the Classical worldview on nautical activities. Eusebius' Chronicon lists seventeen Aegean or Levantine groups – e.g. Rhodians, Lydians, Cypriotes, Phoenicians – who were thought to have exercised political or military control over some part(s) of the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze-Iron Ages (Myres 1906). Such 'thalassocracies' were probably modelled on that of fifth-century Athens, or on later perceptions of the (localized) Athenian thalassocracy, which existed primarily to control piracy or to forestall foreign invasion. Even if such a view could be extrapolated back to the Archaic-period polis system, does the concept have any relation to Mediterranean maritime supremacy – political or economic – during the Bronze Age? What evidence supports such notions?

Aegean

The concept of a Minoan thalassocracy during the Middle to Late Bronze Ages is well entrenched (Hägg and Marinatos 1984). Several sociopolitical or ideological bases of Minoan sea power have been proposed: conquest, transplanted 'community colonies', merchant enclaves or 'special trading relationships' (Branigan 1981; Schofield 1982; Wiener 1991). In a spirited defence of Minoan supremacy Wiener proposes that various sites in the Cyclades and Dodecanese, and along the western coast of Anatolia, formed part of a Minoan empire, and that Knossos dominated the principal trade networks within the Aegean (1990: 145–54). However, even if the Minoans exercised some level of control over intra-Aegean trade, their participation in exchange systems farther east has been challenged (Kemp and Merrillees 1980: 278–9; Branigan 1989: 66–7). E. and Y. Sakellarakis maintain that Egyptian *Keftiu* documents 'clearly indicate the leadership of Crete, the so-called "Minoan Thalassocracy"' (1984: 202). Wachsmann, however, argues that *Keftiu* representations in Egyptian art need not represent an Aegean presence in Egypt (1987: 42; Muhly 1991a: 236). Egyptian wall-paintings, furthermore, may simply represent the people of *Keftiu* as bearers of gifts or merchandise (Merrillees 1968: 194). The recently uncovered 'Minoan style' frescoes at the MB-LB site of Tell el-Dab'a in Egypt's eastern Delta (Bietak 1992), and Minoan-style painted-plaster floors at Tel Kabri in Israel (Niemeyer 1991), open up the likelihood of diverse social or political contacts between Crete and Egypt or the southern Levant. However, unlike the Egyptian wall-paintings, these new discoveries apparently treat cultural (possibly ceremonial) themes, and have nothing to do with economic activity or political dominion in the Bronze Age Mediterranean.

Scenarios of Mycenaean pre-eminence in eastern Mediterranean trade resulted from Claude Schaeffer's attempt to explain the common occurrence of stone-built, barrel-vaulted, 'Mycenaean' tombs at Ugarit, and the preponderance of LHIIA-IIIB pottery found on Cyprus, at Ugarit and elsewhere along the Levantine coast and in Egypt (Schaeffer 1939: 72–97; Åström 1973; Courtois and Courtois 1978: 292–363; Bell 1982). When Catling alluded to 'intensive trade relations' between the Aegean and Cyprus, he clearly felt that the Mycenaeans manned the rudders of merchantmen trading in the eastern Mediterranean (1964: 49–50, 54, 300–1). In addition to the evidence of Mycenaean pottery in the Levanto-Egyptian sphere, Immerwahr drew upon Mycenaean material in

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Italy, Sicily, and Lipari (and Baltic amber in Mycenaean tombs) to suggest that 'Mycenaean traders' held a monopoly on trade within the Aegean and directly influenced or dominated other aspects of eastern Mediterranean trade through 'merchant colonies' (1960: 6–12).

From distributional patterns of Mycenaean pottery in the south-east Mediterranean, Hankey concluded that Mycenaean trade either 'radiated' from Greece, or that the Mycenaeans shared eastern Mediterranean shipping with 'Syrians' and 'Phoenicians'. She interpreted the differences in quantity between Mycenaean wares found on Cyprus (numbered in the thousands) and those recovered in the Levant (numbered in the hundreds) as a form of 'down-the-line' trade (Renfrew 1975: 41–3), wherein Cyprus received the bulk of the pottery and the south-eastern Mediterranean the remnants (Hankey 1967: 145–7). If, however, some of this 'Mycenaean' pottery had been produced on Cyprus or in the Levant (Asaro and Perlman 1973), or if the numbers involved in the different areas are not as disparate as suggested (Catling 1980: 16–18), the basis of Hankey's argument breaks down – a point which may have prompted her suggestion that Cypriot ships carried Aegean goods to the south-east Mediterranean (1981: 44–5).

Merrillees (1974: 7–8) condemned the concepts of thalassocracies or commerical monopolies, and argued that sea-borne trade during the eastern Mediterranean Bronze Age was primarily in the hands of private entrepreneurs. George Bass's meticulous excavation and publication of the Cape Gelidonya shipwreck led him to deny any possibility of a 'Mycenaean monopoly on sea traffic' (1967: 165), a position still maintained (1986: 296). Sasson, who sought to demonstrate Canaanite maritime involvement in eastern Mediterranean trade, observed that 'it would be very difficult to disprove the widely held contention that Egyptian, Minoan and, later, Mycenaean sea-power were dominant in the Late Bronze Age' (1966: 128 n.13). Yannai's (1983) detailed refutation of Mycenaean involvement in eastern Mediterranean trade seriously undermined the thalassocratic pillar of Aegean prehistory. Because the Linear B tablets provide no direct reference to overseas trade (cf. Killen 1985: 262–70), Mycenaean trade may not have relied on palatial capital (Blitzer 1990: 708). Finally, even if one accepts the *Ahhiyawa*-Achaean equation (Bryce 1989), Steiner has removed the linchpin of a presumed *Ahhiyawa* presence along the Levantine seaboard (1989: 409–11) and thus eliminated the textual evidence for Mycenaean involvement in eastern Mediterranean trade.

Syrian

The concept of a Syrian (Canaanite or 'Semitic') thalassocracy was formulated during the mid-1960s by Sasson (1966) and Bass (1967: 1973). From the evidence of the Cape Gelidonya wreck, Bass maintained that the 'Phoenician' inhabitants of the Syrian coast played a major part in the Late Bronze Age trade in metals, from Sardinia to the Levant. Essentially Bass argued that copper oxhide ingots were manufactured by Syrians on Cyprus and traded by Syrians to the Aegean, conceding only that the strong Syrian influence on Cyprus might make Cypriot and Syrian merchantmen indistinguishable (1973: 36). In his study of Aegeans in Egyptian wall-paintings, Wachsmann (1987) echoes the ideas of Bass and maintains that Syrians – using Syrian or Cypriot ships – dominated the trade between the Aegean and the Levant or Egypt.

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According to Bass, before the destruction of Knossos, the Minoans shared Syria's pre-eminent role in eastern Mediterranean trade; after its demise, that trade became a Syrian monopoly. Wachsmann concurs and argues that, with one exception, it is Syrians who are shown carrying the oxhide ingots depicted in Egyptian tomb paintings (1987: 50–1). In Bass's scheme, oxhide ingots formed the rationale for Aegean-eastern Mediterranean trade and were exchanged for Minoan – and later, Mycenaean – pottery. As Yannai points out (1983: 104), this makes much better sense if Cypro-Levantine middlemen functioned as a mechanism to answer regional factors of supply and demand; it also helps to explain why pottery might have served as a suitable item of exchange for copper. The continuing excavation of the Ulu Burun shipwreck – and the fact that all ingots from the Cape Gelidonya and Ulu Burun shipwrecks thus far tested by lead isotope analysis are consistent with production from Cypriot ores (Gale 1991a: 227–31; cf. Muhly 1991b: 188–9) – have ameliorated Bass's views to the extent that Cyprus is allowed some autonomy and the Mycenaeans permitted a possible merchant on board the ship. Syrians, however, are still regarded as the 'authority' behind the production and trade in metals (Bass 1986: 294–6). Muhly has persistently challenged Bass's interpretation (Muhly et al. 1988: 294–5), initially arguing that the Cape Gelidonya ship was Mycenaean in origin (Muhly 1972: 212), but soon deciding that it represented entrepreneurial trade (Maddin and Muhly 1974: 25). Taking the material evidence from the shipwreck as a whole, and granting that the personal ornaments are preponderantly 'Syrian', it must be said that the ethnic origins and home port of the Gelidonya ship remain uncertain, and that it could have been run by Bronze Age merchants acting on their own behalf.

Sasson accepted without question Bass's identification of the Cape Gelidonya wreck as 'Syrian', its destination as the Aegean. Using a range of epigraphic and artistic material from the mid-second millennium Levant, Egypt and Mesopotamia, Sasson made his case for a 'Canaanite thalassocracy' during the Late Bronze Age (1966: 128–31). With the exception of Cyprus, however, and one text that refers to Crete, much of the material discussed by Sasson concerns trade within the Levant, or trade between the Levant and Anatolia or Mesopotamia. Other specifically Mediterranean links suggested by Sasson are intriguing but contentious (a Canaanite commerical 'depot' at Boeotian Thebes), and his notion that Canaanite merchants were stationed in 'the capital cities of . . . Egypt, Alasia, Babylonia and Assyria' is unsubstantiated (1966: 135 and n.53). Sasson cited at least four texts indicating that a certain amount of trade was conducted through private hands and concluded his argument by noting (1966: 137–8):

> in an age when land caravans were often robbed and when respectable rulers did not hesitate to plunder travelling merchants, there seems to have existed in Canaan an 'entente' among the great powers, whereby ships of various cities, the seafarers, and their cargos were respected in time of peace.

Such an 'entente' among the major powers of the time – to respect ships, cargoes and merchants – undermines the very concept of a thalassocracy. The existence of localized control of certain segments of Levantine trade is far more likely.

Anita Yannai presented the most compelling argument for Levantine participation in fourteenth to thirteenth century BC eastern Mediterranean trade (1983: 101–14). Her discussion makes use of a wide range of Levantine material in the Aegean (seals, ivories,

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pottery, metal goods) and the comparative lack of Mycenaean material in the Levant: she considers documentary and other historical evidence, or the lack of such, and offers a sophisticated treatment of possible economic mechanisms in Mediterranean trade. Yannai concludes that trade was indirect and involved the exchange of finished products for raw materials: Cypro-Levantine middlemen – operating from Cyprus – best explain the state of the evidence and at the same time provide the profit-oriented, supply-demand mechanism that regulated the exchange process. Mycenaean involvement accordingly is discredited, and at the same time the notion of Syrian hegemony is reduced to the part played by individual entrepreneurs.

Egyptian

The concept of Egyptian supremacy over the seas of the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean was promulgated by Säve-Söderbergh in his monograph on the navy of the eighteenth Dynasty (1946: 34–42). By the fifteenth century BC Tuthmosis III had inaugurated a policy of seizing port towns along the Levantine coast to serve as supply stations for the Egyptian army. He first adopted this strategy at the end of his fifth Asian campaign by appropriating two (cargo?) ships and sailing his troops swiftly back to Egypt, thus avoiding the lengthy march overland (Wilson 1969: 238–9). Subsequently Tuthmosis used ships to transport his army directly to the Levantine coast, where he maintained several ports (Wilson 1969: 239; Säve-Söderbergh 1946: 36). Furumark interpreted this naval strategy as an indication of 'complete Egyptian supremacy on the seas' (1950: 247). Linder suggested that such 'trading-posts' were transformed into 'flourishing centers of maritime commerce', but increasingly gained political and economic independence from Egypt (1973: 317–18).

Despite a tendency among Egyptologists to assume some level of Egyptian prominence in eastern Mediterranean trade (e.g. Hayes 1973: 386–8; cf. Kemp 1990: 257–60), the evidence tallied does not add up to Egyptian supremacy over the seas. The concept of an Egyptian navy must be understood in light of the possibility that most of its ships were either requisitioned or captured Levantine ships (Sasson 1966: 130 and n.21). On Egyptian wall-paintings and in documentary evidence, those ships that can be identified as merchantmen were of Levantine, not Egyptian origin (Artzy 1985: 138–9). Yet Egyptian New Kingdom temples certainly possessed ships outfitted for use in overseas trading missions (Wilson 1969: 269; Kemp and Merrillees 1980: 278 and n.619). Furthermore, it is generally acknowledged that '*Keftiu*-ships' were so named because they voyaged to or from the Aegean; whether they were of Aegean, Egyptian or even Syrian origin cannot be proven one way or another (Vercoutter 1956: 53–5; Wachsmann 1987: 121).

The level of Egyptian hegemony in the Levant was insufficient to curtail the movement of foreign vessels: Theban tomb paintings depict the arrival of Syrian trade missions during the reign of Tuthmosis III (Merrillees 1968: 172–4) and confirm the presence of 'Aegean' missions at least up to the reign of Amenophis II (Wachsmann 1990). Haider (1989) maintains that direct Aegean–Egyptian contacts continued through the reign of Ramesses II. The Amarna letters from *Alashiya* demonstrate unequivocally that – at least during the fourteenth century BC – the king of Cyprus firmly controlled the Mediterranean end of Cypro-Egyptian trade (Knapp 1985: 237–8); moreover, the trade in copper continued

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throughout the thirteenth century BC. Finally, the cessation of the extensive trade in Cypriot and Mycenaean pottery, at least in part a trade in perfumed oils, toward the end of the eigtheenth Dynasty probably had less to do with Egyptian policy (Helck 1979: 114–15) than with a resurgence of Cypriot or Syrian trade, or with other, politico-economic factors of wider interregional significance (Merrillees 1968: 198–202).

The concept of an Egyptian 'empire' in the Levant, or of Egyptian domination over eastern Mediterranean seas, owes it prominence to Egyptian ideology, wherein political or economic 'contracts' between Egypt and 'the other' had to conform to Egyptian notions of divine kingship and the associated bonds of dependency (Kemp 1978: 8–9). Because Levantine city-states were ruled by hereditary kings who themselves were not beyond divine aspirations, and who exercised wide-ranging political and juridical functions, the Egyptian political hierarchy made no attempt to reorganize Levantine society; rather Egypt sought to obtain services or 'tribute' within the bounds of standard trade procedures (Kemp 1978: 48–9). The administration of Syria-Palestine rested ultimately in Egyptian hands, but Egypt's military or naval presence was little more than symbolic, and local economies were structurally independent of the pharaonic economy. 'External supplies [*'inw*] that were in fact the result of trade or gift-exchange are recorded and presented as tribute for the sake of control over the inner Egyptian populace' (Liverani 1990: 260). Egyptian royal inscriptions and the Amarna letters each have their own literary conventions and ideological motives. Both deal with different aspects of sociopolitical reality, and neither can be taken at face value. Although the Amarna letters present as political equals states and rulers who were anything but (Liverani 1990: 264), they reveal the reciprocal nature of certain aspects of Late Bronze Age trade in the eastern Mediterranean and help to discount notions of Bronze Age thalassocracies in general.

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Deconstructing thalassocracies

During the ninth to sixteenth centuries AD, struggles between the Byzantine East, various Muslim polities, the Christian West and the Barbary Corsairs show that maritime supremacy in the Mediterranean was hard won, loosely maintained and quickly lost (Pryor 1988). The mechanics of overland trade in the Levantine Late Bronze Age involved politico-economic status, co-operation and competition, the type and nature of goods exchanged and the ideology of exchange. Similar factors affected contemporary maritime trade in the eastern Mediterranean, but many fleets were active: Egypt, several Levantine states, Cyprus, Cilicia, Mycenaean Greece, Minoan Crete. Several polities produced raw materials, comestibles and finished products for exchange in an interregional exchange system that has been termed 'conditioned co-existence' (Liverani 1987: 67). In such a situation, dominion over the seas could not have existed.

Tradition first led several prominent Aegean or eastern Mediterranean archaeologists to make informal inferences, arrived at in part by analogy with later historical situations (the Athenian thalassocracy) or with literary tradition (the Minoan thalassocracy). Inference soon became assumption, and because certain features of the archaeological record ('Mycenaean' tomb architecture at Ugarit) conformed with the assumption (Mycenaean colonies at Ugarit), the inference eventually became 'fact' (an Aegean

thalassocracy). Other archaeological features (Mycenaean pottery in the Levant) seemed to fall into line with the fact, which became well entrenched. Archaeologists of different backgrounds, however, read such 'facts' in different ways and assigned alternative meanings to the same material. In other words, the archaeological record, as 'text', has its own autonomy and is open to multiple interpretations on the part of its 'readers'. As interpreter of this text the archaeologist must consider not only the material data and any associated documentary evidence, but also how the two are interrelated, and how pre- or proto-historic cultures may be represented meaningfully. Here our task is to deconstruct the notion of 'thalassocracy' and, in the light of additional data as well as a more pluralistic approach, to examine briefly other likely mechanisms of trade at work in the Bronze Age Mediterranean.

Local control

Several Mediterranean island or coastal emporia (e.g. Ugarit, Enkomi, Kommos, Marsa Matruh, *Nuraghe* Antigori) functioned as maritime junctions or stations, where a wide variety of goods was available for sale, exchange or trans-shipment (Portugali and Knapp 1985: 61–2; Knapp 1992). These maritime centres owed their commercial (and social) success to location along the most commonly used sea lanes, which may have been dictated in part by pre-existing commercial facilities (Cherry and Davis 1982: 340). Whilst access to certain resources may have conditioned the location of certain port settlements, regional control over trading would have heightened the significance of ports in agriculturally or mineralogically marginal areas – Marsa Matruh is a striking example in the Mediterranean (White 1989).

Throughout the Middle Ages in the Mediterranean, the key to maritime power and commerce lay in control over a string of island naval bases and commercial ports located astride the coastal-insular sea lanes; these ports stretched from the Balearics in the west to Rhodes, Cilicia and Cyprus in the east (Pryor 1988: 8). They offered a refuge from pirates and the opportunity to take on daily renewals of food, water and wood. In discussing the activities of ships and seamen at such ports, Braudel provided his classic description of 'tramping' (1972: 107):

> 'Tramping' also made it possible to take on cargo. It gave ample opportunity for bargaining, and for making the most of price differences. Every sailor, from captain to cabin-boy would have his bundle of merchandise on board, and merchants or their representatives would travel with their wares. The round trip, which could last several weeks or months, was a long succession of selling, buying, and exchanging, organized within a complicated itinerary. In the course of the voyage, the cargo would often have completely altered its nature.

Commercial trade

As a mechanism for moving commodities, tramping may have characterized certain aspects of entrepreneurial trade in the Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean (Cherry and Davis 1982: 339–40). Private enterprise is not nearly as visible as palatial initiative in either

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archaeological or documentary evidence, yet there is no doubt that it existed alongside state-level trade. Based on Artzy's reconstruction of Bronze Age shipping, for example, the 'multi-purpose' ships of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages would be representative of state-dominated trade, whilst the 'merchantmen' of Late Bronze II – 'round' boats as opposed to 'long' boats, or galleys – would be indicative of freelance commercial trade (Artzy 1985: 138–40; 1988: 184). Whether private initiative or state control prevailed, the movement of goods was also affected by factors of transport, technology, value and ideology. Documentary and ethnohistoric evidence from a wide range of cultures in time and space shows that different types of commodity may move through different exchange systems (e.g. Leach and Leach 1983); that metals and surplus goods in premonetary economies may function as valuables and thus move in all directions (Portugali and Knapp 1985: 65); and that demand is never constant or uniform – the same goods may travel in any direction through different exchange mechanisms and/or by different means of transport, in different time periods (Knapp 1991: 50–2).

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Gift exchange

Through detailed research into the form and meaning of gift exchange as portrayed in the contemporary documents of western Asia and Egypt, Liverani (1987; 1990) and Zaccagnini (1987) have provided an entirely different perspective on the gift-commodity model (Morris 1986; Knapp 1988). They have examined the moral and social connotations of ceremonial exchange (as counterpoint to commercial trade) and have provided new insights into gender, cognition and representation through their detailed philological and politico-ideological examination of royal rhetoric.

Gift exchange played a prominent role in the international, state-level trade of the Amarna period and must be kept separate from the commercial level of trade (whether under private or state control). When the king of *Alashiya* informed pharaoh that his own people had exhorted him to secure payment for past shipments of timber to Egypt (Moran et al. 1987: 27–8 (EA35)), the commercial character of trade – even between heads of state – cannot be questioned. The commercial pattern of exchange aimed chiefly to maximize profits, without concern for social relationships or the ideologies of state. The socio-ideological aspects of ceremonial exchange were meant to be exclusive and highly personalized (Zaccagnini 1987: 63–4). The merchants, royal messengers, state agents or freelance traders who conducted these activities clearly knew their position in either (or both) the commercial or ceremonial spheres of exchange, but this did not prevent 'conversions' from prestige goods to commodities, or the multiple circulation of gifts in two or more directions.

Discussion: economic theory and Bronze Age Mediterranean trade

Fieldwork and research during the past decade have produced a wealth of new data on Bronze Age Mediterranean production and exchange (e.g. Gale 1991a; Mathers and Stoddart 1992). Several key sites and new excavations have greatly increased the range of material available to study Mediterranean Bronze Age trade; at the same time these

factors have altered dramatically our understanding of the scope and extent of Mediterranean trading systems (Knapp 1990). Attempts to synthesize these data – even on a regional scale – have been limited, understandably so given the limitations imposed by an ever-expanding database and the finite nature of expertise. The most thorough attempt to model the nature of Mediterranean Bronze Age trade is that of Andrew and Susan Sherratt (1991), who seek to bury once and for all Weberian notions on the centrality of agrarian factors to the ancient economy (Snodgrass 1991; cf. Weiner 1991: 325–7) and to replace them with factors of 'conspicuous consumption' and exchange. The Sherratts are concerned with the incentive for trade, namely the desire by emergent elites to acquire goods that have social significance. The model draws in factors of production, consumption and exchange: the need to acquire (consume) prestige goods motivated the intensification of local production and the extraction of a surplus, which provided goods for exchange.

What began as the provision of a limited quantity of high-value, low-bulk luxury goods (a minor part of total production in the Mediterranean) grew over time to incorporate the bulk-exchange of non-convertible commodities (e.g. the contents of Canaanite jars, Aegean and Cypriot textiles and pottery, Near Eastern glass and faience) locally produced in quantity for export on an interregional scale. In contrast, the real determinants of regional politico-economic power were convertible resources, especially copper ingots and metal goods, which were never actively marketed but instead subject to tight elite control and traded – perhaps exclusively – via formal gift-exchange procedures (S. Sherratt, pers. comm.; Knapp 1988). Exchange systems in the Mediterranean were in a continuous process of transformation, wherein consumer (or supplier) demand and maritime technology increasingly enabled regional exchange networks to be linked to a wider, common circulation system that moved commodities as well as high-value goods (notably metals) between participating units. Standardized values and mediated exchange rates facilitated interregional trade and in addition may have served as a stabilizing influence in the context of ever-changing politico-economic relationships. The (approximately) 30kg copper oxhide ingot – found from Babylonia in the east to Sardinia in the west (LoSchiavo et al. 1985: 10–13; Brinkman 1987: 35–6) – suggests a Mediterranean standard for value, weight and possibly context. The set of bronze and stone weights from *Ayios Dhimitrios* on Cyprus, a set of disk weights from Akrotiri on Thera, and the possible regional intercalation of measuring systems, suggest the likelihood of interrelated systems of weights and measures (Courtois 1983; Petruso 1984; Michailidou 1990).

The parameters for studying Mediterranean trade have often been unrealistically restricted, either to consideration of the production and distribution of a single type of artifact or else to basic lists of all exogenous goods in a given archaeological context and a comparative search for their likely origins (Perlès 1992). Based on the distribution of distinctive artifact types, it is conceptually useful to model the spatial extent of exchange systems (Renfrew 1975: 42, fig. 10); but the notion of 'central places', surrounded by progressively larger, more inclusive territories, is problematic in the Bronze Age Mediterranean, where several different types of trade activity overlapped with or cross-cut one another. For example, by the time a Cypriot pithos passed from its locus of production along Cyprus's south-central coast to its final, stratified, domestic context at the Sardinian port of *Nuraghe* Antigori (Vagnetti, in Ferrarese Ceruti et al. 1987: 17–19, fig. 2.5), it had

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travelled through several modes of exchange, each of which could be considered separately or as part of an interregional Mediterranean system. Bronze Age ships and merchants also had to take into account several constraints: coastal currents and prevailing winds, offshore reefs and inshore rocks, the limited number of good ports (southern Levant and Egypt), piracy, taxation and duties (Kemp and Merrillees 1980: 269–71, fig. 78; Pryor 1988: 12–24; Altman 1988). Trading strategies, in other words, whether based on entrepreneurial initiative, the acquisition of prestige goods (and social status) or the maintenance of centralized politico-economic control, always involved specific cultural and individual human factors that must be incorporated into any generalized model of trade.

The functions of trade are manifold and range from the purely economic to the military, social and ideological. Trade brought luxury goods and prestige items to ruling elites; metals, precious and semi-precious stones and other raw materials (ivory, amber, wood) to craftspeople; subsistence supplies and basic commodities to rural peasants. Under the rubric of exchange, tribute moved up the social hierarchy whilst food and other surpluses moved down and out. Because prehistoric trade 'ran ahead' of strongly centralized polities (Webb 1975), the dynamic of power formation must lie at least partly in the 'tension between the market and the palace' (Kipp and Schortman 1989: 379). The transformative effects of trade upon social structures, politico-economic motivation or individual human need and action, may be profound, and participation in interregional trade systems may bring in its wake major structural or technological changes in society (Adams 1974: 244).

Nor are these transformations always productive. Once local leaders were drawn into wider spheres of interaction, they could not always control the effects of trade on socio-political organization or development (Kipp and Schortman 1989: 374–5). Luxury goods may serve as political or ideological 'currency' and enable elites to mobilize labour as well as an armed force, in order to provide or protect the surplus or specialized production that makes possible their participation in long distance exchange. Exploitation and dominance may also result directly from trade-related factors (Terray 1974). Trade, in other words, may be socially integrative or socially divisive (Foster 1977; Hodder 1980: 154). The agents of prehistoric trade are invisible and difficult to identify ethnically. Although entrepreneurship has received a good deal of attention in recent literature on exchange, the goal-motivated behaviour of elites deserves more emphasis, and it is essential to distinguish between broader, socio-cultural needs and objectives on the one hand and, on the other, the narrower motivations of human agents in acts of production and exchange (Earle 1989). Ethnographic and ethnohistoric data provide a dynamic element missing in many studies of ancient trade and make it possible to consider human roles, traditions, predations and motivations (Adams 1974: 242–3).

Conclusion

The most significant incentive for trade in the Bronze Age Mediterranean was the desire by emergent elites to acquire goods which had a specific social significance (Sherratt and Sherratt 1991). The structured demands of elites (legitimization, consolidation of power) necessitated the import of various goods that could only be acquired through the

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production of certain other goods – raw materials such as metal, wood or ivory; finished products such as bronzes, textiles or decorated chests. As the Late Bronze Age palace-based economies of the Levant and the Aegean expanded, and Cyprus became a key supplier of metal and other commodities in demand, there was a quantum leap in the production and exchange of certain goods (Aegean and Cypriot pottery, glass products, copper ingots, metal artifacts). This implies a significant mobilization of labour and deployment of craft specialists, as well as a substantial reorganization of the political economy. Whereas the economies of the major polities would have become more tightly linked and structured around elite demands, the dynamics of production and exchange – as well as the fluctuating opportunities afforded by the social or legal systems – freed resources for entrepreneurial, if not socially disruptive, activities.

The individual human agent – or collective agents – and their material manifestation(s) had the capacity actively to transform society, not just reflect it. Entrepreneurial awareness operated in various public or private domains within a generally more structured, hierarchical, political economy. Common units of exchange, measuring systems or even an agreed-upon 'standard' of exchange (copper, silver) facilitated 'investments' in the productive means of society and allowed flexibility in the factors related to investment and the production of a surplus. A buffered market mechanism, in other words, wherein local trade and external demand provided a stimulus for politico-economic growth (Renfrew 1972: 473), and which revolved to some extent around the role of metals as media of exchange (Marfoe 1987: 31), must have operated at least periodically and at several key points within a Mediterranean regional sphere of interaction.

The mechanisms that propelled trade in such a system were diverse, complex, multidimensional and repeatedly in flux as different opportunities and distinctive products became available to the traders, raiders and entrepreneurs active in long distance exchange. The picture that emerges from detailed consideration of a diverse range of contemporary documentary evidence is fully consistent with such a multifaceted trade network (Zaccagnini 1987; Kemp and Merrillees 1980: 276; Portugali and Knapp 1985: 64–6; Liverani 1990). Renfrew's material view of Aegean-eastern Mediterranean trade in the second millennium BC similarly evokes diverse trading mechanisms: gift exchange, freelance trade, palace-based directional trade, redistribution, commercial-directional trade (1972: 472–3). Interregional trade was palace-centered in many respects, but the exchange process mobilized specific demand for import and export commodities, allowed sufficient scope for individual initiative within the system and stimulated a highly developed mercantile economy on the fringes of the 'command economy' (Sherratt and Sherratt 1991). Markets, after all, expand as aggressively as states or empires, and entrepreneurs will carry traded goods as far as they are able.

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Abstract

Knapp, A. Bernard

Thalassocracies in Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean trade: making and breaking a myth

Interpretations of economic pre-eminence, ethnicity and directionality in Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean trade – e.g. Minoan or Canaanite thalassocracies, Egyptian supremacy – were formulated earlier in the twentieth century and remain intact despite accumulating evidence against such unilateral explanations. This paper examines critically such approaches, documents the existence of alternative trade mechanisms (local control, freelance trade, gift exchange) and presents another perspective intended to advance understanding of Mediterranean Bronze Age political and economic processes.

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THE LEGEND OF CADMUS – The foundation of the city of *Butoa* and the possible origin of the name Illyrians

Apstrakt: Tokom stoljetnog razvoja arheološke znanosti na prostoru jugoistočne Evrope se kao jedno od dominantnih pitanja kontinuirano nametala problematika porijekla zajednica koje su raniji istraživači prepoznavali kao homogenu etničku komponentu nazivanu Iliri. Problem njihovog porijekla je promatran kroz različite interpretacije etnogenetskih procesa čime su brojni istraživači pokušavali kreirati različite razvojne etape formiranja zajednica koje su nazivali ilirskim imenom. Kombiniranjem novijih razumijevanja koncepta mitova i legendi u nekadašnjim zajednicama, pisanih podataka koji svjedoče o živom sjećanju na te mitove tokom protekla dva stoljeća, kao i arheoloških i historijskih podataka se nameće povezanost i kompleksna složenost najstarijih mitova i legendi, poput legende o Kadmu i Harmoniji, a koji ukazuju na porijeklo cjelokupnog pojma Ilira kao geografskog i religijskog koncepta u potpunosti dihotomnog u odnosu na, čini se, pogrešna tumačenja o širokom etničkom kompleksu prahistorijskog Balkana.

Ključne riječi: Kadmo, Harmonia, Butoa, Iliri, Mikenjani, prahistorija, trgovački putevi, legende, etnicitet

Abstract: During one hundred years of the development of archaeology in southeast Europe, one of the dominant issues was the origin of communities that were recognized by former researchers as a homogenous component named the Illyrians. The issue of their origin was observed through different interpretations of wethnogenetic processes which numerous researchers tried to use to create different developmental phases of creating communities named after the Illyrians. By combining the most recent interpretations of concepts of myths and legends of the past communities, written data containing live memories of these myths during the past two centuries, as well as archaeological and historical data, the relationship and complexities of the oldest myths and legends, such as the one of Cadmus and Harmonia, are reimposed as they suggest the origin of the entire term of the Illyrians as a geographic and religious concept entirely dichotomous compared to, seemingly, misinterpretations of the wider ethnic context of the prehistoric Balkans.

Keywords: Cadmus, Harmonia, Butoa, Illyrians, Mycenaeans, Prehistory, Trading routes, Legends, Ethnicity

The matters of history, origin, and development in the territory of the Western Balkans and elsewhere have been present ever since the prehistoric times when we can also date the earliest testimonies of classical authors who, in their own distinctive way, through numerous myths, strived for understanding and yet unattainable knowledge of the development of origin and identity of communities inhabiting this territory during the scientifically established historic periods. Just like to the development of modern science, this matter experienced an exponential progression and, at a certain moment of the history of science in this territory, it occupied one of the most important matters of archaeology and historiography of the 20th century.[1]

Beginning from the time of the Illyrian movement and Ljudevit Gaj, when the approach to this matter was focused on the idea of providing evidence for the indigenous origin of the Western Balkan peoples, the interest of scholars has not decreased in intensity until modern times. Thus J. G. v. Hahn wrote back in 1853 on the origin of the Illyrian name and its earliest form "Ιλλυριοί, Hilurii, and Hiluricus".[2] In his book *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot During the Insurrection, August and September 1875*, Arthur Evans wrote multiple overviews on the associations with the Greek world.[3] The first issue of the Herald of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine*) in 1889 and the paper titled *О значењу имена "Босна"* have not left out this matter, in which the author Lajos Thallóczy reflected on the writings of classical authors regarding the "Illyrian" peoples.[4] In the same issue of the Herald, Ćiro Truhelka concluded his paper *Gromile na Glasincu*[5] with the following words: "*Nema sumnje da je ta umjetnost iz Grčke prešla ostalim balkanskim narodima, a uzme li se u obzir da se grčka kultura baš na Balkanu sporo širila, to možemo po tome suditi da glasinačke gromile nijesu davno prije našeg doba nastale*",[6] alluding that the former communities in this territory are young by date and that they had established contacts with the Greek world. The interest of the first explorers did not lose its intensity during the later period when these matters were made topics of papers of authors, citing only some of them, such as G. Novak, P. Lisičar, D. Rendić-Miočević, R. Katičića, B. Govedarica, M. Parović-Pešikan, M. Šašel Kos, and numerous others. From classical philologists to archaeologists, numerous authors reflected on the words of classical authors and prehistoric myths and legends on the arrival of Greek heroes at the coast of the Adriatic Sea by observing, or at least trying to observe, the earliest history through the eyes of the ancient Greeks. Following Nietzsche's idea that a modern man cannot find a *way out of a millennium-old*

[1] This text is a result of a multi-year research and parts of it were presented on the scientific conference "Dani antičke Budve" in Budva in 2018.

[2] Hahn 1853, 231.

[3] Evans 1877.

[4] Thallóczy 1889, 7.

[5] Truhelka 1889, 35.

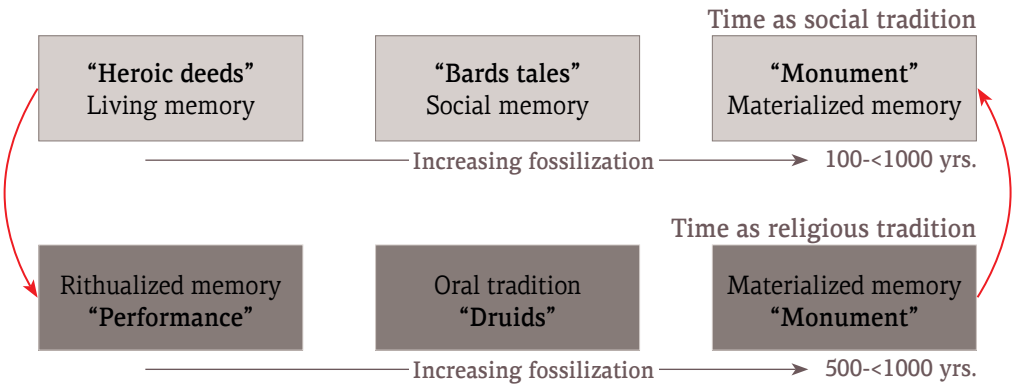
[6] Ibid, 35

labyrinth, the aspiration of explorers became irreversibly focused on understanding the time of mythical events in the eyes of an ancient man and his words. Unfortunately, the enigma remains unsolved and it is difficult to assume that the absolute solution to this problem will be found in the near future even though it is almost impossible to single out a 20th-century author from the Western Balkans who has not addressed the issue of genesis and the relationship with the Aegean civilization throughout their career.

By approaching the problem through the paradigm of a cultural and historic approach, scholars have achieved a certain consensus by defining the period of the end of the Bronze Age and the earliest Iron Age as *terminus post quem* of forming the identity of Western Balkan communities. It seems that one of the fundamental reasons why archaeologists from the second half of the 20th century made such a chronological formula is the fact that the Iron Age produced documents containing the oldest mention of the communities in the territory of former eastern Adriatic coast, familiar to ancient Greek sailors who sailed there during the Archaic Period and Classical Greek Period, but also earlier, searching for places of future *emporia* and *apoikia*. Although anticipated by earlier authors, the moment of the first mention, or the earliest preserved mention today, in theory does not represent the moment when communities were actually formed, and we can assume that the local identities had existed much earlier dependent on geographical, communication, linguistic, and other conditions. This raises some fundamental methodological questions, particularly the problem of the relationship between mythological traditions and actual events, mechanisms for verifying them, and realistic grounds for including the usage of written words of classical authors in combination with empirically defined disciplines such as archaeology. We should note the fact that despite the so-called empiricism of archaeology, cultural and identity determinants of archaeology itself showed just as much weakness focusing exclusively on "interpretations" by artificially creating terms such as "archaeological cultures", "individual cults", or the so-called "princes" whose titles within a collective are exclusively from the pens of the archaeologists themselves. At the same time, it is undeniable that modern science and modern man perceive space and spatial distributions entirely differently from classical man. This is precisely where the truth lies that, unlike modern archaeologists and graphical depictions, the ancient Greeks used to define and present spatial characteristics by using written media and spoken words.[7] Unlike graphical perception, the written and spoken words could be manifested in beliefs and myths that were comprehensible only to people living at that point of time. In the spirit of the aforementioned hypothesis, we are faced with an issue of the relationship between mythology and reality whereby one of the central problems is a continual mythological representation of heroes who were allegedly founders and conquerors, ancestors, demigods, gods. Opinions are extremely divided over the interpretation of the mythological past, and certain authors, such as

[7] Babić 2007, 73-89.

J. G. Frazer, believe that a myth is a product of human imagination entirely disassociated from reality. On the other hand, he believes legends to be reminiscences of actual events, heroes, and occur at actual historical sites.[8] Furthermore, by observing memories as a long-term process starting from the works represented as heroic to the materialization of memories, Kristiansen points out two types of fossilization and materialization of memories: social and religious tradition.[9] At the same time, he believes that the process from actual characters and events to materialized memory would occur in a different developmental period from 100 to 1000 years.[10]



Ill. 1. The process of fossilization of memories through time by Kristiansen (Author: A. Kaljanac)

Starting from the assumption that the materialization of memories in the form that is comprehensible to younger generations is a long-term process, the question arises to what extent it is recognizable to modern researchers. Following the time range proposed by Kristiansen, the hero from Sidon – Cadmus – should have attained the status of a legend about one thousand years after his lifetime. For now, judging from the archaeological findings such as the amphora from Euboe dated to 560 – 550 BC, much earlier than Herodotus[11] and according to the data from the Parian Marble[12] or the intriguing appearance of the work of Sophocles *Oedipus Tyrannus* (Οἰδίπους Τύραννος) Herodotus's *History* appears almost simultaneously, we can conclude that there were older data that can be dated to the Iron Ages, that preceded to the origin of Herodotus's *History*. Therefore, we can assume that the Bronze Age is the initial point of observation when certain events took place that materialized in writing and probably in art one millennium later. The fundamental question as the basis of this premise is whether it was possible, in the

[8] For more see: Frazer 2002.

[9] Kristiansen 2008, 41-50.

[10] Kristiansen 2008, 48.

[11] https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010268302 [last checked 2021-5-28]

[12] See below in text.

period of human history that preceded the modern way of recording and transferring knowledge about it, to actually maintain a realistic memory of a certain person?

Ill. 2. A depiction of Cadmus killing a snake – dating to the period of around 560 to 550 BC (https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010268302 [last checked 2021-5-28])

First of all, we need to weigh out the amount of available knowledge as well as its comprehensibility to the wider community, more precisely whether there were adequate mechanisms of transferring the necessary information. For this reason, information transferred from local and foreign authors are deemed fascinating information and examples. The 11th issue of the journal named *Bosanski Vjestnik* (Bosnian Herald), established by Ignjat Sopron in 1866, published a series of interesting data regarding the life of hero Cadmus. The text notes the following:

> «Од старог Дубровника води друм кроз каналску долину, која је прилично плодовита, па онда кроз турску област Суторину у Кастелново на Которском каналу. Овај друм пружа се од Дубровника неколико простора поред обале бренског залива, која је овдје ниска и има једну пећину, која се зове Ескулапова... Тако се прича, да је у њој у прастара времена Ескулап, бог видарства становао... После је краљ Кадм, оснoватељ вароши Тебе, кад је ову због несреће своје дјеце или ко што други веле, за то оставити морао, што

није хтјео Бакха као Бога поштовати, овдје се доселио и код Енхелеа, који су овдје становали, прибјежиште нашао, па с помоћу ових Илире побједио. Па је у тој пећини, прича се даље, исти краљ Кадм, у једној грдно великој школьки бању начинио и купао се. У сусједству те пећине звало се једно брдо код старих Мона Кадеј....."[13]

Similarly, Arthur Evans presents the information regarding the memory of the legend of Cadmus, nine years after the publication in Bosanski Vjestnik, describing the beliefs and traditions associated with the belief and veneration of serpents among the residents of Cavtat and Konavle even in 1875 when they showed "*Asclepius's*" cave where Cadmus and Harmonia were turned into serpents.[14]

Looking back at the idea of Kristiansen and the process of fossilization and materialization over a period of up to one thousand years, and judging by the aforementioned and similar examples shared by numerous travel writers from the 19th century, we can say that the citizens of the eastern Adriatic coast, including present-day Montenegro, harbored a memory of ancient myths and legends and awe at the creatures and cults from these legends. Thus, the materialization of memories does not mean the end of the overall process but an end of fossilization and the establishment of a clear structure and form of a myth that becomes part of the future tradition of usage.

On the other hand, compared to classical archaeological observation and modern dissociation of archaeological science from the problem of identity, vivid memories represent an undefined space between conditionally named and artificially construed archaeological cultures as specific determinants and the question of authentic identification of past communities. Identity or *ethnos* as one of the objects of archaeological pursuit ever since the 1960s within *'western' social scientific traditions* has been viewed as a *self-defining system* and certain communities have been defined, in ethnic terms, as self-identified or identified by others.[15] It is a common belief that culture is the first and fundamental factor. Culture contains numerous spiritual and material elements and, according to the definition of S. Jones, its reflection in social and psychological phenomena of collective identity is regarded as the leader of ethnic affiliation.[16] However, in its overall form, culture does not have the ability to survive over time, and going through numerous transformations, just like archaeological artifacts themselves, it gradually fragments into parts that are passed on to modern explorers as such. In line with this assumption, as well as the fact that culture cannot survive through time, there is a statement of J. M. Hall that culture, along with language and alike, despite its apparent importance, is not the defining element of identity.[17] According to him and previously mentioned facts,

[13] Bosanski Vjestnik 1866, 88.

[14] Evans 1877, 394; Evans 1965, 305.

[15] Jones 1997, 84.

[16] Jones 1997, X III.; Kaljanac 2013, 45-69.

[17] Hall 2002, 9.

the decisive factor can be considered elements of mythology, origin, genders, and their connection with a specific territory.[18] In the spirit of this hypothesis we can observe the conclusions of L. S. Klejn who suggested that culture is *kot sistem sredstev za družbeno programiranje človeškega delovanja in vedenja, ki ga vsakemu posamezniku posreduje njegova družba*, while on the contrary, archaeological culture is *Sama v sebi je statična in ne organska... pogojno dinamični sistem.*[19] Following these ideas, we can distinguish two forms of culture: general or vivid and fragmented. The first form of culture represents all of its elements from language to spirituality, whereas the latter one represents the fragments of vivid culture into two spheres. The first fragmentation sphere is the one that took place at the time the culture existed whereby it was divided into elements of material and non-material, non-material but materialized through records, religion and rituals, communication, identity and alike that, through itself, manifested different parts of a wider unit within daily lives of the community. The second sphere is defined by the process of entry of fragments, such as material remains, into time fragmentation whereby one segment of living culture, such as a ceramic product that materialized only one segment of living culture, is additionally fragmented through the flow of time until the moment of discovery. By making such observations, archaeological fragments of a cultural fragment of living culture represent a part of the wider unit in symbiosis with similar fragments of preserved texts of classical authors, myths, and legends that represent fragmented remains of fragments of a former living culture. Ultimately, by observing from a distance, the written materialization of the verbal sphere of living culture through fragmentation of author's subjectivity or temporal fragmentation and poorly preserved state of ancient texts represents an equivalent of materialized fragmentation whereby the work of a ceramist has fixed individual fragments of culture that subsequently underwent additional temporal fragmentation. Thus, as already mentioned by L. Binford, unlike historical data and author manipulation, archaeological remains are silent even when discovered,[20] so it seems that their interpretation is a "Sisyphean task", as well as the interpretation of thoughts and meanings of words of the author who lived several millennia before.

Although modern archeology has made a significant turning point in examining its own ideas in the past while focusing on interdisciplinarity, we get the impression that there is a selectivity in this approach, and that earlier achievements and methods, with a potential of being used in modern observations, were considerably neglected. In the first place, by establishing the previously noted fact of S. Jones that ethnic identification makes a community identify itself as different from another community or that another community identifies it as such[21], implies determining self-perception and perception of

[18] Ibid, 9.

[19] Klejn 1988, 327-328.

[20] Binford 2002, 19-23.

[21] Jones 1997, 84.

former communities as opposites of their perception in the eyes of modern researchers. In this regard, as a textual materialization of a verbal and intellectual segment of a living culture, myths and legends, heroes, distant lands and oceans between them, as well as how they were understood by the author who created them and wrote them down, represent a collective identification with a territory where future cities were formed, with countries and landscapes, the past where heroic ancestors lived, where they themselves will live one day, because their longevity is the proof that they were not created or remembered for individuals nor represented, often mistakenly, only heroic individuals. Their names, the names of their ancestors and founders, conceal the lives of their communities who, even long after, were proud to express their past and mythical heroes. Could this be a historic manipulation and collective construction of the past or an actual reality of self-perception for the man of that time as much as it is a mythical non-reality for the modern man?

Reflecting on the issue of self-identification and identification, one of the fundamental imposed questions is the ability of understanding and achieving a realistic knowledge of the perception of collective identities of past communities. Elements such as history, ancestors, genealogy, ancient knowledge, and traditions were, without doubt, very important for them and their collective consciousness. In the territory of the eastern Adriatic coast, the legend about legendary heroes Cadmus and Harmonia thus played an important role in the mechanism of self-identification until the times when the memories of the inhabitants of Cavtat and Konavle were described in Bosanski Vjestnik in 1866 or until the writings of Appendini[22] and Evans. Already in 1866, these memories reached the legendary tradition on the arrival of Cadmus, the founder of Thebes in the territory of Boeotia, as well as the founder of Butoa, sometimes named Buto or Butho[23], present-day Budva, and the personality that remained a part of the long-term memory in the wider territory of the southern part of the eastern Adriatic coast. The memory and conscience of mythology of the distance past certainly had a long tradition of transformation and usage during the Middle Ages and beyond,[24] especially since the period until the development of archaeology, in the second half of the 19th century, largely depended on the written source material.[25] In this regard we need to emphasize that the past itself, its fragments, and myths that that have survived until the modern times were significantly modified depending on social, political, and social circumstances,[26] thus implying their different interpretation, reconstruction, and usage in the period until the 19th century.

[22] Appendini 1802.

[23] Given the number of different names used for present-day Budva, the term Butoa will be used hereinafter..

[24] Džino 2014, 2-11.

[25] Ibid, 10.

[26] Ibid, 21.

According to a legend that was recorded in its present-day form centuries after the events of the legend, Cadmus was born as a son of Sidonian king Agenor and his wife Telephassa. He spent the first part of this life in Sidon with his brothers Phoenix, Cilix, Tasus, and sister Europa who forever changed our lives. After Zeus abducted Europa, Cadmus launched a search with his brothers and, according to the instructions of the Oracle of Delphi, ultimately found a city at a resting place of a cow with a white spot on her forehead which was never put into a yoke. Unfortunately, the place chosen by a cow to be the new settlement at the very beginning propelled several unfortunate circumstances that shaped the destiny of Cadmus and his future wife Harmonia. Cadmus was forced to confront a serpent that killed his followers and killed it not knowing that it was the serpent of the god of war – Ares. With the help of soldiers who emerged from the serpent's tooth that Cadmus sowed, he erected the walls of Cadmeia, later known as Thebes, with seven doors. During his reign in Cadmeia, he married a woman chosen by the very gods, Harmonia, the daughter of god Ares and goddess Aphrodite, but nevertheless, Ares never forgave him for killing his sacred serpent. Although not a popular figure among the gods, the Sidonian hero was a victim of injustice many times during his lifetime, when Artemis killed his grandson Actaeon, and he lost his daughters Semele and Ino because of goddess Hera. Following these events, apart from numerous other misfortunes, together with Harmonia, Cadmus left Thebes and moved far north, to "Illyria" according to some, or among the Encheleans, according to others, where he and his wife ultimately ended their legendary travels and lives by turning into serpents that in the centuries to come continued to remind local inhabitants of the legends of Sidonian hero Cadmus and his wife Harmonia, the founders of Butoa.

It is difficult to determine the level of historical truth in this legend of the arrival of Cadmus from Sidon to Boeotia and the foundation of Cadmeia. Details referring to the question of the entire origin of the tradition of Cadmus and his deeds, especially the foundation of Butoa his role in this territory, and the influence on local communities, are just as equally fragmented in historical as well as archaeological problems. In keeping with this, following the tradition of these events, the origin of the tradition can be partially traced through fragmented data contained in the works of classical authors who wrote of Cadmus's passage through Greece.

On several occasions, Herodotus wrote of Cadmus and his arrival in the territory of Greece much earlier than famous Ovid's Metamorphoses. Describing the festivity in the honor of the god Dionysus, Herodotus wrote the following regarding the origin of this cult: "*Nor yet will I hold that the Egyptians took either this or any other custom from the Greeks. But I believe that Melampus learnt the worship of Dionysus chiefly from Cadmus of Tyre and those who came with Cadmus from Phoenice to the land now called Boeotia*".[27]

[27] Hdt.s 2.49: Οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ φήσω ὅκως Αἰγύπτιοι παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον ἢ τοῦτο ἢ ἄλλο κού τι νόμαιον. Πυθέσθαι δέ μοι δοκέει μάλιστα Μελάμπους τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παρὰ Κάδμου τε τοῦ Τυρίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίην καλεομένην χώρην. English translation A. D. Godley.

By mentioning the information that Cadmus arrived in the Greek territory together with a group of Phoenicians as an already well-known information, while making an overview of the Gephyraean clan in another place, Herodotus gives considerably more information regarding this fact and the appearance of Cadmus, together with the Phoenicians, in the territory of Boeotia: "*Now the Gephyraean clan, of which the slayers of Hipparchus were members, claim to have come at first from Eretria, but my own enquiry shows that they were among the Phoenicians who came with Cadmus to the country now called Boeotia. In that country the lands of Tanagra were allotted to them, and this is where they settled...These Phoenicians who came with Cadmus and of whom the Gephyraeans were a part brought with them to Hellas, among many other kinds of learning, the alphabet, which had been unknown before this, I think, to the Greeks.I have myself seen Cadmean writing in the temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes of Boeotia engraved on certain tripods and for the most part looking like Ionian letters*".[28]

The tradition that spoke of the Gephyraean clan from Herodotus's description can be found in the 19th book of Strabo's *Geography*: "*Near Orpus is a place called Graea, and also the temple of Amphiaraus, and the monument of Narcissus the Eretrian, which is called "Sigelus's", because people pass it in silence. Some say that Graea is the same as Tanagra. The Poemendrian territory is the same as the Tanagraean; and the Tanagraeans are also called Gephyraeans. The temple of Amphiaraus was transferred hither in accordance with an oracle from the Theban Cnopia*".[29] According to Herodotus, the Gephyraeans settled in Tanagra and although they were afterwards named the Tanagraeans, according to Strabo, they were known by the same name centuries after Herotodus's description and interpretation of their origin. Pausanias also notes similar information that Cadmus came to Boeotia accompanied by a large number of Phoenicians, which is why it is possible to

[28] Hdt.s 5.57-59: Οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ φονέες οἱ Ἱππάρχου, ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐξ Ἐρετρίης τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀναπυνθανόμενος εὑρίσκω, ἦσαν Φοίνικες τῶν σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικομένων Φοινίκων ἐς γῆν τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίην καλεομένην, οἴκεον δὲ τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἀπολαχόντες τὴν Ταναγρικὴν μοῖραν· Ἐνθεῦτεν δέ, Καδμείων πρότερον ἐξαναστάντων ὑπ' Ἀργείων, οἱ Γεφυραῖοι οὗτοι δεύτερα ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἐξαναστάντες ἐτράποντο ἐπ' Ἀβνέων· Ἀθηναῖοι δέ σφεας ἐπὶ ῥητοῖσι ἐδέξαντο σφέων αὐτῶν εἶναι πολιήτας, <οὐ> πολλῶν τεων καὶ οὐκ ἀξιαπηγήτων ἐπιτάξαντες ἔργεσθαι. Οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες οὗτοι οἱ σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικόμενοι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Γεφυραῖοι, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ οἰκήσαντες ταύτην τὴν χώρην ἐσήγαγον διδασκάλια ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα, οὐκ ἐόντα πρὶν Ἕλλησι ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, πρῶτα μὲν τοῖσι καὶ ἅπαντες χρέωνται Φοίνικες· μετὰ δὲ χρόνου προβαίνοντος ἅμα τῇ φωνῇ μετέβαλον καὶ τὸν ῥυθμὸν τῶν γραμμάτων. Περιοίκεον δέ σφεας τὰ πολλὰ τῶν χώρων τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἑλλήνων Ἴωνες· οἳ παραλαβόντες διδαχῇ παρὰ τῶν Φοινίκων τὰ γράμματα, μεταρρυθμίσαντές σφεων ὀλίγα ἐχρέωντο, χρεώμενοι δὲ ἐφάτισαν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἔφερε ἐσαγαγόντων Φοινίκων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, φοινικήια κεκλῆσθαι. Καὶ τὰς βύβλους διφθέρας καλέουσι ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἴωνες, ὅτι κοτὲ ἐν σπάνι βύβλων ἐχρέωντο διφθέρῃσι αἰγέῃσί τε καὶ οἰέῃσι· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τοιαύτας διφθέρας γράφουσι. Εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Καδμήια γράμματα ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου ἐν Θήβῃσι τῇσι Βοιωτῶν ἐπὶ τρίποσι τρισὶ ἐγκεκολαμμένα, τὰ πολλὰ ὅμοια ἐόντα τοῖσι Ἰωνικοῖσι. English translation A. D. Godley.

[29] Strabo, 9.2.10: Καὶ ἡ Γραῖα δ' ἐστὶ τόπος Ὠρωποῦ πλησίον καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου καὶ τὸ Ναρκίσσου τοῦ Ἐρετριέως μνῆμα ὃ καλεῖται Σιγηλοῦ, ἐπειδὴ σιγῶσι παριόντες· τινὲς δὲ τῇ Τανάγρᾳ τὴν αὐτήν φασιν· ἡ Ποιμανδρὶς δ' ἐστὶν ἡ αὐτὴ τῇ Ταναγρικῇ· καλοῦνται δὲ καὶ Γεφυραῖοι οἱ Ταναγραῖοι. ἐκ Κνωπίας δὲ τῆς Θηβαϊκῆς μεθιδρύ[θη κατὰ χρησμὸν] δεῦρο τὸ Ἀμφιαράειον.

trace the continuation of tradition regarding these events. According to his words, a group of newcomers was even prepared to come into conflict with local communities. "*When the Phoenician army under Cadmus invaded the land these tribes were defeated; the Hyantes fled from the land when night came, but the Aones begged for mercy, and were allowed by Cadmus to remain and unite with the Phoenicians*".[30] Therefore we can conclude that the existing tradition recorded events as occurrences of not only Cadmus as a historic figure but of a larger group of immigrants from the coast of eastern Mediterranean who, following initial conflicts and making contacts, settled the region of Boeotia in the newly founded city of Cadmeia. One of these groups was allegedly the Gephyraeans, later known as the Tanagraeans who taught the Greeks how to use the alphabet. It is an intriguing fact that the Phoenician alphabet spread across the Mediterranean, including Greece[31], but this process took place until the 8th century BC, almost three decades before Herodotus›s "The Histories" where he had written down this tradition. On the contrary, as already noted in the 19th century by Friedrich August Wolf, Homer and Hesiod would have been illiterate at the moment of writing their works. As a matter of fact, Hecataeus, Herodotus's precursor, also corroborates the fact that the link between the Gephyraeans, as the citizens of Tanagra, and their name the Tanagraeans was older than their mention in Herodotus's works in the 5th century BC. According to Stephanus of Byzantium, the Gephyraeans were mentioned as the Tanagraeans precisely in Hecataeus›s work: "*Gephyra, a town in Boeotia. Some say that they are the same as the Tanagraeans, such as Strabo and Hecataeus. Thus, Demetra s also called the Gephyraean*".[32]

However, if we are to believe in the accuracy of the available information, this process could be shifted farther in the past, even until the downfall of the Mycenaean world and the events represented in Homer's epic poems. Dictys Cretensis who wrote "*Dictys of Crete, the chronicle of the Trojan War*" in six books, as one of the works from this period, also corroborates the fact that the Greeks did in fact learn the alphabet from the Phoenicians. According to Lucius Septimius, who professes to have translated this work, Dictys Cretensis was a contemporary and comrade of Idomeneus and Meriones, the Cretans who fought at the walls of Troy in the army of the Achaeans. According to Lucius, more precisely the letter he sent to Quintus Aradius Rufinus, clay plates were found after the earthquake on Crete, allegedly in his grave and fell into the hands of a certain Praxis or Eupraxides who translated them into Greek. Lucius translated the text from Greek into Latin emphasizing that Dictys was fluent in the Phoenician language and alphabet which Cadmus brought to Achaea.[33] The first book of this piece of work describes the

[30] Paus. 9.5: Κάδμου δὲ καὶ τῆς Φοινίκων στρατιᾶς ἐπελθούσης μάχῃ νικηθέντες οἱ μὲν Ὑαντες ἐς τὴν νύκτα τὴν ἐπερχομένην ἐκδιδράσκουσι, τοὺς δὲ Ἄονας ὁ Κάδμος γενομένους ἱκέτας καταμεῖναι καὶ ἀναμιχθῆναι τοῖς Φοίνιξιν εἴασε. Translation by W. H. S. Jones, Litt.D., and H. A. Ormerod, M.A.

[31] Raymond 2020, 60.

[32] Hecat. Ed. F. Jacoby, FGrH: Volume-Jacoby -F 1a.1; F. Frg. 118.1-3: Γέφυρα· πόλις Βοιωτίας. τινὲς δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι καὶ Ταναγραίους φασίν, ὡς Στράβων καὶ Ἑκαταῖος. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Γεφυραία ἡ Δηώ.

[33] Dictys Cretensis, Testimonia, FGrH 49.1A, 273-275.; book I, Letter; Preface.

way of selecting Agamemnon as the leader of all Greeks in the campaign against Troy. On this occasion, Dictys wrote that, when casting ballots, the Achaeans wrote the name of the future leader on clay plates in the Phoenician alphabet: *Then they decided to appoint a commander-in-chief. Accordingly, in the temple of the Argive Juno, everyone, having received a ballot, wrote (in Phoenician letters) the name of the man he thought would make the best leader.*[34] Given the information available from this piece of work and the description, we can assume that the Achaeans, who fought beneath the walls of Troy, had already in this period used the letter which was not directly Phoenician but, in the worst case, influenced by it. Thus, the tradition on the arrival of the Phoenicians and the famous Sidonian hero in the territory of Greece could be pinpointed to the Bronze Age, although precise chronological determinants are impossible to obtain based on this tradition.

If we consider the fact that the tradition on the origin of the Greek letter has survived for more than a millennium and that it was kept by classical authors as such, we can justifiably question the accuracy of some other asserted information. In this regard, particularly important is Herodotus's mention of the Gephyraeans, of those Phoenicians who settled in Boeotia together with Cadmus, which implies other members of this group speaking that the Gephyraeans were in fact only a portion of Phoenicians who taught the alphabet to the Greeks. The source of Herodotus's information that could additionally shed light on this matter remains unknown and it is impossible to prejudge how Herodotus came to this information. We can confidently claim that this information is older than his time and it probably dates back the time of oral tradition and cults, such as the cult of ancestors, as the means of identification since such a mechanism would require preservation of the past in the cult of ancestors. Additionally, the information that Herodotus speaks of was familiar, in some segments, to his predecessor Hecataeus. This is distinguishable in the previously noted work of Stephanus of Byzantium which preserves the information that proves that Hecataeus himself wrote about the Gephyraeans as the Tanagraeans. Hecataeus's words of the city of Gephyra in Boeotia indicate a significantly older tradition than Herodotus and younger authors, as well as the fact that already during his time Gephyra got other names as well, implying an existing process during the previous period, which certainly requires time, so already much earlier than Hecataeus's time, Gephyra could have become Tanagra from a younger tradition on the timeline. Etymological manual, "*Etymologicum magnum*", corroborates other names for Gephyra, indirectly pointing out the fact that other authors might have used a different term or that it is perhaps a long-term process of many transformations of the name: Gephyra, Tanagra, Greja, and Poimandria.[35] Finally, Thucydides also confirms the fact that numerous presently unknown authors offered evidence regarding these events.

[34] Dictys Cretensis, Testimonia, FGrH 49.1A, 273-275.; book I, 16.

[35] Etym. Magn. 228.59-229.1-4. <Γέφυρα>: Πόλις Βοιωτίας, ἡ καὶ Τάναγρα καὶ Γραῖα καὶ Ποιμανδρία καλουμένη. Εἴρηται, ὅτι ἐν Σχεδίᾳ κώμῃ κατοικοῦντες, καὶ ἐν τῇ πέραν γῇ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ, διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπιμιξίαις γεφύραις ἐχρῶντο.

According to information available to Thucydides but not to other preserved authors, the Boeotians settled in the territory of Boeotia following the Trojan War, and until then, this territory had been named the land of Cadmus, and not Boeotia.[36] Thucydides's date certainly makes sense when considering the linguistic side of the problem given that we've already pointed out the fact that the familiarization with the Phoenician letter must have been accomplished before the 8th century BC.

If we take into consideration the assumption that the background of the memory of the past and the tradition of Cadmus's arrival in Greece is a Pre-Homeric age, and that the legendary leader brought with himself a larger and military capable group that could defeat the local population, as indicated in source data, it brings up a question of the nature of processes that took place, as well as the nature of Cadmus himself as the central figure strongly positioned in the consciousness of future generations. It seems inherent to assume that this was the matter of strengthening the colonization processes, and that, at that moment, the Phoenicians made a step towards establishing and spreading their influences across the Adriatic Sea and the Balkans. On one hand, the foundation and survival of the colony were secured through military means to certain limits, almost undoubtedly never until the complete annihilation of the indigenous element. On the other hand, as noted a long time ago by P. Lisičar, it was inconceivable that the inhabitants of any Greek colony on the Adriatic coast were pure Greeks,[37] in reality, even in the case of the arrival of Cadmus, we can address the problem in terms of mutual influences. According to Herodotus, when speaking of the Gephyraeans who came with Cadmus, the process of colonization can be perceived through the fact that the land was allotted to them for settlement in the land of Tanagra by "tossing a coin": "*because this land was allotted to them*"[38]. First of all, this information implies the existence of other communities since the land was allotted, while elsewhere it suggests actions such as determination and distribution which were well known and attested within the Greek colonization. On the other hand, we should not forget prominent words of Pausanias who confirmed conflicts with the local population, the Aones and the Hyantes, which were the first who finally joined the immigrants and continued to coexist,[39] so this information should be considered within the context of Lisičar's findings and colonization processes. Finally, surrounding towns, such as Orchomenus, are another indicator of internal relations, since their position suggested the defense from Thebes until the end of the Late Helladic IIIB period, by means of a series of forts directly connected with Thebes. This city protected the route from the Corinthian Bay to Euripus Strait, that separated Euboea from

[36] Th. 2.12: Βοιωτοί τε γὰρ οἱ νῦν ἑξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν ἐξ Ἄρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν μὲν Βοιωτίαν, πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην ᾤκισαν (ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδασμὸς πρότερον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἐς Ἴλιον ἐστράτευσαν).

[37] Lisičar 1951, 112.

[38] Hdt.s 5.57.

[39] Paus. 9.5.

Boeotia.[40] S. Symeonoglou believes that Cadmus was a Phoenician or even Canaanite who set forth to conquer Phoenician colonies in south-east Europe from the east across Crete and the Cyclades and concludes that the Phoenicians arrived in Greece together with Cretan and Cycladic Minoans.[41] Therefore, it is probably a justifiable hypothesis that the Gephyraeans were, as Herodotus notes as well, "*one of those Phoenicians who came with Cadmus*" which raises a question about the remaining members of this group and their ultimate influence in this region.

According to the preserved tradition, at least in the form preserved by renowned mythographer Pseudo-Apollodorus, Cadmus left Thebes with his wife Harmonia and went to the north, to the distant Encheleans: "*But Cadmus and Harmonia quitted Thebes and went to the Encheleans. As the Encheleans were being attacked by the Illyrians, the god declared by an oracle that they would get the better of the Illyrians if they had Cadmus and Harmonia as their leaders. They believed him, and made them their leaders against the Illyrians, and got the better of them. And Cadmus reigned over the Illyrians, and a son Illyrius was born to him*".[42] Unlike Pseudo-Apollodorus, Diodorus Siculus informs us that Cadmus and his city were attacked by the Enchelean after which he retreated to the north to the Illyrians: "*Be that as it may, these people then settled in the city but later the Encheleans defeated them in war and drove them out, at which time Cadmus and his followers also were driven to Illyria*".[43] According to this information, one thing is certain, at the moment when Cadmus appears at the far north of the eastern Adriatic coast, history witnesses the appearance of the Encheleans, either as allies or opponents, traditionally believed to be one of the eldest and earliest communities of the Western Balkans with whom the old Greeks first established contacts. We learn the earliest information about them from the writings of Hecataeus and everything that Stephanus of Byzantium had transferred from his text when speaking of the Dexaroi, the people of Chaonia: "*The Dexaroi, the Chaonian people,*

[40] Buck 1979, 42.

[41] Symeonoglou 1985, 68.

[42] Ps. – Apollod. 3.39, 1-9.
ὁ δὲ Κάδμος μετὰ Ἁρμονίας Θήβας ἐκλιπὼν πρὸς Ἐχελέας παραγίνεται. τούτοις δὲ ὑπὸ Ἰλλυριῶν πολεμουμένοις ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν Ἰλλυριῶν κρατήσειν, ἐὰν ἡγεμόνας Κάδμον καὶ Ἁρμονίαν ἔχωσιν. οἱ δὲ πεισθέντες ποιοῦνται κατὰ Ἰλλυριῶν ἡγεμόνας τούτους καὶ κρατοῦσι. καὶ βασιλεύει Κάδμος Ἰλλυριῶν, καὶ παῖς Ἰλλυριὸς αὐτῷ γίνεται. αὖθις δὲ μετὰ Ἁρμονίας εἰς δράκοντα μεταβαλὼν εἰς Ἠλύσιον πεδίον ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐξεπέμφθη. Translation into English by Sir James George Frazer.

[43] Diod. Sic. 19.53.4, 1-5, 5: μετὰ γὰρ τὸν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμὸν Κάδμου κτίσαντος τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προσαγορευθεῖσαν Καδμείαν συνῆλθεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν λαὸς ὃν τινὲς μὲν Σπαρτὸν προσηγόρευσαν διὰ τὸ πανταχόθεν συναχθῆναι, τινὲς δὲ Θηβαγενῆ διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τῆς προειρημένης πόλεως ὄντα διὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ διασπαρῆναι. τοὺς οὖν τότε κατοικήσαντας ὕστερον Ἐχελεῖς καταπολεμήσαντες ἐξέβαλον, ὅτε δὴ συνέβη καὶ τοὺς περὶ Κάδμον εἰς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐκπεσεῖν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' Ἀμφίονος καὶ Ζήθου κρατησάντων τοῦ τόπου καὶ τότε πρῶτον τὸ ἄστυ κτισάντων. Translation into English by Russel M. Geer.

the neighbors of the Encheleans, as Hecataeus writes in the description of Europe. They dwell under the mountain Amyron".[44] The question of whether the Dexaroi are in fact the Dassaretae and whether the mountain Amyron is Tomorr in Dassaretis, as referred to by R. Katičić,[45] has never been answered in its entirety, thus it is difficult to locate their neighbors the Encheleans. The widest interpretation of this issue includes the assumption that the Encheleans were the leaders of the Ohrid culture from Trebenište.[46] However, a more detailed overview of other classical authors further complicates this issue given the relatively large number of data suggesting that the Encheleans settled in the area of Boeotia, and that they suddenly appeared in the north during the events describing the appearance of Cadmus in this region.[47] On the other hand, their role in these events was evidently crucial and, at the same time, it manifested on all future traditions, so their name survived as one of the oldest known peoples to this day.

When observing the data about this community presented by Hecataeus, we observe an important fact that these Hecataeus's Encheleans are found in the south, in the territory of the eastern Adriatic coast. However, as already mentioned on several occasions, in accordance with the hypothesis that apart from the Gephyraeans other groups that took part in the events regarding Cadmus's conquest of the settlement Cadmeia in Boeotia[48], it seems that the Encheleans participated in the spread of the impacts of colonization of the Phoenicians themselves or from Boeotia from Greece. Although the news transferred by Stephanus of Byzantium from Hecataeus is the oldest preserved data about the Encheleans, numerous authors after Hecataeus used the same tradition and today unknown sources used by Hecataeus himself. One such work was created by Hellanicus of Lesbos, a logographer from the 5th century BC. When writing about the past of Boeotia (Βοιωτιακα), given that during Hecataeus's time they were no longer there, he mentions the Encheleans as ancient inhabitants of Boeotia: "*There are very large eels in lake Kopais. And Boeotia was inhabited by the peoples named the Encheleans, mentioned by Hellanicus in his book of Boeotia*"[49]. This information is identifiable and can be understood as much earlier tradition that preceded Hecataeus during the time when the Encheleans had long since become Hecataeus's Encheleans, the neighbors of the Dexaroi. Hellanicus is not the only author who mentioned the Encheleans in Boeotia. In his work Βιβλιοτηκη ῾ιστορικη, Diodorus Siculus mentions the arrival of the Encheleans who attacked and conquered Cadmeia.[50] Apart from Hellanicus and Diodorus Siculus, the

[44] Hecat. Ed. F. Jacoby, FGrH: Volume-Jacoby -F 1a, 1.; F. Frg. 103, 1-2: Δεξάροι· ἔθνος Χαόνων, τοῖς Ἐγχελέαις προσεχεῖς. Ἑκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ. ὑπὸ Ἄμυρον ὄρος οἰκοῦν.

[45] Katičić 1977, 53-79.

[46] Šašel Kos 1993, 113-136.; R. Katičić 1977, 79.

[47] Kaljanac 2010, 53-79; Kaljanac 2012, 145-180.

[48] Kaljanac 2010, 58; Kaljanac 2012, 6.

[49] Hellanic. Ed. F. Jacoby, FGrH Frg. 50, 1-3: ἐν γὰρ τῆι Κωπαίδι λίμνηι μέγισταί εἰσιν ἐγχέλεις· ὤικουν τε τὴν Βοιωτίαν καὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι Ἐγχελεῖς, περὶ ὧν καὶ Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τοῖς Βοιωτιακοῖς φησιν.

[50] Diod. Sic. 19.53.4, 1-5, 5: μετὰ γὰρ τὸν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμὸν Κάδμου κτίσαντος τὴν ἀπ'

Encheleans in Boeotia are also mentioned by other authors such as Cephalion referred to by John Malalas when speaking about how Amphion and Zethus constructed the walls of Thebes at the place of an earlier settlement Enchele.[51] John of Antioch provides similar information speaking of how the sons of Calliope, Amphion, and Zethus had built the city of Euthalia (ΕυΘαλειαν).[52] All of this can certainly be associated with Boeotian Encheleans and we can conclude that their presence in Boeotia is a mystery even for classical authors. This produces two statements: (1) as previously stated, Cadmus, the Gephyraeans, and unnamed communities with whom the Gephyraeans used to allot the land, represented the leaders of the process of colonization of the Phoenicians, and (2) these events reveal older traditions preceding Homer and Hecataeus up until the Trojan War, according to some authors, which certainly does not exclude even the earlier period.

In the context of these presumptions, regardless of various differentiations and interpretations of classical authors, the scholars of the past century have always associated the name of the Encheleans with the meaning of their name, i.e. the "eel-people" as well as with eels themselves and the cult revered in Boeotian lake Kopais.[53] However, such interpretations and associations of the cult with the Encheleans themselves further complicates the situation given that written sources have preserved the information about the reaction of the old Greeks to this cult. The cult of the eel was strongly followed at lake Kopais and among the Thebans, and the words of Eubulus from Athens adequately depict the view of this cult by other Greeks, as Eubulus ridiculed Boeotian beliefs through an overview of their cuisine and young women.[54] This information, in its own way, suggests

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αὐτοῦ προςαγορευθεῖσαν Καδμείαν συνῆλθεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν λαὸς ὃν τινὲς μὲν Σπαρτὸν προσηγόρευσαν διὰ τὸ πανταχόθεν συναχθῆναι, τινὲς δὲ Θηβαγενῆ διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τῆς προειρημένης πόλεως ὄντα διὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ διασπαρῆναι. τοὺς οὖν τότε κατοικήσαντας ὕστερον Ἐγχελεῖς καταπολεμήσαντες ἐξέβαλον, ὅτε δὴ συνέβη καὶ τοὺς περὶ Κάδμον εἰς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐκπεσεῖν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' Ἀμφίονος καὶ Ζήθου κρατησάντων τοῦ τόπου καὶ τότε πρῶτον τὸ ἄστυ κτισάντων. Translation into English by Russel M. Geer.

[51] Cephalion, Hist. et Rhet., Fragmenta, Frg. 6, 98-101; Joannes Malalas, Chronographia, 49, 7: Καὶ εὐθέως Ἀμφίων ὁ λυρικὸς κτίζει πόλιν μεγάλην πάνυ, δωδεκάπυλον, τὴν πρῴην μὲν οὖσαν κώμην λεγομένην Ἐγχέλειαν· ἣν ὠνόμασαν οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀδελφοὶ πόλιν Θήβας...

[52] Joannes Antiochenus Chronographia, (Codex Parisinus 1630) 8, 1-6: The publisher Müller corrected the name of the village and aligned it with the information set forth by Malalas from ΕυΘαλειαν to Ἐγχέλειαν; Μετὰ δὲ Κάδμον ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Βοιωτίας Νυκτεὺς, οὗ θυγάτηρ Καλλιόπη ἐκ μίξεως Θεοβοίου Ζῆθον καὶ Ἀμφίονα ἔτεκεν, οἳ ῥιφέντες καὶ παρ' ἀγροίκου ἀνατραφέντες κρατοῦσι τῆς Βοιωτίας, ἐπαναστάντες τῷ Νυκτεῖ, καὶ κτίζουσι πόλιν τὴν πρώην οὖσαν κώμην καὶ καλουμένην Ἐγχέλειαν

[53] On the understanding of the name of the Encheleans and its interpretation as "*eel-people*" see more in: Katičić 1976; Katičić 1977; Katičić 1995; Šašel Kos 1993, 118-119.

[54] Ath. 7.56, 1-14: ὅτι δ' ἤσθιον τὰς ἐγχέλεις καὶ μετὰ τεύτλων ἐντυλίξαντες πολὺ μέν ἐστι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις κωμικοῖς, καὶ Εὔβουλος δέ φησιν ἐν Ἠχοῖ νύμφα ἀπειρόγαμος τεύτλῳ περὶ σῶμα καλυπτὰ λευκόχρως παρέσται, ἔγχελυς, ὦ μέγα μοι μέγα σοι φῶς ... ἐναργές.
καὶ ἐν Ἴωνι
μετὰ ταῦτα θύννων μεγαλόπλουτ› ἐπεισέπλει ὑπογάστρι› ὀπτῶν αἵ τ› ἐχιδνοσώματοι Βοιώτιαι παρῆσαν ἐγχέλεις θεαὶ τεῦτλ› ἀμπεχόμεναι.
καὶ ἐν Μηδείᾳ
παρθένου Βοιωτίας Κωπᾳ̈δος· ὀνομάζειν γὰρ αἰδοῦμαι θεάν.

the possibility of the spiritual life of Boeotian citizens actually being foreign among the indigenous population. Intriguingly, the same cult appears on the island of Kos, 4 km from present-day Bodrum in ancient Caria, where the tradition of Krisamis of Kosand the eel was part of an established tradition.[55] We encounter a similar situation on the island of Euboea, in the city of Arethusa where eels were allegedly so tame that they approached humans themselves.[56] All this implies the assumption that there indeed were links between trade routes[57] that in reality, by means of myths and religions, connected the places such as Crete, Kos, Boeotia, Euboea, Halkidiki, and Lefkada[58]. In this regard, the interpretation of the name of the Encheleans as a connection with their religious belief, which evidently had not represented comprehensible anthropomorphous deities to the old Greeks, is essentially one of the crucial problems for understanding the overall myth and the far-reaching implications of this myth among the local communities.

The idea of trade relations and colonization can be observed in the elements present in the events from the legend on Cadmus and Harmonia, according to available fragments of the tradition. During his journey to the far north and his new reign, Cadmus bought a cow from Pelagontos,[59] in which Lisičar recognized the possible reasons for moving towards the north in the context of establishing trade relations.[60] During this journey, Cadmo reached Lake Ohrid where he founded the city of Lihnidos, according to an epigram of Christodorus[61]. Finally, apart from Lihnidos, the tradition shows that Cadmus and Harmonia ended their journey in present-day Budva which Cadmus ultimately founded and which became known as Butoa. Memories on Cadmus's arrival and foundation of this city were written already in the 5th century BC by tragedian Sophocles,[62] who

[55] Hsch. A-O, Kappa, 4146, 1.

[56] Ath. 8.3.13 -18: ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Χαλκίδα Ἀρεθούσῃ τεθέαμαι, ἴσως δὲ καὶ ὑμῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι, κεστρεῖς χειροήθεις καὶ ἐγχέλεις ἐνώτια ἐχούσας ἀργυρᾶ καὶ χρυσᾶ, λαμβανούσας τε καὶ λαμβάνοντας παρὰ τῶν προσφερόντων τροφὰς τά τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερείων σπλάγχνα καὶ τυροὺς χλωρούς.; Plu., 976.A, 1-6: ἡ γὰρ φύσις ὅσον ἐξικνεῖται μαθήσεως ἐπ' αὐτὴν δεχομένη καὶ στέγουσα παρέχει πολλὰς μὲν ἐγχέλεις [ἱερὰς λεγομένας] ἀνθρώποις χειροήθεις, ὥσπερ τὰς <ἱερὰς λεγομένας> ἐν τῇ Ἀρεθούσῃ...

[57] Parović-Pešikan 1985, 19-49.

[58] Kaljanac 2010, 60. Kaljanac 2012, 154.

[59] Scholia In Euripidem, Scholia in Euripidem (scholia vetera), Vita-argumentum-scholion sch Ph, section 638, 23: Κάδμος ἀφίκετο εἰς τὸ βουκόλιον τοῦ Πελάγοντος τοῦ Ἀμφιδάμαντος, παρ' οὗ ἀγοράσας βοῦν καὶ ἡγεμόνα ταύτην τῆς ὁδοῦ ποιησάμενος κτίζει τὰς Θήβας ὁμωνύμους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Θηβῶν, ἐπεὶ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν Αἰγύπτιος ἦν ὁ Κάδμος.;Paus, 9.12, 2: ἔδει δὲ ἄρα Κάδμον καὶ τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸν ἐνταῦθα οἰκῆσαι κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μαντείαν, ἔνθα ἡ βοῦς ἔμελλε καμοῦσα ὀκλάσειν· ἀποφαίνουσιν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον. ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ βωμὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα <Ἀθηνᾶς>· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ αὐτὸ Κάδμον λέγουσι. τοῖς οὖν νομίζουσιν ἐς γῆν ἀφικέσθαι Κάδμον τὴν Θηβαΐδα Αἰγύπτιον καὶ οὐ Φοίνικα ὄντα, ἔστιν ἐναντίον τῷ λόγῳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ταύτης τὸ ὄνομα, ὅτι Ὄγγα κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν Φοινίκων καλεῖται.

[60] Lisičar 1953, 245-261.

[61] Christodorus, Epigrammata, AG 2.7, 697: εἶχε δ' ἀπ' εὐσεβέων προγόνων ἐρικυδέα πάτρην Λυχνιδόν, ἣν Φοῖνιξ Κάδμος ἔδειμε πόλιν· ἔνθεν λύχνος ἔην Ἑλικώνιος, οὕνεκα Κάδμος στοιχείων Δαναοῖς πρῶτος ἔδειξε τύπον.

[62] Etym. Geniun. beta, 202, 1-7: Βούθοια πόλις τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος·
Σοφοκλῆς ὀνομακλεῖ

located this city at the mouth of the Drilon River. According to the words of Stephanus of Byzantium, Butoa, as a city in Illyria, named after Cadmus's quick arrival on a bullock cart.[63] Philo of Byblos also mentions the bullock cart adding that Butoa was located by the Rizous River, and Cadmus named the city after the Egyptian city of Buto.[64] After conquering the local population, in alliance with the Encheleans, Cadmus allegedly took the power away from Lycotherses[65], the husband of his daughter Agave, who left Cadmeia after the death of her son Pentheus.[66] Since Cadmus conquered the northern communities in alliance with the Encheleans, at that moment the legend brought Cadmus and Agave together with those northern Hecataeus's Encheleans. If we follow the course of tradition, it is possible to assume that Cadmus left Cadmeia for two reasons. The first is the possibility of establishing trade relations, whereas the second is to offer help to the Encheleans in fighting the local population.[67] Regardless of how Cadmus had established contacts with the northern Encheleans, they were simultaneously located in Boeotia and the north, or they had previously left Cadmeia with Agave and left towards the north or they ultimately did this with Cadmus who set out toward the north. Either way, it seems that, at that moment, through their actions and names, one of the northern communities appeared on the stage of the old Greeks, and all our further knowledge of the northern world was a continuation of close relations. This opens the question of the consequences of the appearance of the Encheleans who were already known to the Greeks in the territory of Boeotia, as well as the problem of how the Greeks identified them or how they identified themselves.

Judging by the available information contained in the works of classical authors, as previously noted, it is possible to assume that the mythical events took place much

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Βουθόη Δρίλωνος ἐπὶ προχοῇσιν ἐνάσθη. εἴρηται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ βοηθὸν γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς τὸν Κάδμον ἔποικον γενόμενον. ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ ζεύγους βοῶν ὀχούμενον κατὰ τὸν πυθόχρηστον εἰς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα παραγενέσθαι.; Etymologicum Magnum, Kallierges, 207, 17-19: Βουθοίη Πόλις τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος. Σοφοκλῆς Ὀνομακλεῖ,

Βουθοίη Δρίλωνος ἐπὶ προχοῇσιν ἐνάσθη.

[63] Etym. Magn. Kallierges, 207, 11-16: Βουθόη Πόλις Ἰλλυρίδος. Εἴρηται, ὅτι Κάδμος ἐπὶ βοῶν ζεύγους ἐκ Θηβῶν ταχέως εἰς Ἰλλυρικοὺς παραγενόμενος ἔκτισε πόλιν· καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν βοῶν καὶ τοῦ θοῶς φυγεῖν, Βουθόην αὐτὴν ὠνόμασεν."Ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ βούτου βουτόη καὶ βουθόη ὠνόμασται.

[64] Steph. Byz. Ethn. 19-181, 1: Βουθόη, πόλις Ἰλλυρίδος, ὡς Φίλων, διὰ τὸ Κάδμον ἐπὶ ζεύγους βοῶν ὀχούμενον ταχέως ἀνύσαι τὴν ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς ὁδόν. οἱ δὲ τὸν Κάδμον ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας Βουτοῦς ὀνομάσαι αὐτήν, καὶ παραφθαρεῖσαν καλεῖσθαι Βουθόην. ἔχει δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ μυχοῦ Ῥίζονα πόλιν καὶ ποταμὸν ὁμώνυμον.

[65] According to Hyginus, Agave killed Illyrian king Lycotherses. Hyg. Fab. 240: Clytaemnestra Thestii filia Agamemnonem Atrei filium. Helena Iouis et Ledae filia Deiphobum Priami filium. Agaue Lycothersen in Illyria, ut regnum Cadmo patri daret.

[66] Hyg. Fab. 184: Pentheus Echionis et Agaues filius Liberum negauit deum esse nec mysteria eius accipere vuoluit. Ob hoc eum Agaue mater cum sororibus Ino et Autonoe per insaniam a Libero obiectam membratim laniauit. Agaue ut suae mentis compos facta est <et> uidit se Liberi impulsu tantum scelus admisisse, profugit ab Thebis atque errabunda in Illyriae fines deuenit ad Lycothersen regem, quam Lycotherses excepit.

[67] Kaljanac 2010; Kaljanac, 2012.

sooner than the origin of the first written text which would have recorded them, probably during the Bronze Age. However, how plausible is such an observation outside the framework of legends and testimonies of written sources that are susceptible to subjectivity and different viewpoints of each author? If it were possible to determine the existence of contacts within the suggested area, it would have been possible to open the possibility of interpreting the aforementioned legend in the context of such contacts, as well as for observing the processes of colonization. During this period and somewhat earlier, around 1600 BC, along with the Minoan civilization on the island of Crete, a strong developmental impulse appears on the Greek mainland identified with the appearance of the Mycenaeans, Minoan contemporaries, and successors. Although archaeology still has no answer regarding their origin, modern scholarship believes that they inhabited these regions from 16th to 13th centuries BC, where they quickly established contacts with other peoples such as the Minoans, Hittites, and Egyptians.[68] Rich frescos depicting people doing everyday activities and festivities showing clothes, dishes, jewelry, and even themselves, interpreted as a direct influence of Crete.[69] The findings of wall paintings in the palace of Mycenae, dated to 1550-1450 BC, are associated with the frescos from Knossos.[70] Frescos have also been corroborated at the site of Thebes, where we can see visible links with the island of Thera.[71] A century of research at the site of Thebes has so far produced numerous artifacts whose interpretation has not yet led to a scholarly consensus regarding the origin of the city's population. Almost a century ago, in 1930, A. Keramopoullos formulated a hypothesis regarding Theban rulers as governors of important craft production and overseas trade.[72] As a result of the decipherment of Linear B, numerous plates with inscriptions from the former city of Cadmus – Cadmeia – corroborate the interest of Thebes in the areas of Thespiae, Euboea, and Aegina.[73] Additionally, if we observe the entire region of Boeotia, Thebes is singled out as a unique unparalleled fortification system in the territory of Kopaidi,[74] and the origin of this system can be observed as a separate and external factor within the wider fortification system of Hellas from the Bronze Age. The entire system of fortification of Thebes was focused on the protection of roads connecting the area from the Corinthian Bay to Euripus Strait, the Boeotian isthmus, and the island of Euboea, which suggests the importance of Euboea and the connection of Thebes with the Aegean Sea across Euboea. Sea lanes of commerce are also corroborated by other sites, such as the city of Kition (Cyprus), founded during the 9th century BC, as a continuation of Bronze Age settlement,

[68] Castleden 2005.
[69] Castleden 2005, 73-74.
[70] Castleden 2005, 130.
[71] Burn 1979.
[72] Keramopoullos 1930, 29-58.
[73] Aravantinos 1995, 613-622.
[74] Buck 1979, 41-42.

which also belonged to a Phoenician *koine* connected with the old Phoenician-Euboean trade route.[75] This is precisely the context for interpreting the tomb of a hero in Lefkandi which is recognized by its inventory as the tomb of a Phoenician aristocrat.[76]

At the site of the so-called Second palace in Thebes, around one hundred cylindrical stamps originating from the east have been found.[77] Several stamps are of the Pre-Babylonian and Babylonian origin, then Mitannian, Hittitian, Cypriot, Kassitian, and Assyrian origin, dated to 2500-1250 BC.[78] According to Buck, the archaeological layer that represents the area of the First Palace of Thebes would belong to the rulers of Amphion and Zethus, and the layer of the Second Palace would belong to Cadmus and the successors from his dynasty.[79] The layer that directly connects Thebes and Eastern Mediterranean[80] in the Late Helladic IIIB period by means of discovered stamps, accordingly belongs to the Cadmeians. One of the discovered stamps is at the same time the only finding that corroborates the use of parchment and plausibly papyrus[81] in the territory of mainland Greece with the Middle East and Egypt.[82] Finally, similar stamps originating from Syria and Mesopotamia have been confirmed on Crete[83] where they arrived through trade routes.[84] In case such findings do not corroborate the actual conquest of the Phoenician colony in the territory of Thebes, their presence strongly affirms trade or similar contacts much earlier than the first written data or it additionally substantiates its claims. Moreover, there are other problematic matters, such as the tomb of "Amphion and Zethus"[85] where T. Spyropoulos saw a step pyramid with 3 tiers, or the issue of a complex irrigation system at lake Kopaidi[86] and others which suggest, but do not corroborate or dispute the arrival of colonists from the east or Egypt.[87] In any case, the fact that there were contacts established among these territories is indisputable and, although the foundation of colonies has not entirely been confirmed, it is evident that the exchange of populations, artisans, and merchants on a smaller scale must be accepted. In this regard, wealthier cities, such as Thebes, were leaders and their interest in trade and production conditioned the need for natural resources, mostly metal. Land dispersion within the process of searching for metallurgical centers was noted by Lisičar

[75] Niemeyer 2006, 143-168.
[76] Niemeyer 2006, 149.
[77] Buck 1979, 58.
[78] Šašel Kos 1993, 127; Aravantinos 1995, 617.
[79] Buck 1979, 58.
[80] Šašel Kos 1993, 127.
[81] Aravantinos 1995, 619.
[82] Aravantinos 1995, 619.
[83] Dow, Chadwick 1973, 582-626
[84] Matz 2008, 141-164.
[85] Bernal 1991.
[86] Bernal 1991, 133-135.
[87] Aravantinos 1995, 617.

who assumed that the legend of Cadmus and his arrival among the Encheleans hides an interest for the mining wealth from the north and the Adriatic Sea.[88] The inscription of the city of Lihnidos, founded by Cadmus during his travel to the north, led Lisičar to this conclusion.[89] Additionally, the corroboration of the actual city of Lihnidos realized by the discovery of an inscription with a list of citizens, encouraged Lisičar to establish a hypothesis regarding the so-called *Cadmean road* that extended along the same route as an later Roman road *Via Egnatia*.[90] According to Katičić, the tradition and memory of this road, which dates back to the Neolithic, were among the natives of this territory "the most considerable mythological design of old relationships".[91] According to the well-known information, we can assume that the route of *the Cadmean road* went across Trebenište,[92] and that it can easily be associated with Halkidiki, geographically very close to the *Cadmean road itself*. This is precisely the place where famous golden masks were found which are attributed to Enchelean rulers. On the contrary, V. Popović as well as V. Sokolovska believe that the masks from Trebenište must be associated with Crete and Egypt.[93] V. Popović finds the connection of the masks from Trebenište with those from Mycenae only formal.[94]

[88] Lisičar 1951, 115-125.

[89] Lisičar 1953, 257. Originally, it was assumed that Lihnidos was medieval Ohrid where the inscription Λυχνειδιων was found, but subsequent research has confirmed that these monuments were transferred from the surrounding areas.

[90] Lisičar 1953, 260.

[91] Katičić 1977, 80.

[92] Lisičar 1951, 259.

[93] Popović 1966, 15-30.; Sokolovska 1997.

[94] Popović 1966, 15.

Ill. 3. Golden mask from Trebenište
(http://www.narodnimuzej.rs/antika/zbirka-grcko-helenistickog-perioda/ [last checked 2021-5-28])

However, the golden masks from the graves of Trebenište are not the only indicator of a wider interaction and long-term contacts of the Adriatic and the Aegean Sea. Apart from the masks, golden bracelets[95] were discovered in graves I and VIII which can be associated with similar findings from the Grave Circle A of Mycenae. Sandals made of gold with depictions of Gorgon[96] were discovered in graves VIII, X, and XII, while metal sandals made of silver were known from Byblos, and thus Trebenište can also be associated with the Middle East, at least indirectly. A. Cermanović associated the golden sandals from Trebenište with vases in the shape of footwear from Greek graves,[97] thus the idea of footwear for the final and long journey of the deceased to the afterlife should originate from the Greek region. Apart from these findings, contacts with the east are corroborated by the silver goblets that can be associated with the similar ones from Teppe Hasanlu and Amlash from Iran.[98] However, the discovery of funeral masks from Sindos, that can be associated with those from Mycenaean graves,[99] and dated as the masks from Trebenište to the period of the 6th century BC, corroborates the frequent use of roads from the Adriatic Sea to Halkidiki[100] whose availability to the Boeotian traders we can assume already in the earliest period through Euboea and Euboean seafarers.

Ill. 4. Beaker from Trebenište
(http://www.narodnimuzej.rs/antika/zbirka-grcko-helenistickog-perioda/ [last checked 2021-5-28])

[95] Sokolovska 1997, 49.
[96] Sokolovska 1997, 49.
[97] Cermanović 1956, 307-313.
[98] Popović 1966, 20.
[99] Whitley 2007.
[100] Šašel Kos 1993, 129.

Ill. 5 *and* 6. Beakers from Hasanlu Tepe and Amlash in today's Iran (http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hasanlu-teppe-ii#prettyPhoto [sidebar]/0/ and https://clevelandart.org/art/1965.26 [last checked 2021-5-28])

After observing the similarities between the depictions of Gorgon on the crater from Trebenište and a well-known crater from Vix, while having in mind the possibility of a mutual origin, we can confirm the importance of the trade route across Halkidiki to Central Europe. The depictions of Gorgon are well-known in other sites as well, especially from tombs of chiefs, such as a hydria from Novi Pazar displaying the bodiless head of Gorgon.[101]

If we accept the assumption that there are connections between the funeral masks from Sindos and Mycenaean masks, which are chronologically parallel to those from Sindos, the masks from Trebenište can be associated with the Mycenaean ones and the long tradition of manufacture and usage of these funeral masks, as well as with the problem of transmission of ideas and the chronological distance of these sites, more specifically the temporal distance for which transmission had occurred. Such occurrences are not sudden, and older examples are likely to be found in the future. The presence of the Mycenaean culture, or their cultural idea, can be recognized in a tholos tomb in Kiperi on the coast of Epirus, on the Late Mycenaean ceramic from Ilias[102], on the ceramics from the lower layers of the settlement Kastanas[103] and similar finds

[101] Palavestra 1984.

[102] Palavestra 1984, 27.

[103] Hansel 1979, 167–202.

which establish connections between the north and the south across Halkidiki. For the old Mycenaeans the sources of amber and tin[104] and opulent mines of Damastion were located in the north. The city of Damastion, that was probably developed along these mines, was located by Ujes and Romić in the region of Kosovo and Metohija[105], testified by multiple finds of drachmas and tetradrachmas.[106] Considering the tradition according to which Cadmus was the inventor of quarries, metallurgy, and bronze production[107] in Thebes, the mines of Damastion were probably one of the reasons why Cadmus left and founded the city of Lihnidos that was close to this metallurgy center. Moreover, Lihnidos is found in an area rich in silver.[108] The cause of Cadmus's arrival to the north was preserved in the tradition according to which Cadmus discovered gold mines and invented mining in the region of the Pangaeum, a mountain in Paeonia[109], where he was later on revered as one of the four Cabeiri[110] of metallurgy[111] under the name of Κάσμιλος-Καδμῖλος.[112] Opulent mines, forests, and developed animal husbandry were probably very alluring to Theban rulers and we can conclude that they wanted to establish control over these precious resources.

[104] Potrebica 2010, 171-175.

[105] Ujes, Romić 1996, 77-98.

[106] Ujes, Romić 1996, 82-85.

[107] Pliny, HN 7. 195: lapicidinas Cadmus Thebis aut, ut Theophrastus, in Phoenice; Hyg. Fab., 274, 4 1-3: Cadmus Agenoris filius aes Thebis primus inuentum condidit; <Ae>acus Iouis filius in Panchaia in monte Taso aurum primus inuenit.

[108] Popović 1966, 15.

[109] Strabo 14.5.28, 13-14: ὁ δὲ Κάδμου [ἐκ τῶν] περὶ Θρᾴκην καὶ τὸ Παγγαῖον ὄρος·; Pliny, HN 7. 195: auri metalla et flaturam Cadmus Phoenix ad Pangaeum montem.

[110] Lisičar 1951, 251.

[111] Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica (scholia vetera), 77, 22-78, 6: μυοῦνται δὲ ἐν τῇ Σαμοθρᾴκῃ τοῖς Καβείροις, ὡς Μνασέας φησί. καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν δ' τὸν ἀριθμόν· Ἀξίερος, Ἀξιοκέρσα, Ἀξιόκερσος, <Κάσμιλος>. Ἀξίερος μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἡ Δημήτηρ, Ἀξιοκέρσωα δὲ ἡ Περσεφόνη, Ἀξιόκερσος δὲ ὁ Ἅιδης· ὁ δὲ προστιθέμενος τέταρτος Κάσμιλος ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐστιν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Διονυσόδωρος. Κάβειροι δὲ δοκοῦσι προσαγορεύεσθαι ἀπὸ Καβείρων τῶν κατὰ Φρυγίαν ὀρῶν, ἐπεὶ ἐντεῦθεν μετηνέχθησαν. οἱ δὲ δύο εἶναι τοὺς Καβείρους φασί, [πρότερον] πρεσβύτερον μὲν Δία, νεώτερον δὲ Διόνυσον.

[112] Scholia in Lycophronem, scholia vetera et recentiora partim Isaac et Joannis Tzetzae, 219: σύρουσαν· τὸ ἑξῆς οὕτως· βλέπω πάλαι δὴ συναγωγὴν ὁλκάδων συρομένην ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ <κἀπιροιζοῦσαν> καὶ ἐπιβοῶσαν καὶ ἀπειλοῦσαν τῇ πατρίδι ἤτοι τῇ Τροίᾳ <δεινὰς ἀπειλὰς> καὶ πυρπόλησιν. <ὡς μή σε Κάδμος>· Κάδμος ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἀντὶ τοῦ Καδμῖλος κατὰ συγκοπὴν ὡς γαμφηλὰς καὶ γαμφάς. Καδμῖλος δὲ ὁ Ἑρμῆς. τούτου δὲ καὶ Ἴσσης τινὸς νύμφης, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ Λέσβος ἐκλήθη Ἴσσα, ἐγεννήθη παῖς ὀνόματι Πρύλις. οὗτος μάντις ὢν προσενεχθέντι τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι τῇ Λέσβῳ ἄλλως. ὡς μή σε Κάδμος· ἀπέστρεψε τὸν λόγον πρὸς τὸν Πρύλιν, ὃς ἦν μάντις ἐν Ἴσσῃ ἤτοι τῇ Λέσβῳ υἱὸς τοῦ Καδμίλου καὶ Κάδμου Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἴσσης τινὸς νύμφης, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ἡ Λέσβος ἡ καὶ Μιτυλήνη ἐκλήθη Ἴσσα, ὃς Πρύλις προσενεχθεὶς τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.

Ill. 7. The coins of the city of Damastion (Ujes-Morgan 2018, 7)

For a longer period of time, the presence of the Mycenaean material at the eastern Adriatic coast was well-known at the sites of Pazhok and Vajze in Albania, Tetovo and Iglarevo in Kosovo, in the form of two swords from a tumulus at the Mata River and the place of Varibopi[113], daggers near Niš, Pula, Crvena Stijena, Mostar, Mokrine, Belotići, Živalji, Čitluk, and others. Other well-known finds are labrys axes from Pelagonija, near Bitola, in Northern Macedonia and Niš and Babušnica in Serbia.[114] In this context, it is possible to address a sword from Sisak, Sprockhoff IIb of Erbenheim type according to

[113] Korkuti 1984, 111-113.

[114] Garašanin 1983, 799-806; Parović-Pešikan 1985, 27; Đurić 1984, 17-24; Čović 1983, 114-190.

Cowen, dated to Ha A period, given that there have already been several attempts to associate this type of swords with workshops in Central Europe and Mycenaean Greece.[115] When analyzing swords found in a circle in Mycenae, we need to mention a sword from Vučevica that was initially interpreted as an import from Mycenae. Although there are similarities with the Mycenaean type F2 sword, H. Tomas concluded that differences are considerably more dominant and the inspiration for this sword could be of Aegean origin[116] which, in any case, corroborates the thesis if not of a direct import, then of contacts which were used to transmit the idea. Although the origin of these finds has not been entirely defined, some of which have been bought off in the modern period, in this context we can also mention the ingots from Makarska, Ivanić-Kloštar,[117] and from the island of Pag.[118] Finally, the Mycenaean material has been recorded on the island of Brač[119]. On the other hand, we should note the fact that, at least in the case of Mycenaean material on the eastern Adriatic coast, there is a likely possibility that the majority of these finds came directly from the Apennine Peninsula or from the south where the Mycenaean presence was much better recorded.[120]

When addressing the Bronze Age and the relationship of the eastern Adriatic coast with the Aegean region through the prism of archaeological perception, we come to a question of the Cetina culture and its manifestation in this region. Blagoje Govedarica pointed out the possibility of migration of the population from western Greece to the region of the Cetina culture, i.e. the eastern Adriatic coast, that manifested in cist type graves and accompanying golden material.[121] Similarities in ornaments and shapes of ceramic material indicate a possibility of connections with the cultures of Sicily and Malta[122], whereas the connections with Italy, more specifically Apulia, are much better corroborated with examples such as jugs from an aggregate in Bajagić near Obrovac.[123] By observing the distribution of the Ceina culture as a style and the distribution of a recognizable style instead of a recognizable ethnic-archaeological culture, we can state that the spatial range of this ornamental manifestation was from Trieste to the Peloponnese and from Apulia to Bosnia.[124]

[115] Vinski-Gasparini 1973.

[116] Tomas 2010, 36-39.

[117] Vinski-Gasparini 1983, 647-667.

[118] Parović-Pešikan 1985, 27.

[119] Kirigin 2002, 363-383.

[120] Tomas 2010, 36-39.

[121] Govedarica 1989.

[122] Govedarica 1989, 218.

[123] Marović 1975, 245-246.

[124] Forenbaher 2018, 128. For more information about the issue of the Cetina culture and the Cetina style see: Forenbaher Stašo, Special Place, Interesting Times. The island of Palagruža and transitional periods in Adriatic prehistory. Archaeopress Publishing Ltd, 2018.

The relationship with Greece is corroborated by finds from Montenegro, primarily tumuli with princely graves in Rubeži near Nikšić, Mala Gruda, Velika Gruda, and Gruda Boljevića. A fragment of a ceramic dish has been found at the site of Rubeži whose ornaments, decorated stripes, and zigzag lines entirely correspond to the finds of dishes in the tumulus of Mala Gruda. This type of dish is usually a standard repertoire of princely graves in Montenegro, although considerable differences between them do exits, such as semicircular carvings on the rim of a dish from Mala Gruda.[125]

Ill. 8. Axes from Mala Gruda and Boljevića Gruda tumuli
(Saveljić-Bulatović, Lutovac 2003, 19; processed by A. Kaljanac)

Moreover, it is important to note that the ornamental motif, at least its basic form made of two stripes crossed in the central section and zigzag lines along the rim, associates and most likely represents a counterpart of a punctured ornament of golden covers of axe holders from the tumuli of Mala Gruda and Gruda Boljevića. Golden covers from these two tumuli correspond to one another in their entirety,[126] and this detail connects the axes from these tumuli with the ceramic material that was most probably associated

[125] Parović-Pešikan, Trbuhović 1974, 129-141.

[126] Baković, Govedarica 2009, 5-22.

with burial rituals. Therefore, this and the fact that the axe from Gruda Boljevića was found outside the grave and not beside the deceased[127] ensure that we observe the axes from the tumuli with princely graves through the prism of practiced cults and rites or as a means of expressing the elements of identity and status.

Ill. 9. Ceramic vessel from tumulus Boljevića Gruda (Provided by P. Lutovac)

The interpretation of the origin of the axe from the tumulus of Mala Gruda has led us to conclude that its origin is the Middle Eastern import[128] that brought on further development of this type of axes.[129] Moreover, axes made of electrum alloy, golden dagger, and hair rings (Noppenring) have on several occasions been associated with Asia Minor, Syria, Byblos, and the Aegean Sea.[130] Kotorac-type axe has frequently been associated with Byblos, hair rings with the Aegean Sea, Troy, and Antioch, and the golden dagger with Koumas.[131] Apart from this, burials of tumuli with princely graves in Montenegro also contained lesser indicators associated with Transcaucasia.[132]

[127] Baković, Govedarica 2009, 15.

[128] Parović-Pešikan, Trbuhović 1974, 131.

[129] Parović-Pešikan 1985, 21.

[130] Parović-Pešikan, Trbuhović 1974, 129-141; Parović-Pešikan 1985, 20; Govedarica 1989, 178; Šašel Kos 1993, 120; Durman et al. 2006; Baković, Govedarica 2009, 18.

[131] Parović-Pešikan 1985, 20.

[132] Durman et al. 2006, 90.

However, although all of this information, the works of classical authors and archaeological indicators, suggest the validity of the statement regarding the contacts of the Mycenaean world with the eastern Adriatic coast, especially its southern part, it seems that such statement is only partially correct. This particularly refers to the problem of chronological determination given that some of the recently published archaeological results suggest much older contacts of the southern part of the eastern Adriatic coast and the Aegean Sea. In this regard, the basic indicator could be the appearance of violin-shaped idols, traditionally associated with the Cycladic culture, as grave goods at several sites. When speaking of the area of the eastern Adriatic coast, violin-shaped idols and their analogies were recorded at the sites of Rakića kuća, Shtoj, Apollonia, Maliq, and Yunazite. During the excavations of tumuli at the site of Shtoj in the 1980s, and published in detail in 2012,[133] discovered the most numerous group of violin-shaped idols, 6 in total. The initial excavations uncovered 14 graves within the tumulus VI, of which the first 13 graves were determined to be originating from the Iron Age, whereas the last grave 14 was identified to be originating from the Bronze Age with recognizable characteristics of the Cetina culture[134]. While the primary results attributed the discovered idols to the oldest grave 14 and the Cetina culture,[135] further research uncovered an initially unknown grave, the grave 15. Given that this grave was buried in the subsoil, directly under the stone cist of the grave 14, it became clear that certain idols should be attributed as goods of this grave, and not the grave 14.[136] Unlike the later period, especially the Iron Age, the initial construction of the tumulus 6 in Shtoj was for a separate individual who represented a unique burial within the construction. This layer was inherited through the subsequent burial of the Cetina culture and an increase of the construction. Violin-shaped idols at the site of Rakića kuća were discovered during the construction of a local road between Podgorica and Tuzi in 1989 when the stone from the tumulus was used as a construction material.[137] In the period of 2002-2006, an excavation of the so-called tumulus 10, containing 77 graves, 49 of which are prehistoric, was conducted at the site of a large prehistoric necropolis in Apollonia.[138] These included the so-called grave 74, which later on turned out to be a ritual site, not a grave.[139] This unit also revealed a broken figurine, whose reconstruction determined that it corresponds to violin-shaped idols,[140] making this site important in the context of contacts of the Aegean region and the western Balkans. Moreover, similar idols and the closest associations were discovered in layer IIIc at the site of Maliq in Albania, and layers of tell

[133] Koka 2012.

[134] Govedarica 1991, 105-112.

[135] Govedarica 2016, 5-34.

[136] Govedarica 2016, 7.

[137] Velimirović-Žižić 1995, 21-41.

[138] Amore 2016, 57-74.

[139] Govedarica 2016, 18.

[140] Govedarica 2016, 19.

in Yunazite in Bulgaria. Considering the results of the most recent research, along with stylistic characteristics, especially radiocarbon dating conducted at the sites of Rakića kuća, Gruda Boljevića, Apollonia, Velika Gruda, and Odmut, B. Govedarica concluded that the absolute calibrated dates of these sites can be the period of 3050/3000 to 2700 BC.[141]

Ill. 10. Ceramic violin idols discovered in the tumulus Rakića kuća according to the numeration from the research (Provided by B. Govedarica)

Regarding the dates of the appearance of violin idols and their corresponding tumuli, evidently members of a prominent elite, we can conclude that the contacts of the Aegean region and the Adriatic had existed already at the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC, and maintaining these contacts during the period of the 2nd millennium BC would not be surprising, on the contrary, stronger connections would be expected. These connections and contacts could not result only in trade, and the actual establishment of trade colonies and permanent trade routes would not be surprising. Moreover, it would be thoughtless to assume that such long-term traditions until the period of classical Greek colonies at the Adriatic Sea have not left a mark on both cultures and their memories of the past and consequently on their mythological and legendary past.

According to the presented dates, it is quite clear that it would be difficult to argue the connection of tumuli with princely graves and their materials with legendary Cadmus and his Phoenicians, but the very existence of contacts between the Adriatic region in the first phases of the 3rd millennium BC with the south opens up the possibility of considering trade colonies at the beginning and during the Bronze Age. The search for metals and the establishment of steady communications with regions deeper into the continent in the memory of the old Greeks may have reflected through the Phoenicians

[141] Govedarica 2016, 24.

as a symbol of the eastern Mediterranean Basin. The words of Herodotus share the information about how the Phoenicians had founded a colony on the island of Thasos, adjacent to the island of Samothrace[142], just beside the aforementioned Halkidiki. According to the tumuli with princely graves from Montenegro, trade relations or mutual influences and exchange speak of contacts dating back to the early phases of the 3rd millennium BC. They also indicate the roots of the legend of Cadmus and Harmonia later, perhaps already around the 15th century BC.

According to different genealogies, such as the one presented by Herodotus,[143] or Hecataeus and Hellanicus, as well as researchers such as S. Symeonoglou[144], the events described in the legend of the appearance of the Phoenicians in the territory of Greece, their leader Cadmus and his wife Harmonia, their transformation into serpents, who were revered long after, can be dated to the very early period of about 16th to 15th century BC. In this sense, an archaeological find of the Parian Marble or Chronicle[145] suggests the arrival of Cadmus and the foundation of Thebes and dates them to 1509/8 BC:[146]*"From when Cadmus the son of Agenor came to Thebes [_____and] built the Cadmeia, 1255 years, when Amphictyon was king of Athens"*.[147] If we use this find as a chronological orientation, the tradition regarding these events could not have been much younger. Most certainly, the date, in this case, is no longer as crucial as the statement that the territories of present-day Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania, and Northern Macedonia participated in a long-lasting tradition of established contacts with the Aegean region, and the fact, established in such context, that the entire myth of a legendary hero, Sidonian Cadmus, could indeed have a historical background, regardless of its form, and that "some" events actually happened.

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[142] Hdt.s 6, 47: Εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μέταλλα ταῦτα, καὶ μακρῷ ἦν αὐτῶν θωμασιώτατα τὰ οἱ Φοίνικες ἀνεῦρον οἱ μετὰ Θάσου κτίσαντες τὴν νῆσον ταύτην, ἅτις νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ Θάσου τούτου τοῦ Φοίνικος τὸ οὔνομα ἔσχηκε. Τὰ δὲ μέταλλα τὰ Φοινικικὰ ταῦτά ἐστι τῆς Θάσου μεταξὺ Αἰνύρων τε χώρου καλεομένου καὶ Κοινύρων, ἀντίον δὲ Σαμοθρηίκης, ὄρος μέγα ἀνεστραμμένον ἐν τῇ ζητήσι.

[143] Hdt.s 6, 59.

[144] Symeonoglou, 1985, 68 and further.

[145] Parian Marble is a chronological table found in several fragments on the island of Paros. The table itself encompasses the period from 1581 to 264 BC and it largely represents events from the "*Heroic Age*".

[146] Parian marble: IG XII, 5. (Cyclades), Document 444: ἀφ' οὗ Κάδμος ὁ Ἀγήνορος εἰς Θήβας ἀφίκετο [– – – καὶ] ἔκτισε τὴν Καδμείαν, ἔτη, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Ἀμφικτύονος.

[147] Inscription translation: G. Newing, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, Oxford.

Ill. 11. Parian Marble with a chronological table (http://digitalmarmorparium.org/images/marmor_parium_fragment_a_1_ashmolean.jpg [last checked 2021-5-28])

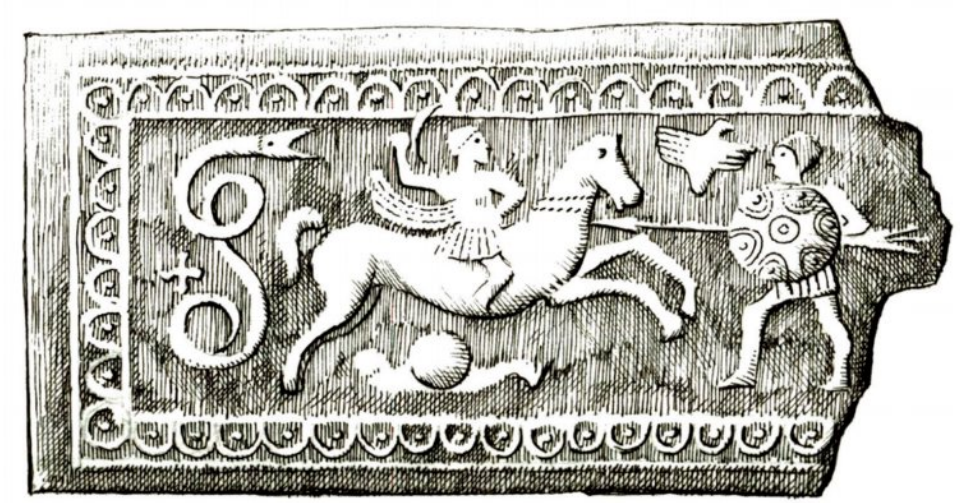
While myths and legends, although essentially inseparable, required foundations of their origin and a period of fossilization from live memory into a myth or a legend, it is entirely reasonable to assume that *every generation of the old Greeks modified inherited myths anew instead of creating new traditions.*[148] The foundations of legends most likely remained the same and *it is unimaginable that Greek mythology was created as an entirely new set of traditions in order to replace the events that had taken place earlier.*[149] Referring to the aforementioned fundamental premise of Kristiansen that fossilization is a long process of up to 1000 years, possibly even longer, then it is no surprise that there are numerous finds directly and indirectly connected to serpents and a manifestation of memory recently associated by scholars with the cult of ancestors.

Apart from the very meaning of the name of the community of the Encheleans, the connection of immigrated colonists, conditionally named so, and the religious belief in eels or serpents can be established with the meaning of names of legendary personalities of Cadmus and Harmonia who embody an entire cult according to an ancient belief. The first link is the Hebrew east, *Qedem*, the place of origin of Cadmus, whereas the name of his wife Harmonia is connected with the mount Hermon populated by the Hivites, meaning

[148] Finkelberg 2006.

[149] Dowden 1992.

serpent[150] in Phoenician. The connections of the Hivites and Harmonia with the serpent certainly could reach goddess Ishtar who was frequently depicted together with a serpent next to her body. The serpent, as a symbol of life and death, has evidently been present ever since the Neolithic,[151] while its dominant position in religion reached its peak in the period starting from the three-age system and further. The importance of the belief system of former inhabitants of these regions was recorded by Homer who wrote an impressive description of a Paeonian, Asteropaios, whose body was eaten by eels and thus symbolically removed from the battlefield.[152] The territory familiar to Asteropaios as a Paeonian, near Hecataeus's Encheleans, uncovered two plates with a depiction of soldiers leaving for battle while being watched by an upright serpent, one in Albania on the coast of Lake Ohrid,[153] and the other at the site near Gostilj in Montenegro by Shkodra Lake.[154]



Ill. 12. A plate from the site of Gostilj in Montenegro (Benac 2012, 22)

The importance of the depicted serpent as a cult of ancestors or Cadmus himself who accompanies soldiers to battle keeping a watchful eye is not essential in this context, because we could claim that Cadmus indeed is a heroized ancestor, as different interpretation would be essentially the same. From a geographic point of view, the place where these plates were uncovered, in the land inhabited by the Encheleans, the community which was obviously hidden in an obscure past even for the Greeks themselves, is where

[150] Calmet 1832.

[151] Busuladžić 2010, 125-134.

[152] Hom. Il. 21.203-4:
τὸν μὲν ἄρ› ἐγχέλυές τε καὶ ἰχθύες ἀμφεπένοντο
δημὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι ἐπινεφρίδιον κείροντες·

[153] Ceka 1985.

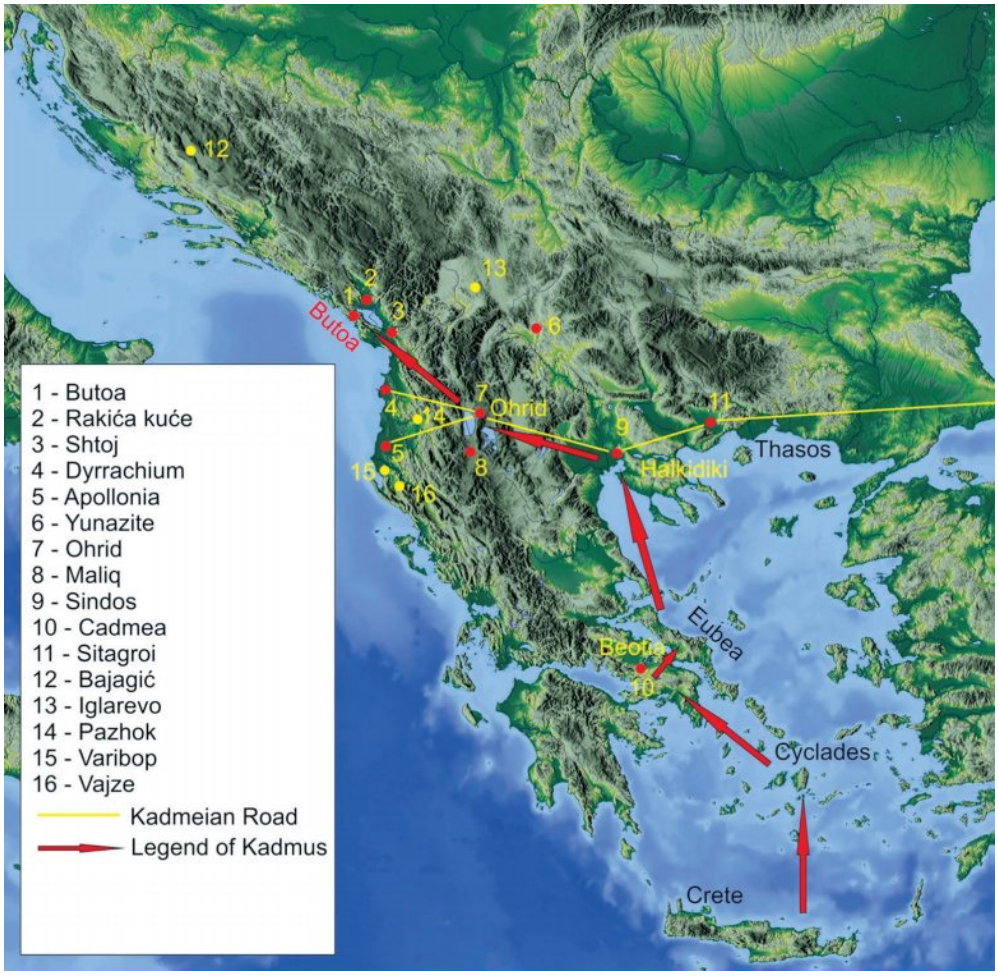
[154] Basler 1969, 5-107.

Cadmus found refuge and where he died. According to Apollonius of Rhodes, the graves of Cadmus and Harmonia are located here by the black Illyrian river in the land of the Encheleans.[155] Although maybe not for modern researchers, verbal and described geographical features could be found in this region, so in Periplus Pseudo-Skilax writes that by the coast of the Rizous river, there are graves made in some way out of stone, belonging to Cadmus and Harmonia who, even after their death, were the ancestors whom former sailors sailed to. *From the Arion* river to the *Rizous* river is half a day›s sail. The stones of *Cadmus* and *Harmonia* are here, and a sanctuary not far from the *Rizous* river.[156] For these sailors, even after the metamorphosis into serpents, Cadmus and Harmonia were amply real and true.

In connection with the fact that protagonists of this legend were real to the old Greeks, in conclusion we can make a presumption about the origin of the Encheleans from Greek Boeotia or even from the Middle East, from where they carried the cult of serpent-eel that was spread among the inhabitants of the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland, who were thus named the Illyrians, serpent-people, followers of the cult of the serpent. The Encheleans could be considered the leaders of the cult of serpent-eel, an ethnonym of the Illyrians which later gradually spread toward the north and deeper into the hinterland of the Adriatic Sea to be finally encompassed by the Roman administrative unit, the province of Illyricum, entirely different from the Old Greek Illyria which to old logographers represented the only geographic-religious region inhabited by the followers of the cult of the serpent, the people associated with this cult and their name Ἰλλυριοὶ.

[155] Ap. Rhod. Argon. 4, 516-519: οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' Ἰλλυρικοῖο μελαμβαθέος ποταμοῖο, τύμβος ἵν' Ἁρμονίης Κάδμοιό τε, πύργον ἔδειμαν, ἀνδράσιν Ἐγχελέεσσιν ἐφέστιοι· οἱ δ' ἐν ὄρεσσιν ἐνναίουσιν ἅπερ τε Κεραύνια κικλήσκονται.

[156] Ps. –Scylax, 24, 2: καί ἀπό τοῦ Νάρωνος ἐπί τον Ἀρίωνα ποταμόν ημέρας ἐστί πλους· ἀπό δέ τοῦ Ἀρίωνος <ἐπί τον ‹Ριζοῦντα> ποταμόν πλους ημέρας ήμισυ.; καί Κάδμου καί ‹Αρμονίας οἱ λίθοι εἰσιν ενταύθα, καί ιερόν ἀπωθεν τοῦ ‹Ριζοϋντος ποταμοῦ. ἀπό δέ τοῦ ‹Ριζοϋντος ποταμοῦ είς Βουθόην ό πλους καί τό ἐμπόριον.



Map 1: The arrival of Cadmus in Greece and his crossing to the north with known sites (Map made by: A. Kaljanac on a template downloaded from www.maps-for-free.com on 2021-5-28)

Conclusion

The legend of Cadmus and his wife Harmonia is one of the oldest legends about the peoples who inhabited the region of the eastern Adriatic coast. Considering a common belief that legends are in fact historical events with historical background and actual locations, the preserved works that conveyed the information of the Sidonian hero clearly categorized Cadmus as one of the legends and legendary personalities who, during their lifetime, passed through and acted in historically established locations such as the old Cadmeia, Delphi, Lihnidos, and Butoa, present-day Budva, where he ultimately ended his legendary journey. After observing two works of the former unity, a live culture that truly experienced the legend of Cadmus, the written words and their relationships with

the material data about the potential contacts of the region of the southern part of the eastern Adriatic coast and the Aegean Sea, we can conclude that the earliest contacts of this region dated much further into the past than datable information produced by classical authors. At the same time, the fact that these memories were written down, clearly shows, as we can see in the later period, that the traditions of important events were strong and long-established. Although mysterious, logographer, poets, the first historians, classical authors wrote about communities such as the Encheleans who at a certain point of time inhabited the territory of Greece, but at another, they were at the far north, waging wars and creating what will later become known as their kingdom. There is plenty of information regarding these people, so that earlier researchers could associate them with part of their beliefs, especially eels, and correlate them with other, similar, and perhaps identical cult – the cult of the serpent.

Numerous finds of archaeological provenance, from those stylistically connected to those having elements of direct influences such as violin idols, corroborate mutual contacts of these regions. This creates the opportunity to observe the legend of Cadmus as the result of these relations, as pointed out by Marianna Koromila, being manifested through hundreds of Greek sailors. As part of these movements, there is an episode of Cadmus's crossing to the north when the Encheleans from the north first appeared – those who had a special place in the history of the ancient Greeks. Despite the lack of data about them, this fact suggests the importance of their role – the role that remained permanently hidden and completely unknown. On the other hand, their belief and cult, as well as their name, may have been the historical reason why they have never been forgotten. If we observe the testimonies of them as eel-people at the territory of Boeotia, their appearance as such in the north, the legendary foundation of Butoa, and the fact that they are the oldest well-known community in this region to their southern neighbors, we can assume that they were also an eponymous community of the entire region in the later history. If their appearance at the north was part of trade relations or even colonization process from the south, their name and site, and new Cadmeias and Butoas became the focal point of contacts, information sources, and familiarization with the north for their contemporaries in Greece. As such, they secured their historical role in Greek ecumenism. Workshops produced items for trade towards the Encheleans as the first destination, their ports were a clear orientation and refuge, from where the trade could continue toward the north and from the north to the south. More importantly, their belief in eels and the similarity with the belief in serpents, although it is difficult to assume a clear differentiation between the two, given that they were named after their cult in Boeotia, could have played an important role in the appearance of the name of Illyrians, as well as their perception by the ancient Greeks. The similarity in meaning of the names of the Encheleans and the Illyrians implies a certain connection that could be the result of a coincidence or identical beliefs or the acceptance of beliefs of the

Encheleans themselves among local communities who were not unfamiliar with serpents and their cult and which did not aspire to the anthropomorphism of deities as the Greeks did. In this regard, the term Illyrian could determine the Encheleans themselves, and later on others who had the same beliefs in some of or in a local language. The belief in the cult of the serpent, which was associated by Cadmus himself with the cult of ancestors first by killing one serpent in Greece, then turning himself into one, could be a manifestation associated with ancestors whose origin was inevitably always in the legends, deities which were often associated with the same ancestors, and ultimately with the manifestation of spiritual beings in mundane, revered serpents, dragons, eels. If we consider that compared to numerous communities that the Greeks and even the Romans were familiar with in the later period, the most important community, named by the modern scholarship as the Illyrians, was entirely unknown without any specific mention of its geographic position but only a wider geographic setting, we can assume that for those who created the written works, the Illyrians had never existed. For them, it might have been perfectly clear and factual that this term of the language of the north implies first of all the Encheleans, then all those associated with their belief in the later period. Although perhaps an ordinary transcription, perhaps Pliny's or Mela's fact *that they were named or called as such*, or perhaps a strong dichotomy with beliefs of the ancient Greeks, it seems that this is a community which, by departing from the Greek framework, brought with itself the name and beliefs that resulted in creating different ones. Therefore, in accordance with the existence of contacts in the territory of present-day Montenegro and its proximity, it is possible to conclude that the legend of Cadmus, his foundation of the city of Butoa, as well as mutual relations corroborated by archaeology, were part of a process that had far-reaching consequences from the direct influence of Greece on this region and influence of this region on former Greece. At the same time, mutual acquaintance resulted in the fact that the Greeks were faced with an elusive and mysterious community which they had never defined, possibly because they were familiar with it within the framework of their language, whose name had spread from this region to a significantly wider region to be ultimately adopted by the Roman Empire due to a completely different administrative perception, followed by the scholarship of the 20th century.

Sažetak: Legenda o Kadmu – Osnivanje grada Butoa i moguće porijeklo imena Iliri

Legenda o sidonskom heroju Kadmu (*Cadmus*) i njegovoj supruzi Harmoniji (*Harmonia*) jedna je od najstarijih legendi povezanih sa stanovnicima prahistorijskog Balkana. Rani izvori povezuju stanovnike istočne jadranske obale sa zmijama ili jeguljama. Moderna znanost je utvrdila činjenicu da je u prethistorijskom periodu značajnu ulogu u identificiranju i samoidentificiranju zajednica imao kult predaka. Legendu o Kadmu i njegov dolazak na prostor današnje Crne Gore, osnivanje grada *Butoe* (Budve) i smrt pretvaranjem u zmije, moguće je prepoznati kao tragove vjerovanja u kult predaka. Prateći tradiciju ovog mita moguće je konstatirati da je cjelokupan proces reprezentirao stvaranje snažnih trgovačkih veza, potencijalno osnivanje trgovačkih kolonija, prilikom čega se kao posljedica u znanju grčkih autora pojavila eventualna transkripcija imena Enhelejaca u Ilire, bazirana na jeziku lokalnih zajednica sjevera. Na ovaj način, imena Ilira i Enhelejaca u grčkoj Beotiji nisu reprezentirali nijednu etničku zajednicu, niti danas prepoznatljivu arheološku kulturu, već vjerovanja i kult većeg broja zajednica koje su u ovim mitskim bićima pronalazili i svoje pretke poput legendarnog junaka iz Sidona.

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Abbreviations

AP. RHOD.	Apollonius Rhodius Epicus
ATH.	Athenaeus Naucratites
PS. – APOLLOD.	Pseudo-Apollodorus
DIOD. SIC.	Diodorus Siculus
ETYM. MAGN	*Etymologicum magnum*
ETYM. GENIUN.	*Etymologicum Genuinum*
HDT.S	Herodot
HECAT.	Hecateus Milesius Historicus
HELLANIC.	Hellanicus Historicus
HOM.	Homerus
HSCH.	Hesychius Lexicographus
HYG. FAB.	Hyginus, *Fabulae*
PAUS.	Pausanias
PLINY, HN 7.	C. Plinius Secundus, *Naturalis Historia*
PLU.	Plutarchus Biographus et Philosophus
PS. –SCYLAX	Pseudo-Skylax
STEPH. BYZ. ETHN.	Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnika*
STRABO	Strabo Geographus

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REPORT

Continuity and Admixture in the Last Five Millennia of Levantine History from Ancient Canaanite and Present-Day Lebanese Genome Sequences

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The Canaanites inhabited the Levant region during the Bronze Age and established a culture that became influential in the Near East and beyond. However, the Canaanites, unlike most other ancient Near Easterners of this period, left few surviving textual records and thus their origin and relationship to ancient and present-day populations remain unclear. In this study, we sequenced five whole genomes from ~3,700-year-old individuals from the city of Sidon, a major Canaanite city-state on the Eastern Mediterranean coast. We also sequenced the genomes of 99 individuals from present-day Lebanon to catalog modern Levantine genetic diversity. We find that a Bronze Age Canaanite-related ancestry was widespread in the region, shared among urban populations inhabiting the coast (Sidon) and inland populations (Jordan) who likely lived in farming societies or were pastoral nomads. This Canaanite-related ancestry derived from mixture between local Neolithic populations and eastern migrants genetically related to Chalcolithic Iranians. We estimate, using linkage-disequilibrium decay patterns, that admixture occurred 6,600–3,550 years ago, coinciding with recorded massive population movements in Mesopotamia during the mid-Holocene. We show that present-day Lebanese derive most of their ancestry from a Canaanite-related population, which therefore implies substantial genetic continuity in the Levant since at least the Bronze Age. In addition, we find Eurasian ancestry in the Lebanese not present in Bronze Age or earlier Levantines. We estimate that this Eurasian ancestry arrived in the Levant around 3,750–2,170 years ago during a period of successive conquests by distant populations.

The Near East, including the Levant, has been central to human prehistory and history from the expansion out of Africa 50–60 thousand years ago (kya),[1] through post-glacial expansions[2] and the Neolithic transition 10 kya, to the historical period when Ancient Egyptians, Greeks, Phoenicians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Romans, and many others left their impact on the region.[3] Aspects of the genetic history of the Levant have been inferred from present-day DNA,[4,5] but the more comprehensive analyses performed in Europe[6–11] have shown the limitations of relying on present-day information alone and highlighted the power of ancient DNA (aDNA) for addressing questions about population histories.[12] Unfortunately, although the few aDNA results from the Levant available so far are sufficient to reveal how much its history differs from that of Europe,[13] more work is needed to establish a thorough understanding of Levantine genetic history. Such work is hindered by the hot and sometimes wet environment,[12,13] but improved aDNA technologies including use of the petrous bone as a source of DNA[14] and the rich archaeological remains available encouraged us to further explore the potential of aDNA in this region. Here, we present genome sequences from five Bronze Age Lebanese samples and show how they improve our understanding of the Levant's history over the last five millennia.

During the Bronze Age in the Levant, around 3–4 kya, a distinctive culture emerged as a Semitic-speaking people known as the Canaanites. The Canaanites inhabited an area bounded by Anatolia to the north, Mesopotamia to the east, and Egypt to the south, with access to Cyprus and the Aegean through the Mediterranean. Thus the Canaanites were at the center of emerging Bronze Age civilizations and became politically and culturally influential.[15] They were later known to the ancient Greeks as the Phoenicians who, 2.3–3.5 kya, colonized territories throughout the Mediterranean reaching as far as the Iberian Peninsula.[16] However, for uncertain reasons but perhaps related to the use of papyrus instead of clay for documentation, few textual records have survived from the Canaanites themselves and most of their history known today has been reconstructed from ancient Egyptian and Greek records, the Hebrew Bible, and archaeological excavations.[15] Many uncertainties still surround the origin of the Canaanites. Ancient Greek historians believed their homeland was located in the region of the Persian Gulf,[16,17] but modern researchers tend to reject this hypothesis because of archaeological and historical evidence

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Table 1. Samples Analyzed in This Study

ENA Number	Burial Number	Time Years Ago	Mapped Reads[a]	Mapped Read %	Coverage Genomic	Coverage MT	Sex[b]	MT Haplogroup	Y Haplogroup
ERS1790733	54	3,700[c]	69,084,826	6.24	1.19	110	M	N1a3a	J1-P58
ERS1790732	63	3,650[d]	98,293,308	9.20	1.69	109	M	HV1b1	J2-M12
ERS1790730	65	3,650[d]	73,701,096	7.57	1.24	124	F	K1a2	–
ERS1790731	75	3,750[d]	128,355,897	15.48	2.32	164	F	R2	–
ERS1790729	46	3,750[d]	23,323,399	2.64	0.40	53	F	H1bc	–

[a]Excluding PCR duplicates
[b]Genetically determined
[c]Radiocarbon date
[d]Archaeological date

of population continuity through successive millennia in the Levant. The Canaanite culture is alternatively thought to have developed from local Chalcolithic people who were themselves derived from people who settled in farming villages 9–10 kya during the Neolithic period.[15] Uncertainties also surround the fate of the Canaanites: the Bible reports the destruction of the Canaanite cities and the annihilation of its people; if true, the Canaanites could not have directly contributed genetically to present-day populations. However, no archaeological evidence has so far been found to support widespread destruction of Canaanite cities between the Bronze and Iron Ages: cities on the Levant coast such as Sidon and Tyre show continuity of occupation until the present day.

aDNA research has the potential to resolve many questions related to the history of the Canaanites, including their place of origin and fate. Here, we sampled the petrous portion of temporal bones belonging to five ancient individuals dated to between 3,750 and 3,650 years ago (ya) from Sidon, which was a major Canaanite city-state during this period (Figures S1 and S2). We extracted DNA and built double-stranded libraries according to published protocols without uracil-DNA glycosylase treatment.[18–21] We sequenced the libraries on an Illumina HiSeq 2500 using 2× 75 bp reads and processed the sequences using the PALEOMIX pipeline.[22] We retained reads ≥30 bp and collapsed pairs with minimum overlap of 15 bp, allowing a mismatch rate of 0.06 between the pairs. We mapped the merged sequences to the *hs37d5* reference sequence, removed duplicates, removed two bases from the ends of each read, and randomly sampled a single sequence with a minimum quality of ≥20 to represent each SNP. We obtained a genomic coverage of 0.4–2.3× and a mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) genome coverage of 53–164× (Table 1). Y chromosome genotypes were jointly called across males from the 1000 Genomes Project, present-day Lebanese, and two identified Canaanite males using FreeBayes v.0.9.18.[23] A maximum likelihood phylogeny was inferred using RAxML v.8.2.10[24] and visualized using iTOL v.3.5.3.[25] In order to assess ancient DNA authenticity, we estimated mtDNA and X chromosome contamination[26–28] (Table S1) and restricted some analyses to sequences with aDNA damage patterns[29,30] (Figures S3 and S4), demonstrating that the sequence data we present are endogenous and minimally contaminated.

Additionally, we sequenced whole genomes of 99 present-day Lebanese individuals with informed consent to ~8× coverage on an Illumina HiSeq 2500 using 2× 100 bp reads in a study approved by The Wellcome Trust Sanger Institute's Human Materials and Data Management Committee (13/010 and 14/072). We merged the low-coverage Lebanese data with four high-coverage (30×) Lebanese samples,[31] 1000 Genomes Project phase 3 CEU, YRI, and CHB populations,[32] and sequence data previously published from regional populations (Egyptians, Ethiopians, and Greeks).[1,31] Raw calls were generated using bcftools (bcftools mpileup -C50 -pm3 -F0.2 -d10000 | bcftools call -mv, version 1.2-239-g8749475) and filtered to include only SNPs with the minimum of two alternate alleles in at least one population and site quality larger than ten; we excluded sites with a minimum per-population HWE and total HWE less than 0.01[33] and sites within 3 bp of an indel. The filtered calls were then pre-phased using shapeit (v.2.r790)[34] and their genotypes refined using beagle (v.4.1).[35] We have previously described the genetic structure in the Lebanese population using array data from ~1,300 individuals.[4] A principal component analysis (PCA) using the 99 sequenced present-day individuals show that they capture the previously described genetic diversity with distinct clusters reflecting the different cultural groups in Lebanon today (Figure S5).

We combined our ancient and modern samples with previously published ancient data[6–11,13,36–38] (Figure 1A) resulting in a dataset of 389 individuals and 1,046,317 SNPs when ancient and Lebanese samples were analyzed, and 546,891 SNPs when 2,583 modern samples from the Human Origins genotype data were included in the analysis (i.e., the small dataset was used only when a modern population other than the Lebanese was included in the test).[9,39] A pooled Lebanese sequence dataset (99 low coverage plus 4 high coverage) was used in all analyses except for the PCA and ADMIXTURE where a subset of 15 randomly selected individuals (5 from each group described in Figure S5) was used to avoid sample size

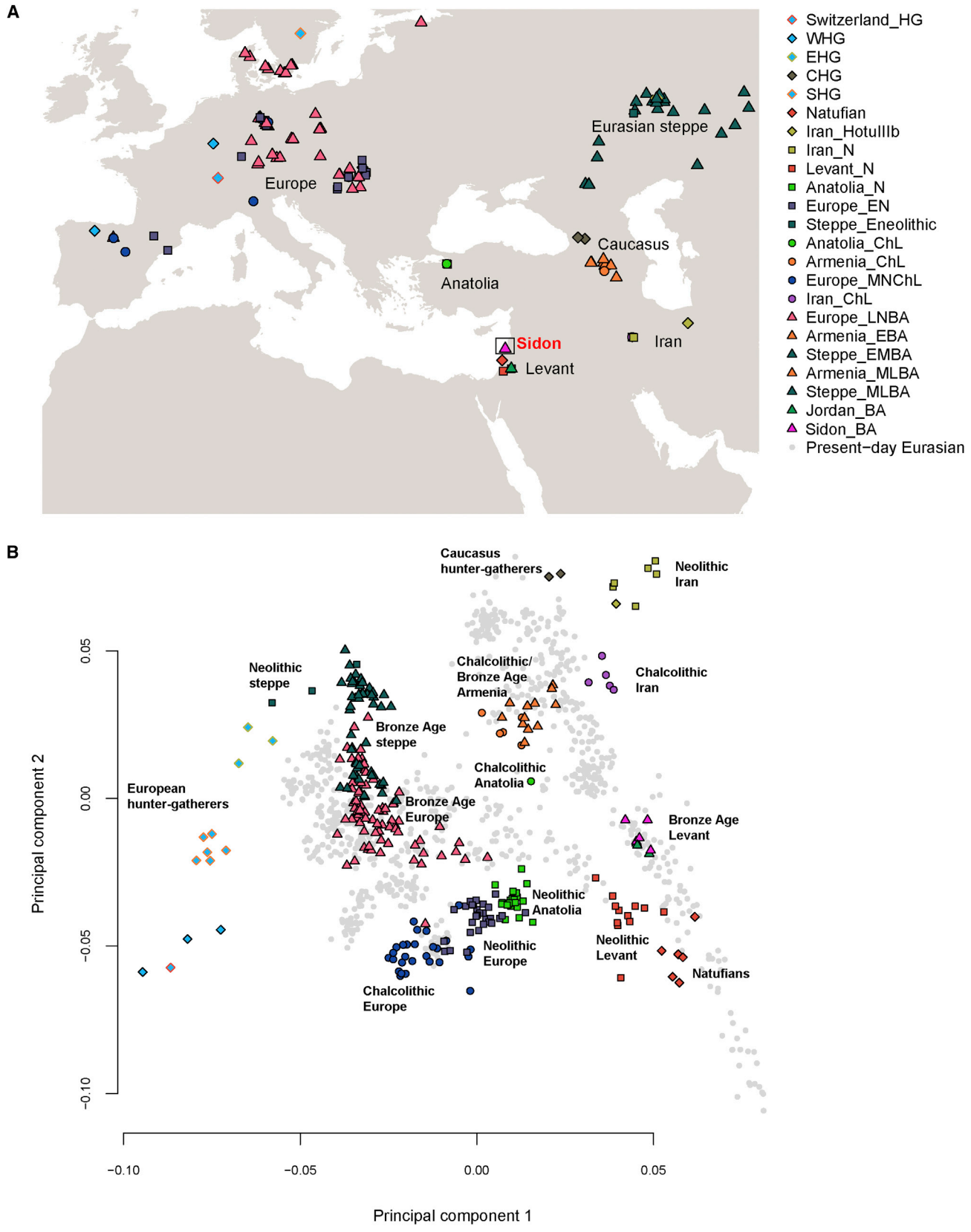

Figure 1. Population Locations and Genetic Structure
(A) The map shows the location of the newly sequenced Bronze Age Sidon samples (pink triangle labeled with red text), as well as the locations of published ancient samples used as comparative data in this study.
(B) PCA of ancient Eurasian samples (colored shapes) projected using eigenvectors from present-day Eurasian populations (gray points).

bias. The ancient samples were grouped following the labels assigned by Lazaridis et al.[13] on the basis of archaeological culture, chronology, and genetic clustering. We used this dataset to shed light on the genetic history of the Canaanites, resolving their relationship to other ancient populations and assessing their genetic contribution to present-day populations.

We first explored our dataset using PCA[40] on present-day West Eurasian (including Levantine) populations and projected the ancient samples onto this plot (Figures 1B and S6). The Bronze Age Sidon samples (Sidon_BA) overlap with present-day Levantines and were positioned between the ancient Levantines (Natufians/Neolithic) and ancient Iranians (Neolithic/Chalcolithic). The overlap between the Bronze Age and present-day Levantines suggests a degree of genetic continuity in the region. We explored this further by computing the statistic *f4*(Lebanese, present-day Near Easterner; Sidon_BA, Chimpanzee) using *qpDstat*[39] (with parameter f4mode: YES) and found that Sidon_BA shared more alleles with the Lebanese than with most other present-day Levantines (Figure S7), supporting local population continuity as observed in Sidon's archaeological records. When we substituted present-day Near Easterners with a panel of 150 present-day populations available in the Human Origins dataset, we found that only Sardinians and Italian_North shared significantly more alleles with Sidon_BA compared with the Lebanese (Figure S8). Sardinians are known to have retained a large proportion of ancestry from Early European farmers (EEFs) and therefore the increased affinity to Sidon_BA could be related to a shared Neolithic ancestry. We computed *f4*(Lebanese, Sardinian/Italian_North; Sidon_BA, Levant_N) and found no evidence of increased affinity of Sardinians or Italian_North to Sidon_BA after the Neolithic (both Z-scores are positive). We next wanted to explore whether the increased affinity of Sidon_BA to the Lebanese could also be observed when analyzing functionally important regions of the genome that are less susceptible to genetic drift. Our sequence data allowed us to scan loci linked to phenotypic traits and loci previously identified as functional variants in the Lebanese and other Levantines.[41–43] Using a list of 84 such variants (Table S2), we estimated the allele frequency (AF) in Sidon_BA using ANGSD[26] based on a method from Li et al.[44] and calculated Pearson pairwise correlation coefficients between AF in Sidon_BA and AF in Africans, Europeans, Asians,[32] and Lebanese. We found a high significant correlation between Sidon_BA and the Lebanese ($r = 0.74$; 95% CI = 0.63–0.82; p value = 8.168×10^{-16}) and lower correlations between Sidon_BA and Europeans ($r = 0.56$), Africans ($r = 0.55$), and Asians ($r = 0.53$) (Figure S9). These results support population continuity in the region and suggest that several present-day genetic disorders might stem from risk alleles that were already present in the Bronze Age population. In addition, SNPs associated with phenotypic traits show that Sidon_BA and the Lebanese had comparable skin, hair, and eye colors (in general: light intermediate skin pigmentation, brown eyes, and dark hair) with similar frequencies of the underlying causal variants in *SLC24A5* and *HERC2*, but with Sidon_BA probably having darker skin than Lebanese today from variants in *SLC45A2* resulting in darker pigmentation (Table S2).

The PCA shows that Sidon_BA clusters with three individuals from Early Bronze Age Jordan (Jordan_BA) found in a cave above the Neolithic site of 'Ain Ghazal and probably associated with an Early Bronze Age village close to the site.[13] This suggests that people from the highly differentiated urban culture on the Levant coast and inland people with different modes of subsistence were nevertheless genetically similar, supporting previous reports that the different cultural groups who inhabited the Levant during the Bronze Age, such as the Ammonites, Moabites, Israelites, and Phoenicians, each achieved their own cultural identities but all shared a common genetic and ethnic root with Canaanites.[15] Lazaridis et al.[13] reported that Jordan_BA can be modeled as mixture of Neolithic Levant (Levant_N) and Chalcolithic Iran (Iran_ChL). We computed the statistic *f4*(Levant_N, Sidon_BA; Ancient Eurasian, Chimpanzee) and found that populations from the Caucasus and ancient Iran shared more alleles with Sidon_BA than with Neolithic Levant (Figure 2A and S10). We then used *qpAdm*[8] (with parameter allsnps: YES) to test whether Sidon_BA can be modeled as mixture of Levant_N and any other ancient population in the dataset and found good support for the model of Sidon_BA being a mixture of Levant_N (48.4% ± 4.2%) and Iran_ChL (51.6% ± 4.2%) (Figure 2B; Table S3).

In addition, the two Sidon_BA males carried the Y-chromosome haplogroups[45] J-P58 (J1a2b) and J-M12 (J2b) (Tables 1 and S4; Figure S11), both common male lineages in the Near East today. Haplogroup J-P58 is frequent in the Arabian peninsula with proposed origins in the Zagros/Taurus mountain region.[46] It forms the vast majority of the Y chromosomes in southwestern Mesopotamia and reaches particularly high frequencies (74.1%) in Marsh Arabs in Iraq.[47] On the other hand, haplogroup J-M12 is widespread at low frequency from the Balkans to India and the Himalayas, with Albanians having the highest proportions (14.3%).[48] We compiled frequencies of Y-chromosome haplogroups in this geographical area and their changes over time in a dataset of ancient and modern Levantine populations (Figure S12), and note, similarly to Lazaridis et al.,[13] that haplogroup J was absent in all Natufian and Neolithic Levant male individuals examined thus far, but emerged during the Bronze Age in Lebanon and Jordan along with ancestry related to Iran_ChL. All five Sidon_BA individuals had different mitochondrial DNA haplotypes[49] (Table 1), belonging to paragroups common in present-day Lebanon and nearby regions (Table S5) but with additional derived variants not observed in our present-day Lebanese dataset.

We next sought to estimate the time when the Iran_ChL-related ancestry penetrated the Levant. Our

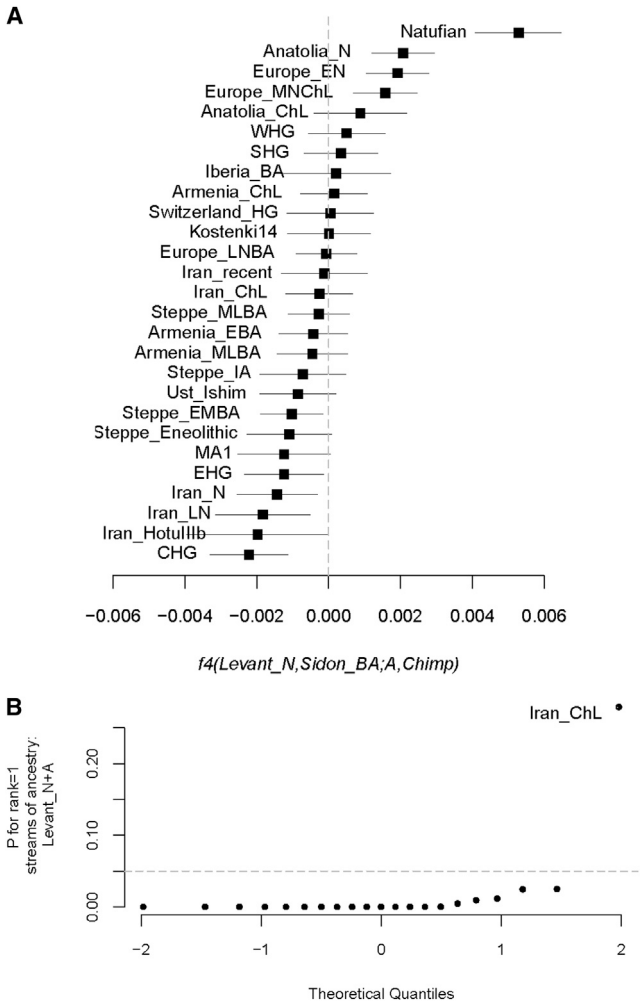

Figure 2. Admixture in Bronze Age Levantine Populations
(A) The statistic *f4*(Levant_N, Sidon_BA; Ancient Eurasian, Chimpanzee) is most negative for ancient populations from the Caucasus and Iran, suggesting an increase in ancestry related to these populations in Sidon after the Neolithic period. The plot shows the estimated statistic value and ±3 standard errors.
(B) Modeling Sidon as mixture between Neolithic Levant and an ancient Eurasian population shows that Chalcolithic Iran fits the model best when using a large number of outgroups: Ust_Ishim, Kostenki14, MA1, Han, Papuan, Ami, Chukchi, Karitiana, Mbuti, Switzerland_HG, EHG, WHG, and CHG. Sidon_BA can then be modeled using *qpAdm* as 0.484 ± 0.042 Levant_N and 0.516 ± 0.042 Iran_ChL.

results support genetic continuity since the Bronze Age and thus our large dataset of present-day Lebanese provided an opportunity to explore the admixture time using admixture-induced linkage disequilibrium (LD) decay. Using ALDER[50] (with mindis: 0.005), we set the Lebanese as the admixed test population and Natufians, Levant_N, Sidon_BA, Iran_N, and Iran_ChL as reference populations. To account for the small number of individuals in the reference populations and the limited number of SNPs in the dataset, we took a lenient minimum Z-score = 2 to be suggestive of admixture. The most significant result was for mixture of Levant_N and Iran_ChL (p = 0.013) around 181 ± 54 generations ago, or ~5,000 ± 1,500 ya assuming a generation time of 28 years (Figure S13A). This admixture time, based entirely on genetic data, fits the known ages of the samples based on archaeological data since it falls between the dates of Sidon_BA (3,650–3,750 ya) and Iran_ChL (6,500–5,500 ya). The admixture time also overlaps with the rise and fall of the Akkadian Empire which controlled the region from Iran to the Levant between ~4.4 and 4.2 kya. The Akkadian collapse is argued to have been the result of a widespread aridification event around 4,200 ya.[51,52] Archaeological evidence in this period documents large-scale influxes of refugees from Northern Mesopotamia toward the south, where cities and villages became overpopulated.[53] Our confidence intervals for the admixture dates are wide and therefore the historical links suggested here should be considered with caution. Future sampling of ancient DNA from northern Syria and Iraq will reveal whether these populations carried the Iran_ChL-related ancestry and also provide a better understanding of the origin of the eastern migrants and the time when they arrived in the Levant.

Although *f4* tests showed that present-day Lebanese share significantly more alleles with Sidon_BA than other Near Eastern populations do, indicating genetic continuity, we failed to model the present-day Lebanese using streams of ancestry coming only from Levant_N and Iran_ChL (*qpAdm* rank1 $p = 8.36 \times 10^{-7}$), in contrast to our success with Sidon_BA. We therefore further explored our dataset by running ADMIXTURE[54] in a supervised mode using Western hunter-gatherers (WHG), Eastern hunter-gatherers (EHG), Levant_N, and Iran_N as reference populations. These four populations have been previously[13] found to contribute genetically to most West Eurasians. The ADMIXTURE results replicate the findings from *qpAdm* for Sidon_BA and show mixture of Levant_N and ancient Iranian populations (Figure 3A). However, the present-day Lebanese, in addition to their Levant_N and ancient Iranian ancestry, have a component (11%–22%) related to EHG and Steppe populations not found in Bronze Age populations (Figure 3A). We confirm the presence of this ancestry in the Lebanese by testing *f4*(Sidon_BA, Lebanese; Ancient Eurasian, Chimpanzee) and find that Eurasian hunter-gatherers and Steppe populations share more alleles with the Lebanese than with Sidon_BA (Figures 3B and S14). We next tested a model of the present-day Lebanese as a mixture of Sidon_BA and any other ancient Eurasian population using *qpAdm*. We found that the Lebanese can be best modeled as Sidon_BA 93% ± 1.6% and a Steppe Bronze Age population 7% ± 1.6% (Figure 3C; Table S6). To estimate the time when the Steppe ancestry penetrated the Levant, we used, as above, LD-based inference and set the Lebanese as admixed test population with Natufians, Levant_N, Sidon_BA, Steppe_EMBA, and Steppe_MLBA as reference populations. We found support (p = 0.00017) for a mixture between Sidon_BA and Steppe_EMBA which has occurred around 2,950 ± 790 ya (Figure S13B). It is important to note here that Bronze Age Steppe populations used in

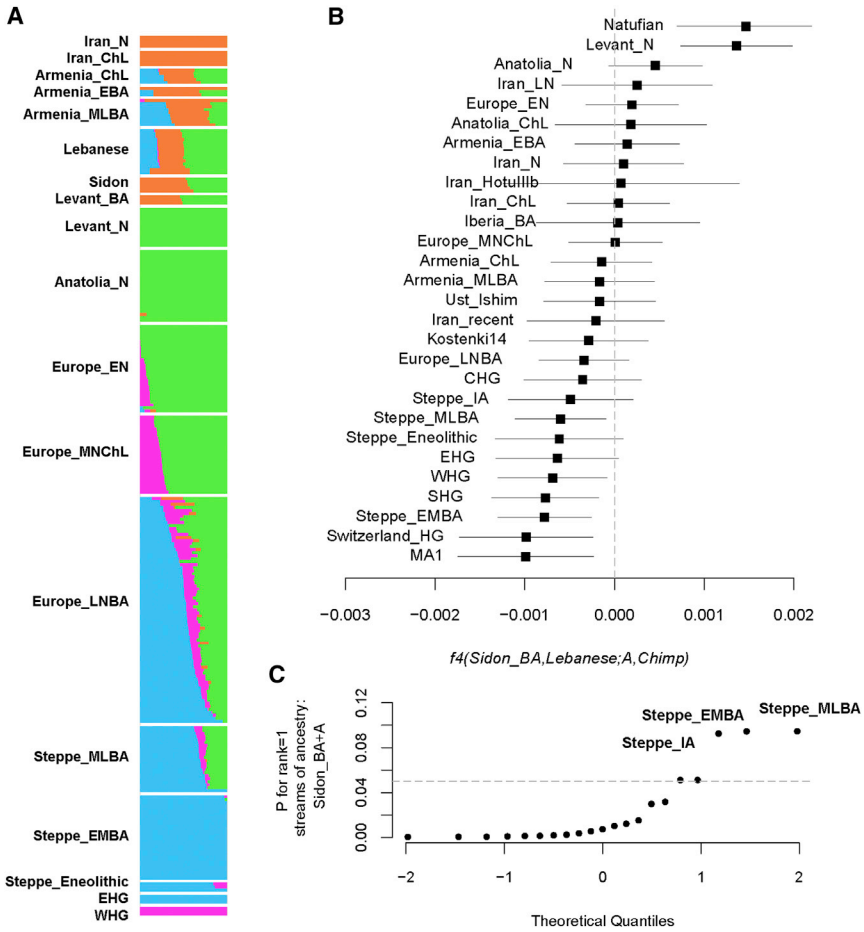

Figure 3. Admixture in Present-Day Levantine Populations

(A) Supervised ADMIXTURE using Levant_N, Iran_N, EHG, and WHG as reference populations. A Eurasian ancestry found in Eastern hunter-gatherers and the steppe Bronze Age appears in present-day Levantines after the Bronze Age.

(B) The statistic *f4*(Sidon_BA, Lebanese; Ancient Eurasian, Chimpanzee) confirms the ADMIXTURE results and is most negative for populations from the steppe and Eurasian hunter-gatherers. We show the estimated statistic value and ±3 standard errors.

(C) Present-day Lebanese can be modeled as mixture between Bronze Age Sidon and a steppe population. The model with mix proportions 0.932 ± 0.016 Sidon_BA and 0.068 ± 0.016 steppe_EMBA for Lebanese is supported with the lowest SE.

the model need not be the actual ancestral mixing populations, and the admixture could have involved a population which was itself admixed with a Steppe-like ancestry population. The time period of this mixture overlaps with the decline of the Egyptian empire and its domination over the Levant, leading some of the coastal cities to thrive, including Sidon and Tyre, which established at this time a successful maritime trade network throughout the Mediterranean. The decline in Egypt's power was also followed by a succession of conquests of the region by distant populations such as the Assyrians, Persians, and Macedonians, any or all of whom could have carried the Steppe-like ancestry observed here in the Levant after the Bronze Age.

In this report we have analyzed ancient whole-genome sequence data from a Levantine civilization and provided insights into how the Bronze Age Canaanites were related to other ancient populations and how they have contributed genetically to present-day ones (Figure 4). Many of our inferences rely on the limited number of ancient samples available, and we are only just beginning to reconstruct a genetic history of the Levant or the Near East as thoroughly as that of Europeans who, in comparison, have been extensively sampled. In the future, it will be important to examine samples from the Chalcolithic/Early Bronze Age Near East to understand the events leading to admixture between local populations and the eastern migrants. It will also be important to analyze samples from the Iron Age to trace back the Steppe-like ancestry we find today in present-day Levantines. Our current results show that such studies are feasible.

Accession Numbers

Sequencing data for 99 present-day Lebanese individuals reported in this paper are available through the European Genome-phenome Archive (EGA) under accession number EGA: EGAS00001002084. Raw sequencing reads for 5 ancient Canaanite individuals are available through the European Nucleotide Archive (ENA) under accession number ENA: PRJEB21330. Aligned sequences and genotypes can be obtained from the corresponding authors.

Supplemental Data

Supplemental Data include 14 figures and 6 tables and can be found with this article online at http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ajhg.2017.06.013.

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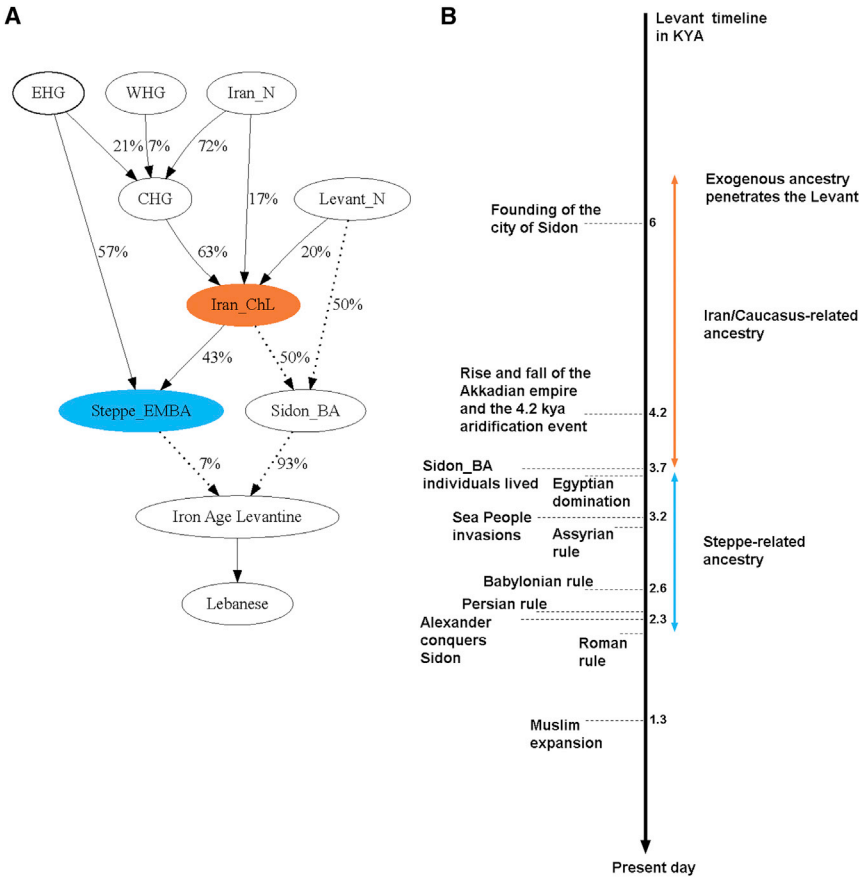

Figure 4. Genetic History of the Levant
(A) A model of population relationships which fits the *qpAdm* results from Lazaridis et al.[13] (solid arrows) and this study (dotted arrows). Percentages on arrows are the inferred admixture proportions.
(B) Levant timeline of historical events with genetically inferred admixture dates shown as colored double-ended arrows with length representing the SE.

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Web Resources

European Genome-phenome Archive (EGA), https://www.ebi.ac.uk/ega
European Nucleotide Archive (ENA), http://www.ebi.ac.uk/ena

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A toponomastic contribution to the linguistic prehistory of the British Isles

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Abstract

It is well known that some of the major island-names of the archipelago consisting politically of the Republic of Ireland, the United Kingdom, and the UK Crown Dependencies are etymologically obscure. In this paper, I present and cautiously analyse a small set of those which remain unexplained or uncertainly explained. It is timely to do this, since in the disciplines of archaeology and genetics there is an emerging consensus that after the last Ice Age the islands were repopulated mainly by people from a refuge on the Iberian peninsula. This opinion is at least superficially compatible with Theo Vennemann's Semitidic and Vasconic hypotheses (e.g. Vennemann 1995), i.e. that languages (a) of the Afroasiatic family, and (b) ancestral to Basque, are important contributors to the lexical and onomastic stock of certain European languages. The unexplained or ill-explained island names form a small set, but large enough to make it worthwhile to attempt an analysis of their collective linguistic heritage, and therefore to give – or fail to give – preliminary support to a particular hypothesis about their origin.*

* This paper is a development of one read at the 23rd International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, Toronto, 17-22 August 2008, and I am grateful to the editors of the *Proceedings* (2009), Wolfgang Ahrens, Sheila Embleton, and André Lapierre, for permission to re-use some material. A version was also read at the Second Conference on the Early Medieval Toponymy of Ireland and Scotland, Queen's University Belfast, 13 November 2009. It also covers a small part of the ground of my unpublished paper, "On a recent view of the linguistic prehistory of Europe", read at the Linguistics Association of Great Britain conference, University of Sussex, Brighton, April 1996. I am grateful for magnanimous comment on the ideas by Theo Vennemann, given in the face of nearly twenty years of scepticism on my part about his broader theses. I am indebted and grateful to Paul Tempan for sight of two pre-publication articles of his, on the discovery that we are working with similar ideas, and for his help with obtaining, understanding and evaluating certain Irish sources; and also to George Broderick, both for sight of work which was at that point

unpublished and for comments. Further valuable comments were made by a *Nomina* reviewer. Thanks are also due to Tony Oliver for permission to use his image of a Totronald Stone.

Introduction

This is a philological paper about some of the earliest linguistic evidence for human habitation in the British Isles. Its theme has not been thought up as a plank in an argument for some preconceived theory of settlement history, though its implications for (pre)history must be addressed in due course when the philology has been allowed to speak for itself. The data consists principally of island names without any obvious or any firmly established etymology, and analysis of these is followed by a short foray into the topographical vocabulary of the Celtic languages. The paper does not embody a claim that all mysterious material must come from a single linguistic source; and not all mysterious island-names have been dealt with. There is no discussion of, for example, *Rathlin* (Mac Gabhann 1997: 282) or *Achill (Acaill)*, *Wight* (Romano-British *Vectis*; Rivet and Smith 1979: 487-9), *Bass (Rock)*, *Skye* (Romano-British *Scitis*; Rivet and Smith 1979: 452), *Lewis* or *Fetlar*, the first element of *Shetland* (earlier *Hetland*; Jakobsen 1936: 127-8) or Adomnán's *Sainea (insula)* (Watson 1926: 91), all examples of names arguably not originally formed in any of the historic languages of the British Isles or at any rate not fully understood, but about whose origin the drift of this paper implies no particular claim. The article may be controversial.

The stimulus from other disciplines

Whilst this paper has not been conceived in support of any particular theory of settlement history, we need to present as a backdrop the state of current beliefs about population movements in those remote times. The history of scholarship in this area, and about possible non-Indo-European aspects of Celtic, has recently been the subject of wide-ranging survey papers by McCone (2005) and Broderick (2010); what appears below was written independently of both, and prior to sight of either, but some points in relation to which they are specifically mentioned have been incorporated since the initial draft.

It is commonly accepted that the final glacial advance of the last Ice Age (so far) in the British Isles was during the very cold event called the Younger Dryas (Oppenheimer 2006: 151-155). This was the culmination of the Devensian (in the Alps called the Würm) glaciation, about 12,800-11,500 years before the present and therefore ending by about 9,500-9,000 B.C.E. The glaciers of the Loch Lomond Readvance covered much of southern Scotland and northern England and left the remainder of Britain and Ireland under cold desert or tundra conditions, along with the

exposed floor of what is now the North Sea (Coles 1998; Gaffney *et al.* 2007). At this period, the region now occupied by the islands is believed to have been uninhabited, though the area is known to have been peopled previously, at various times in the Upper Palaeolithic before the Loch Lomond event, e.g. by people bearing the Creswellian culture. These earlier, pre-glaciation, inhabitations are assumed to be of no relevance for the present work.

Stephen Oppenheimer (2006) presents a synthesis of convincing genetic evidence that, after the Younger Dryas, Britain and Ireland were resettled by modern humans mainly emerging from the Ice Age refuge of the Iberian peninsula from about 10,000 years ago onwards. These people(s) had a Mesolithic material culture. Oppenheimer's view is consistent with the archaeological evidence adduced by Barry Cunliffe (1997; 2001), which is interpreted as showing that a succession of material cultures, including those of the Neolithic megalith-erectors responsible for monuments in Brittany and the islands such as Carnac, the menhir of Er Grah (Locmariaquer), Newgrange, Callanish, Avebury, and Stonehenge, spread up from the south along the Atlantic coast to the British Isles. The route may have been maritime or terrestrial, and what alternatives were available depends on the date. We know that the land-bridge joining Britain to the continent was not finally broken till about 6,500 B.C.E. Before that, people and their artefacts could have arrived by either land or sea, and after that only by sea. No position is taken here on Oppenheimer's other claim that there was an influx of people from the east during this period, though in my view there is no linguistic evidence to support it.

Those who headed north as Europe warmed up must have spoken some language or languages. We have no historical knowledge of this period, of course, but we do have some archaeological knowledge of the languages written in the Iberian peninsula before the beginning of the Roman empire (fully set out in Untermann 2001), and that knowledge may act as a proxy for an understanding of the local cultures of the first millennium B.C.E. Some linguists group together these mostly poorly-evidenced and incompletely-understood languages, Tartessian,[1] Iberian, Lusitanian, and Celtiberian (of which the second may have been, and the fourth was, Celtic) as *Palaeohispanic*, a term intended to exclude the late-arriving colonial and economic languages, namely Punic, Greek and Latin. It has been suggested elsewhere (Coates 2009) that the relatively little which is known about the Palaeohispanic languages and about their contemporary, Aquitanian (effectively the ancestor of Basque), offers no insight into the toponomastic prehistory of the British Isles, and all of these languages can therefore be regarded as irrelevant here except insofar as any of them might have been directly ancestral to Insular Celtic. It is interesting that the existence of Celtiberian is consistent with ancient Irish stories in *Lebor Gabála Érenn* 'Book of the Taking of Ireland' ("books" 2 and 8) about Gaelic migration from Iberia, the so-called "Milesian" invasion (McAlister 1938-56; on the relevant archaeology see Cunliffe 1997: ch. 7), though it is debatable what the linguistic impact of an invasion of male warriors might have been (as also observed by Mac Eoin 2007: 117). Direct migration

from Iberia to Ireland is also indicated by a recent ~~archaeological~~ study of edible snail populations (Grindon and Davison 2013), and there are other such biological hints.

Iberia was also home to the colonial and economic languages mentioned above, in the centuries immediately before and after the turn of the first millennium C.E.:

> **North-West Semitic** (NWSem; represented by Late Phoenician, in the form of Punic), in some colonies of Carthage, e.g. Cartagena, Ibiza, Málaga, and Cádiz, on Mediterranean coasts; inscriptions are found even after the year zero, e.g. on coins (Jiménez Díez, forthcoming)
>
> **Ancient Greek**, in some colonies on the Mediterranean coast, e.g. Ampurias, Hemeroskopeion (?Alicante), and Zakynthos (Zakantha; Sagunto)
>
> **Latin**, which eventually occupied almost the whole of Iberia

These languages may open explanatory possibilities where Palaeohispanic and Aquitanian do not.

An insistent question underlying all discussions of the linguistic prehistory of the islands is whether any pre-Celtic language(s) were Indo-European or not. There is little prospect of deriving any relevant information from historical sources as such (as opposed to linguistic forms in those sources). But compensating inferences may also be made from toponymy, in the broadest sense. Most scholars accept that the ancient river-nomenclature of the islands includes a strong Indo-European component which Nicolaisen (2001), following Krahe (1963), calls "Old European", and this component is further analysed by Kitson (1996). Most scholars also accept that most, if not all, of pre-Roman Britain and Ireland spoke some variety of Celtic (*pace* Oppenheimer 2006: ch. 7; for a still-controversial variant of the standard view which does not affect the prehistoric period under discussion here, see Schrijver 2007). It is still uncertain whether all the evidence for Pictish indicates that it was a Celtic language or not (for a survey, see Forsyth 1997). There are certainly non-Celtic or doubtfully Celtic place-names recorded from (especially) northern Scotland (Nicolaisen 2001: ch. 9, esp. 244-245), but whether these might usefully be called Pictish or not is a controversial and for the present unproductive matter.

A pivotal rhetorical role in discussions of prehistory is sometimes accorded to Ivernian or Ivernic, said to have been spoken in Ireland well into historic times and alluded to in Cormac's glossary (*Sanas Cormaic*, 9th/10th century: Meyer 1912; Russell 1988), but this language is not fully recorded and it is evidenced only as a vocabulary source for a formal register of Old Irish. It may have been a P-Celtic language, according to recent thinking, and it cannot safely be concluded that it was non-Celtic. Some scholars of Irish have recently allowed the possibility of the existence of pre-Celtic languages in Ireland, contributing to toponymy, without

conceding explicitly that some particular non-Indo-European language might be involved (e.g. Mac Eoin 2007; De Bernardo Stempel 2007: 138; Tempan 2008b).

It has been known from the earliest times that speakers of Palaeohispanic, Aquitanian, and the languages mentioned in bold type above, which I will collectively call "Southern", could have had an economic incentive to travel as far as the British Isles. That incentive consisted of metal ores, and with varying degrees of probability they may have taken it up. Latin-speakers were simply the last of the line. Greeks from Massilia visited the islands perhaps in the sixth century B.C.E. (an anonymous sailor, as reported by Avienus, though that has been challenged by Hawkes 1977: 17-25), and in the fourth century B.C.E. (Pytheas, as reported somewhat sceptically by Strabo, Pliny and Polybius).[2] The fourth-century historian Ephorus has also left an account of Iberia and the Celtic lands to us, largely copied by Diodorus Siculus,[3] and Hawkes thinks Ephorus, rather than the Massiliote sailor, may have transmitted certain Insular names to the Greeks. Strabo (*Geography* 3.5.11) says that the Phoenicians used British tin and did commerce with the Cassiterides islands (whose location is controversial but has often been claimed to be Scilly). But using British tin does not necessarily mean that they ever came to Britain; it could have been traded overland by intermediaries in Gaul or Iberia. However, in Elizabethan times, the schoolmaster and antiquarian John Twyne (1590) suggested that Phoenician/Punic tin-speculators had indeed reached Britain, bringing the coracle with them. Twyne's biographer calls this "a notion that beguiled much later generations" (Martin 2004). Whilst there is no archaeological or epigraphic evidence for such a visit, actual colonization is taken as a given by Vennemann (2006: 356-357 and n. 40), and a visitation is not inherently implausible. After all, these great seafarers left the Mediterranean to explore the west coast of Africa, possibly at least as far as modern Sierra Leone (Heidelberg University MS. Codex Heidelbergensis 398, folios 55r-56r; see Harden 1971: 163-168), and there is no reason why they could not have turned to starboard at the Straits of Gibraltar instead and hugged the coast of the Bay of Biscay.

In a conceptually related claim, Vennemann (1998b) has suggested that the ancient name of Ireland *Ivernia/Hibernia* derives from Proto-Semitic **'i: weriju:* 'island of copper' (or in his preferred notation $^{+'}$*y-wr'*(*m*); note, however, that Orel and Stolbova (1994: *s.v.*) reconstruct the NWSem root in a metathetic form as **'ariw*-). His argument is presumably meant to recall the Bronze Age copper mines at Allihies, Co. Cork, though despite this possible factual foundation it has not won wide acceptance. Schrijver's cautious derivation of the name (1995: 288) is the latest in a line tracing it ultimately to P[roto-]I[ndo-]E[uropean] **piHwerjon*- 'fat (land)' or similar, and this still seems to be the widely preferred solution, despite some acknowledged unclarity ("A P[roto-]C[e]l[tic] or PIE origin of the formation is uncertain[.]"). Broderick (2009: 165-166) broadly supports Vennemann's idea, and we return to the question below under heading 12.

If there is any substance in the theory that the British Isles were resettled from Iberia after the Younger Dryas, possibly as a chained population movement also driven by the intensifying desertification of North Africa, then our knowledge of these "Southern" languages represents the only hope of being able to offer any linguistic support to any settlement hypothesis arising from the joint venture involving population genetics, archaeology and Irish mythology. Looking for points of systematic resemblance between Insular Celtic and "Southern" would be well motivated in the light of these recent advances. We could (as scholars have done since Rhŷs 1890) look for "Southern" traces in the most problematic grammar and vocabulary of the Celtic languages, i.e. that which has been identified as uncertainly Indo-European (as others have done, unsuccessfully, for a relation between Basque and Celtic; Trask 1997: esp. 368-372); and we could look for links between Iberia and the British Isles starting with the most obscure surviving toponyms in the islands. In this paper we will focus on the toponymic task, but the parallel lexical task will not prove irrelevant; nothing much will be said about grammar, because that is beyond the self-imposed brief.

The toponymic task has been attempted directly by Adams (1980, incorporating earlier work, and ranging more widely than names), and in relation first to one name by Coates (1988b) and then to others also by Coates (2009). A major contributor has also been Theo Vennemann (in many articles cited in this paper), as part of his wider project to establish the existence of a "Semitidic" substrate not only in the Insular languages but also in others elsewhere in Europe. Methodologically, as regards our approach to individual names, the work of Vennemann and myself is similar, but we differ in that I do not find myself able to subscribe to his substrate hypothesis, and we also differ about the interpretation of certain names. The toponymic task has been attempted indirectly by others who have cleared the ground by identifying those toponyms which do not appear to have a Celtic, or an Indo-European, origin without proposing an actual source (De Bernardo Stempel 2000; Parsons 2000; Sims-Williams 2000; Isaac 2005).

The toponymic task can be performed in two ways. We could look at the available evidence of the "Southern" languages (Latin and Greek having already been trawled as far as is reasonable, leaving us with Palaeohispanic and Punic, and possibly others beyond Iberia, a possibility which we do not take into account here) and see whether there is anything that illuminates the most problematic place-names; or we could look at the most problematic place-names and see whether anything reminds us of the minimal "Southern" evidence. In practice, we could do these simple-minded tasks at the same time. But doing them is methodologically problematic: the evidence base at both ends of the task is so small and so semantically restricted that we are unlikely to discover anything systematic, and we are open to the dangers of theorizing on the basis of unsystematizable individual snippets of data. We also need to bear in mind the probability of unknown linguistic changes in the relevant languages between the records of texts and names at different times. Something is known about the history of

Aquitanian/Basque (Michelena 1964 and subsequent work; Trask 1997), Punic (Krahmalkov 2000, 2001 [Latino-Punic especially]; Jongeling and Kerr 2005; Jongeling 2008) and of course Greek and Latin, and a fair amount about Continental Celtic (Eska and Evans 1993; Sims-Williams 2006); nothing is known of the development of the other, Palaeohispanic, languages which we have in any case discarded. We need to bear in mind the risk of the obliteration of some sorts of evidence, especially phonological, when a name is adopted and adapted by speakers of another language, meaning here the processes of celticization. The additional risk of distortion because of completely normal folk-etymological, or analogical lexical or morphological, pressures is constantly present.[4]

We could conclude straight away that we are looking for needles in a haystack even though we are unsure exactly what needles look like and suspect that the haystack contains a few things which look a bit like what needles might look like. It would be foolish to expect anything more than some possibilities to emerge from the present paper, and I do not want to raise expectations. We will be dealing with similarities, in the interpretation of which we risk an excessively naïve account of the little data we have. But it is a task worth doing. If another discipline (here, genetics, backed to some degree by archaeology, history and mythology) produces a serious hypothesis with linguistic implications, then linguists are right to see what light they can shed on the problem. And our own discipline, independently of the findings in genetics, has come up with a serious proposal: as we have seen, Vennemann has proposed in a long series of articles that the vocabulary of northern European languages has both a Semitic-like ("Semitidic") and a Basque-like ("Vasconic") strand.[5] Vennemann's hypothesis (as set out for example in his 1995 and 1998a papers) is at least superficially compatible with aspects of the story told by genetics, archaeology and Celtic mythology. It is against the background of this *prima facie* possibility that I want to explore possible Insular-"Southern" relations.[6]

In this paper, I discuss evidence from one category of names in Britain and Ireland – island-names – that has proved resistant to analysis or controversial. No other single group of names offers so much dark material as a proportion of the total dataset, though I shall mention other names from time to time, and strike off in a new but related direction at the end. A complete onomastic analysis would deal also with unexplained or unsatisfactorily explained river-names (*Humber*, *Severn*, *Farrar*, *Ness*) and personal names and ethnonyms (*Partholón*, *Deirdriu/-e*, *Prasutagus*; *Erdinoi*, *Gangani*, *Silures*, *Iceni*) in the early Irish and Romano-British (RB) record, whether we agree with Nicolaisen or not that some of these may ultimately be non-Celtic Indo-European; and we should also be prepared to consider whether historically unexplained lexical items in Celtic can be etymologized from a "Southern" perspective, a matter to be approached later. But let us start with island-names as a finite and well-defined category.

The Island Mysteries

There are two small sets of difficult island-names each sharing similarities, and these are of particular methodological interest in a study where too much may easily be read into a single name. Here, the default strategy of previous investigators has been to attempt an explanation in terms of known elements in known languages, and that is of course perfectly reasonable: it respects the evidence as we have it. It does not always produce a credible solution, but sometimes it does. The relevance of this section containing datasets 1. and 2. might not be readily apparent after reading, so I justify it here: I have included it as a demonstration that the eventual conclusion of this paper is not based on an attempt to see evidence supporting it in an entire fleet of names, come what may; also as a demonstration that even some of the most difficult names are probably Indo-European; and as a warning that the conclusion is, in the absence of convincingly non-IE patterns in the dataset, necessarily based on the interpretation of a collection of individual names rather than clusters.

1. *Man* and *Môn* (the Welsh name of Anglesey)

We need to examine these names in the present context because of Vennemann's (e.g. 1993: 460-8; 1995) attention to a supposed Vasconic root seen in Basque *mu(i)no* 'hill' and *muna* 'slope, bank' appearing in many European place-names. These words are, however, likely to be Romance borrowings in Basque (Trask 1997: 367, following Corominas and Pascual 1984-91, who propose a Romance stem **bunn-*, later developing an initial nasal by anticipatory assimilation; Trask: 140), and if that is the case Vennemann's suggestion that these words may appear in a number of Vasconic place-names in Europe is fatally compromised.[7]

Man and *Môn* have often been confused, partly for phonological and orthographic reasons and partly because the islands share the Irish Sea with each other. Despite massive orthographic variation in the sources, philology demands that *Man* be referred to a British **Manaw(j)ā* (see Rivet and Smith 1979: 410 for a summary of discussion up to that date). Such a form may also be responsible for the name *Manaw Gododdin (Manau Guotodin)*, an early-recorded district at the head of the Firth of Forth, and for Irish names of the type *Mano* (Loth 1934). There seems no reason to give credit to Pliny's unique spelling *Monapia*. Rivet and Smith refer **Manaw(j)ā* to a root meaning 'high'. It might be cognate with the root of British **monijo-* 'upland' which may also be seen in *Mona*, *Môn*; De Bernardo Stempel (2007: 158) actually suggests that the name of Man means 'the one related to Mona [i.e. Anglesey]'. The relation might be underpinned by the well-evidenced change of [o] to [a] before a resonant consonant when followed by another [a] (Schrijver 1995: 94-97), and if that is right then the name is Celtic, specifically Brittonic. Rivet and Smith cite continental analogues. Broderick (2006: xi) offers a more cautious "Indo-European" suggestion involving the root **men-* 'rise', and Hamp (2003) suggests more specifically for Anglesey **mon-ā* 'the high one'. These three ideas are compatible (though in part

curious, since Anglesey is not literally high at all; presumably Holyhead Mountain /Mynydd Tŵr on adjacent Holy Island, intervisible with Man, was meant).

> Verdict: *Man* and *Môn* are probably Celtic, and almost certainly Indo-European even if not Celtic. *Môn* may be British of an archaic (derivational-) suffixless morphological type. No relevant root is known in the Palaeohispanic languages. Indeed neither Iberian nor Aquitanian/Proto-Basque has root-initial */m/, and their prehistoric forms would therefore be incapable of transmitting lexemes beginning with /m/ to other languages.

2. *Eilean Arainn* (Isle of Arran) in historic Buteshire, Scotland, an old dative form where the *-n* is part of the inflectional suffix
   Oileáin Árann (Aran Islands) in Co. Galway, Ireland; base name of the largest island: *Árainn*
   Árainn Mhór officially, earlier simply *Árainn* (Arranmore) in Co. Donegal, Ireland

   In forthcoming work, Paul Tempan identifies other possible instances and lists earlier published views on their origin.

It is very tempting to associate these three island-names with each other, despite the short vowel in first syllable of the Scottish name as opposed to the long vowel in the two Irish ones. Flanagan and Flanagan (1994: 17) suggest, using a rather careful wording, that the two Irish names embody Irish *árainn* 'ridge'. Watson (1926: 87) suggests Irish *áru* 'kidney' for Arranmore in Donegal, citing its shape. The eye of faith could no doubt see reason for both suggestions, but neither 'kidney' nor 'ridge' is wholly convincing for the Donegal name, and a view from a very high-flying bird's eye is needed before the island in Bute appears kidney-like. Watson adduces some Welsh names with a historic short vowel, of which one is that of a river, one is applied to two adjacent hills, and one with a diminutive suffix is again a pair of adjacent hills. Owen and Morgan (2007: 17-18) are confident that the hill-names can be derived from a diminutive form *aran* 'little ridge' (like others mentioned by Thomas 1938: 180); *Arenig* would contain therefore a double diminutive. The variety of topographical applications is troublesome, as is the phonological disparity. 'Ridge' is arguably suitable for Aran and the hill-names in Wales, and a generalized 'elevation' word would suit Arranmore, as this stylized representation from the island's publicity machine (arainnmhor.com/Arainn_Mhor_Island/Welcome.html) suggests:

An etymological long vowel is compatible with the Irish names but not the Bute *Arran* and the Welsh hill-names.

> Verdict: no single solution seems possible, and the origin of all these names is best left an open matter. Purely (or implicitly) Celtic solutions have been proposed, notably by Ó Móghráin (1944), and also by Ó Máille (1957); Fraser (1992: 9-12) is non-committal. The material does not appear to offer any support for a "Southern" origin.

Island names in a Semitic perspective

Those two name-groups were examined first as the best candidate *groups* for offering possible interpretations of a non-Celtic type.[8] The result was negative, and in the absence of other such groups we are now methodologically compelled to examine singletons, individual island-names which might hold out some promise of revealing their origins through a "Southern" magnifying-glass. What might give us some preliminary confidence that this is worth doing, after the setback of 1. and 2.?

3. *Uist*

Over twenty years ago, I suggested in a short paper (Coates 1988b) that there might be an etymological link between *Ibiza* in the Balearic Islands (Catalan *Eivissa*; *Ebusos* in Manilius and Pliny and *Ebousos* in Didorus Siculus) and the two nearly adjacent Hebridean islands called North and South *Uist* (Scottish Gaelic *Uibhist*, /'iβiʃtʲ/, with characteristic initial stress). I followed Hübner in the first edition of *Pauly-Wissowas Real-Encyklopädie* (1905) in proposing that *Ibiza* represented a Semitic name possibly meaning 'island of some fragrant plant, e.g. balsam or pine' (cf. the Proto-Semitic root **bšm* 'balsam' (Jongeling 2008: 315, 386) and the island-word **'y* mentioned at several points below (Jongeling 382).[9] I suggested that *Uist* had the same origin (not ruling out the possibility of transfer, i.e. naming-after), and that it gained its modern final /t/ under analogical influence from Old Norse *ívist* 'inner dwelling', this form actually being on record (as *Iuist* in *Orkneyinga saga*; Pálsson and Edwards 1978) as the Scandinavian name of the islands.[10] Armed with this hint of a "Southern" origin (to put it no more strongly than that), we shall look closely at some of the remaining obscure names.

It needs to be made very clear what assumptions are being made about the language(s) adduced for comparison with the island-names. I shall use the term *Proto-Semitic* [PrSem] as a way of characterizing lexical roots without suggesting that the names discussed must go back literally to the date when reconstructed Proto-Semitic was a spoken language. More specifically, the term should be understood, as the default, as meaning the branch consisting of the daughter language, reconstructed Proto-North-West-Semitic [NWSem] and its attested descendants Phoenician and Punic, and understood to be non-dogmatic about the morphology of forms cited where no more

detailed hypothetical word-structure is proposed. Where a Semitic element is mentioned as being potentially etymologically relevant, it should be assumed without further qualification, if none is given, that the argument depends on whatever phonological form that element had in one or other of these North-West Semitic languages, even where that form is not available to scholarship; and of course therefore, if we can be sure that some element was absent from (not merely unrecorded in) NWSem, any argument based on it falls by the wayside. I am well aware that lack of specificity about morphology could lead us into the potentially sterile territory of root-etymology, overlapping the zone characterized by Voltaire's famous (if apocryphal; Considine 2009) jibe about consonants counting for very little in etymology and vowels for nothing, but I take the risk of presenting a set of data whose cumulative rather than item-by-item relevance can be assessed, reducing the risk of a false positive but not eliminating it.[11]

4. *Iona*

Iona (more correctly *Ioua*; Old Irish *Í*, sometimes spelt with a decorative initial <H>), site of the sixth-century monastic foundation of Columba at the south-western tip of Mull in the Inner Hebrides, has a name of unknown origin. It can scarcely mean 'yew' as Watson (1926: 89) suggests, unless the name was copied from elsewhere; there is no evidence on this well-excavated island for yew at any period, and it has always been notoriously barren. Sauren (2005) documents an epigraphically well attested Punic word, the most usual variant of whose base-form he analyses as *'y*, meaning 'island, isolated place'. Sauren notes that the word appears in royal correspondence of Rib-Addad from the Phoenician city of Byblos as *iw* (2005: 279-280, quoting the form from Moran *et al.* 1987; morphology unclear to me), which if it authentically represents PrSem brings us somewhat closer to the name of Iona as known to history.

Although there is little indeed to go on phonetically, it is not beyond possibility that this root is what is represented in *Ioua*: 'the island *(par excellence)*'. If the form *Ioua* contains, morpholexically speaking, more than *Í* does, rather than simply a now-silenced root-integral /w/, then perhaps it is a lost second element. In several places, Vennemann has suggested other island-name etymologies with the structure PrSem **'y + xxx*, i.e. with a generic-first structure, which does not appear to be *a priori* unreasonable, whether eventually shown to be correct or not.[12] A risk to be aware of is that of projecting the religious pre-eminence of the island back into pre-Columban times as justification for a simplex name applied *par excellence*; but then St Columba may have chosen (or have been granted) the island precisely because of some earlier sanctity.

5. *Seil*

An island called *Sóil* is recorded in the Irish *Book of Leinster* (Watson 1926: 41). This is generally acknowledged to be the one called in modern Gaelic *Saoil* (English *Seil*),

in the Inner Hebrides. No etymology has been proposed, as far as I know, but it seems worth comparing the ancestor of Arabic *sāḥil* 'coast', PrSem root **šḥl*, with the well-known specifically NWSem rounding of *[a:] responsible for the Irish form, perhaps with the diphthong created by consonantal elision ultimately identified with OIr <ói> from PIE **ai*. This is not as fanciful or redundant, semantically, as it might sound; Seil is the closest of all the Inner Hebrides to the mainland, and it is linked to it by Clachan Bridge (built in 1792-3), which the local tourist office claimed, until the opening of the Skye Bridge in 1995, to be the only bridge in the world over the Atlantic Ocean (as illustrated below). A name meaning 'coast island' is hardly unreasonable in the circumstances.

Clachan Bridge

The Atlantic Ocean from Clachan Bridge

Source: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clachan_Bridge

6. *Islay*

The name *Islay* in the Inner Hebrides is of doubtful Celticity (see Watson 1926: 86-7, who offers some problematic comparisons). It appears as *Ile* or *Ila* in ancient Irish literature, as *Ilea insula* in Latin, and in modern Gaelic it is *Eilean Ìleach*. Here, too, with only a single consonant to play with, there is little to go on. One might consider the unexplained name of the ancient town of *Ilipa* near Seville in Tartessian territory, suggesting that the *-ip-* in this might represent the only securely identified suffix in that language, and that we are therefore dealing with a root of the form **il-* in both cases; but there is no strong reason to do so. Let us take into account the notable and ancient European propensity to regard lands and islands in the west – real or otherwise – as sacred in one way or another (e.g. Elysium; Plutarch's Fortunate Isles; the Celtic Otherworld represented by Tír na nÓg, Mag Mell and Annwfn; Avalon; Diodorus Siculus's Hyperborea; Scilly; Anglesey; Blasket; the cemetery islands *(reilig)* in the Bristol Channel), and observe that Islay is the westernmost in its sector of the Inner Hebrides. Following through the hints of Semitic naming above, we should therefore not rule out a connection with the root of the divine word or name seen in Phoenician *'l*. The second syllable in the modern name might be attributable to an extended form of this root comparable to those seen in Hebrew *'Eloah*, Biblical Aramaic *'Ĕlāhā* and Arabic *Aḷḷāh* (< PrSem **al-'ilāh*) 'the god, God', reduced in the absence of stress in Gaelic and therefore different in outcome from that of the stressed

*/a:/ argued to be possible in the case of Seil. Maybe here too we have survival of the generic **'y* in initial position, and merger of the adjacent similar vowels, thus 'island of the god'.

7. *Mull*

Mull is probably recorded in the *Ravenna Cosmography* as *Malaia*, and in Ptolemy's *Geography* as *Maleos*. Watson (1926: 38) gives a convincing phonological account of the development of the modern form in Gaelic, *Muile*, and thus English *Mull*, from some such form. He offers a Celtic etymology from a root meaning 'praise', backed by a rather strained metaphorical speculation about an application of this root in the sense 'lofty'. De Bernardo Stempel (2007: 153) suggests the meaning is 'the evil one' (< presumed Common Celtic **mḷ-yo-s*), which is formally acceptable, but she offers no motivation. If these suggestions are considered semantically somewhat contrived or undeveloped, it is worth reserving consideration for the PrSem **mlḥ* 'salt': cf. Hebrew *mallûaḥ,* a salt-marsh plant (?marsh *mallow*, to which this word is evidently related through Latin *malva*; perhaps Ptolemy's form, and indeed Ravennas's, is for earlier Greek **Malewos*). Whilst Mull is not archaeologically known for sea-salt production, it certainly has saltmarsh (Gillham 1957), which is the prerequisite for the industry. Several such marshes on Mull are mapped by Burd (1989), though none is a large one, and the presence of small areas of saltmarsh in the Western Isles is not unusual.

We should not overlook the phonologically interesting PrSem root reconstructed by Orel and Stolbova (1994) as **malaw-* 'desert', but its credibility here depends on what sorts of agriculturally useless terrain the term could denote at the relevant period, and in what areas.

8. *Scilly*

It has been suggested by Rivet and Smith (1979: 459) and Thomas (1985) that *Scilly* could be related to that of the deity *Sūlis* commemorated in *Aquae Sulis* (Bath), but the Classical sources are united in showing <i> in the initial syllable, and this <i> is too early to reflect the Brittonic change of [u:] > [i:]. Vennemann (1999a: 40-2) has proposed instead that this name, which has a very diverse and inconclusive record of spellings, might be compared with a PrSem root "**s-l-*" meaning 'rock, cliff', as seen in Hebrew *sela'* (cf. Orel and Stolbova 1994: **sulVḥ-* 'wall'; Militarev 2006: entry 1347, PrSem **šalḥ/*šulḥ-* 'wall').[13] With mean sea level in the Western Approaches as it is at present, Scilly has plenty of rocks, but not much notable cliff except on the northern fringe. Some time ago, when considering the name of The Solent (Coates 1988a), I evaluated some of the same evidence without finally coming to this conclusion. But once we have taken the step of deciding to examine evidence suggesting the presence of PrSem more inclusively, we should not rule out this possibility *a priori* for *Scilly*. If the idea is valid, the name could be that of the

prehistoric single island out of which most of the islands of the present archipelago have evolved, originally denoting its most striking feature, namely the now barrow-clad lowish hills which end in the cliffs of the northern coasts of the most northerly islands in the group, Bryher, Tresco, and St Helen's.

We should not overlook that the name of the Punic site known to the Romans as *Zilis*, *'šlyt* (Jongeling 2008: 319), modern Asilah, Morocco, with possibly suffixal *-t*, offers a parallel which is perhaps formally even more acceptable because of the universal front vowel in the record in the first syllable. Solá-Solé (1958: 11) suggested that the correct reading is in fact *'slyt*. This name has been interpreted as 'fishery'.

9. *Ebudae (Hebrides)*

In the same article (1999a: 46), Vennemann also suggests a PrSem origin for the ancient name of (some of) the Hebrides *(Ebudae)*, involving the plural of the generic **'y* we have seen previously (**'yym*[14]) and a specifier related to one of two PrSem roots of the form **phd*, namely 'lamb' and 'fear'.[15] He avoids the difficulty of the general loss of prehistoric */p/ in the borrowing Celtic languages by proposing that */m-p/ is rendered by Ancient Greek <β>, and that a reflex of this is what surfaces in the attested forms. This seems to rely heavily on the inverse analogy of Modern Greek spelling conventions, where /b/ is rendered <μπ>, and for me it undermines the proposal. Formally, the same result could be got by taking the /b/ to result from a generalized early Old Irish eclipsis (prehistoric nasalization resulting in voicing), but that depends on the idea that when Gaelic speakers encountered the Hebrides they retained an initial /p/ in the local name which followed the plural generic, and treated it morphophonemically in a way analogous to native words with initial /t/ and /k/. But this is chronologically impossible, since *Ebudae* is recorded long before eclipsis (5th-6th centuries C.E.) could have affected the name. It is clearly semantically and toponomastically attractive to consider a possibility including a word for 'lamb', viewed in the light of the various Scandinavian 'sheep islands' of the north and west, such as the *Faroes*, *Fair Isle*, and more than one *Soay* and *Lambay*, the Gaelic *Eilean nan Caorach* 'island of sheep' in Durness, Sutherland, and the English *Sheppey* in Kent, not to mention a number of island allusions to goats.[16] But if *Ebudae* is evidence for such an etymology, the <b> needs to be accounted for within PrSem, or by simple Greek sound-substitution of [b] for PrSem *[p], and the jury is out.[17]

De Bernardo Stempel (2007: 155) suggests instead that the name is a modification of *Epidion*, an island-name in Ptolemy's *Geography*, but like Vennemann she has to resort to the unmotivated early phonetic development [p] > [b] (i.e. not a process akin to systematic early Brittonic lenition) to account for it.

10. *Thanet*

Vennemann (2006) explores the possibility of a PrSem origin for *Thanet*, at the north-eastern tip of Kent. I previously noted (Coates 2000: 32-39) that such a possibility was suggested in the past (Henning 1925), but did not pursue it, in a paper whose main topic was the alternative recorded name for Thanet, *Ruoihin* or the like, and in that paper I also argued against previously-suggested Celtic etymologies. Vennemann's more detailed work on this suggests that I may have missed an opportunity. He concludes that the name enshrines that of the Phoenician goddess Tinnit (Jongeling 2008: 379) with the name vocalized in the traditional way as *Tanit*, and offers analogies for the appearance of her name in an island-name and without a generic, citing Coates (2000: 35) for some philological detail. He suggests that the now widely accepted reconstructed form *Tinnit* may be related to an earlier form vocalized like *Tanit* by regressive vowel-assimilation, and cites analogues. He quotes Krahmalkov (2001: 35-36) as saying that "[p]retonic reduction was characteristic of the construct noun", though without saying how plausible it would be for the name of a goddess to appear in the construct state (i.e. approximately as the "possessed", like *top* in the phrase *the top of the mountain*). Bearing in mind that the name of the Assyrian analogue goddess appears in Greek as *Tanaïs*, he feels confident in asserting that the relevant etymological vowel in the Punic name is <a>, and that this is what appears in the name of Thanet.[18] The word for 'island', *ʾy*, already noted elsewhere, remains implicit in the attested forms. He cites parallel theophoric island-names elsewhere in the Punic world.

11. *Sark*

In work on the ancient names of the Channel Islands (Coates 1991: 73-76), I regarded the ultimate source of *Sark* as unknown. But its early attestations suggest a root which could be rendered in documentary Latin as **Sarg*-. One might compare the PrSem verbal root **śrq* 'redden; rise (as of the sun); east' (cf. Modern Arabic *šarq* 'east'). Sark is the easternmost, and outermost, island of the geological group of which Guernsey is the largest.

12. *Éire*[19] and *Britain*

Probably the most tantalizing pair of island-names in this selection is the one consisting of those of the two main islands in the archipelago. They may indeed be a pair rather than a random twosome. In the face of the fact that there is no universally agreed Celtic interpretation (also Broderick 2009: 153-154, 157-158), Vennemann (1998b) proposes that the ancient name of Ireland *Ivernia/Hibernia* derives from PrSem **ʾi: weriju:* 'island of copper' (or in his preferred notation $^{+}$*y-wr'*(*m*), though note that this Semitic term appears to be Akkadian only (PrSem **w/ʔVrVw/y*-; Militarev 2006: entry 1427)). Broderick (2009: 160) recalls that Kurt Sethe, in a note in Schulten (1950), suggested a relation between transliterated Coptic *πίθραν* 'tin' and at least one variant of the traditional name of Britain (*Prydan*, presumably meaning

the British stem **Pritan*-, RC). Broderick articulates fully the suggestion that *Britain* is to be interpreted as 'island of tin' in some Hamito-Semitic language (which we label here PrSem). Copper + tin, of course = bronze, which relates directly to one of the main purposes of pre-Iron Age long-distance trade. I do not repeat his argument fully here, but on this basis Broderick suggests that both names may have been Semitic in origin. The most attractive feature of his argument is their semantic congruity: the materials they denote are mutually relevant in a way which makes a shared source more likely. I have only one reservation: namely that, even if **Pritan*- (and more indirectly *Britain*) and *πίθραν* are related, it is impossible to be certain whether Britain bears a name meaning 'tin [place]' of PrSem origin, or whether the Coptic word means 'British [metal]' and is therefore a borrowing from some Insular language. Nonetheless it is clear that Broderick's suggestion should not be casually dismissed.

13. *Bute*

This island-name is discussed in a section devoted to Celtic lexis below.

14. *Thule*

A weak root-etymological possibility to explain the name of this far northern, perhaps imaginary, land, is a connection with PrSem **tl* 'become dark, shaded' (Huehnergard 2000), which could be understood as an obvious reference to the long winter nights emphasized along with long summer days by Pliny the Elder in his *Natural history* (4,16).

Evaluation

I must emphasize again at this point that observations 3.-12. taken together (with or without 13. and 14.) do not amount to a proposal with worked-out ethnological or historical consequences. They are suggestive juxtapositions of some ancient and modern island-names with some ancient roots, in some instances with account taken of their inflected forms. In some of the cases dealt with so far, the morphology of the suggested original name is not fully elucidated. But there are hints of a philologically consistent account. None of the lexical content proposed in these constructions is onomastically outrageous: the denotata suggested are: island, coast, cliff, an aromatic tree, a marsh-plant implying the presence of salt, a compass-point, culturally significant metals, and divine words/names for which river-names derived from Celtic like *Dee* 'goddess' or *Boyne* 'white like a cow' might be adduced as partial analogues. Quite a lot of this content can be tied to geographical or cultural realities, as spelt out in detail above. As regards onomastic elements and syntax, it might be inferred that some of the names originally contained, or still contain a reflex of, a generic elsewhere rendered **'y* 'island' in a head-first structure (*Uist*, *Iona*, *Éire*, and perhaps *Islay*). There are some hints of contact effects in the phonology, though of an

unsurprising kind, given what we know about the segmental inventory of Common Celtic (Lewis and Pedersen 1937: part I), viz. the non-transfer into Celtic (elision) of PrSem *ħ (*Seil* and perhaps *Ebudae*) and PrSem final *h (*Islay*), the substitution of /s/ or /s'/ as appropriate for PrSem *š and *ś (*Seil*, *Sark* and probably *Uist*), and the elimination of a PrSem uvular(ized) consonant in favour of a plain one (*Sark*, perhaps *Thule*). In one name (*Seil*), it is possible to see a rounding of the PrSem vowel */a:/, and in one further case where rounding might be expected, we can suggest that its absence is due to the position of stress in Gaelic (*Islay*). A direction is emerging: with whatever diffidence these onomastic suggestions are put forward, Proto-Semitic at least provides a worthwhile point of comparison for some of the most difficult names in Insular toponymy, and I shall suggest below some further evidence that points in the same direction. The claimed celticity of *Bute* will be reviewed below with the result of allowing it to take its place as 13. above.

Island-names and other non-IE evidence

15. *Coll*

The island of Coll in the Inner Hebrides is recorded twice as *Colosus* in Adomnán's *Life of Columba* (Sharpe 1995; cf. Watson 1926: 84-85). Any form with an intervocalic [s] is a problem to explain in Celtic, and Watson accordingly suggests it might be pre-Celtic, and therefore somehow bypassing the loss of [s] in Celtic. Accepting the danger of identifying this form naïvely with Greek *kolossós* ('giant figure', of uncertain origin, not originally Greek; see most recently Lindner 2003: 107), we should firstly note that, helpfully, an original */ss/ would not disappear in Celtic as a singleton medial */s/ would, and we should secondly by no means rule out the possibility that there could have been a large standing stone of humanoid or at least personifiable shape here, even if now destroyed, as there still are on other Hebridean islands such as North Uist and Lewis. There are at present two medium-sized stones, the Totronald Stones (personified in Gaelic as *Na Sgeulaichean*, 'The Storytellers'), 5' and 6' tall. These underline the possibility of lost earlier stones of such a type even though they are themselves not exactly convincing as human figures (RCAHMS 1980). The actual spelling in Adomnán, with one medial <s>, suggests that this is not a simple instance of an obscure name being associated with a well-known word in the classical tradition and spelt accordingly. It probably does not represent the Latin adjectival suffix *-osus* because Adomnán does not use the form adjectivally in the relevant passage.

One of *Na Sgeulaichean.*
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The name could have been given at any time when *kolossói* were a well-known feature of Hellenic and therefore Mediterranean culture, perhaps, more interestingly, by speakers of an unknown language in which the ancestor of the word was a native term, or one into which the word had been borrowed. That does not rule out Punic transmission. This suggestion leaves the island-name without a generic, but there is no shortage of other islands in the Western Isles whose current names have no apparent (surviving reflex of a) generic term: Seil, Lewis, Rum, Eigg and Mull, for example.

Coll is often, and traditionally, explained as deriving from Gaelic *coll* 'hazel', despite Watson's resistance. It is true that hazel is a component of the native flora of certain islands in the Inner Hebrides (Gilbert 1984; Coppins, Coppins and Quelch 2002), but the modern word alone does not fully explain the form of the name in the *Life of Columba*.

Some wider ramifications: Celtic lexis

It is time to take stock. As noted earlier, there is no evidence for any Palaeohispanic impact on island nomenclature, except to the extent that the "Southern" presence of Q-Celtic Gaelic may itself represent a strand of such evidence if it arrived in the islands from Iberia. We have also seen that the same island nomenclature offers no support at all for Vennemann's Vasconic hypothesis, but Vennemann himself would not expect his Vasconic herdsmen to be involved in the naming of island habitats (personal correspondence, 18/08/2008).[20] A Semitic contribution to toponymy has

been suggested on purely philological grounds. There is some further tantalizing evidence beyond what I have presented here which suggests that a Semitic connection should not be dismissed out of hand, and which tends to make the suggestions above less incredible. Beyond the small fistful of singleton island-names just presented (*Uist*, *Iona*, *Seil*, *Islay*, *Mull*, *Sark*, and perhaps *Scilly*, *Ebudae/Hebrides*, *Thanet*, *Éire* and *Britain*), there are further hints of contact with Semitic, this time in the common topographical and habitative vocabulary of Celtic and other place-names of the Celtic-speaking lands.[21]

The Proto-Celtic **ros-* is semantically problematic, having the meanings 'promontory' and 'moor' (Padel 1985: 199-203). Within Indo-European, a single possible Indic cognate has been suggested (Sanskrit *prasthas* 'plateau', = lit. 'that which stands forth'). But the first of these senses, which seems to be the earlier (in each of Irish, Welsh and Cornish), invites comparison with PrSem **ra'š* also meaning precisely 'headland, promontory', in the specifically NWSem form with a backed, rounded and raised vowel (Phoenician **rōš* 'head, headland'; cf. Jongeling 2008: 405); cf. the note on Seil above whose suggested etymology may call for the same rounding of */a:/ (but here from earlier */a'/).[22] It is conceivable that such a borrowed word may have been influenced by, and merged formally with, a distinct Celtic word having an original short vowel, since the vowel in the 'promontory' word was originally short in Celtic.[23]

Another height-word in Semitic is **rām*[24] as in the modern place-names *Ramat Gan*, Israel, and *Ramallah*, Palestine (PrSem root **rwm*). It has been cautiously suggested that this might be seen in the Cornish place-name *Rame* which may allude to the conspicuous conically-shaped hill on a headland in this parish guarding the entrance to Plymouth Sound, whose modern pronunciation can be explained in terms of local English dialect conditions (Coates 2006: 7-8). The same root might be seen in a vocalically different form in the name of the island of *R(h)um* (recorded in the *Annals of Ulster* ostensibly in 677 in the genitive form *Ruimm*), whose name is not satisfactorily explained. Mac an Tàilleir (2003) is willing to call it "pre-Gaelic" in defiance of a *prima facie* formal case for Gaelic *rùim* 'space' (whose relation to Old Norse [ON] *rúm* 'room, space' is unclear) and of an earlier Indo-European proposal by Stokes, quoted by Watson (1926: 95, n.3). Rum happens to have mountains among the highest anywhere in the Western Isles except the Cuillins group on Skye and Ben More on Mull, including therefore the highest non-Cuillin peak except the latter. (Rum's is Askival, 2664', 812m.) Haswell-Smith (2004: 138-43) agrees that *Rum* is "probably" pre-Celtic, but notes that alternative suggestions have included Old Norse *rúm-øy* 'wide island' (with the generic vanished from the record; not compatible with its appearance in the *Annals of Ulster*) or Gaelic *"ì-dhruim"* 'isle of the ridge' (also falling foul of the spelling in the early record; dismissed already by MacBain 1922: 77). In any case, it is difficult to think of Rum as "wide" since it is mountainous from every angle and has no "width" distinct from its "length": it is subcircular, or in Whitley Stokes's view *rhomb*oid.[25] This configuration also rules out a single

perceptually dominant ridge. I therefore follow Mac an Tàilleir. Perhaps whilst */a:/ may generally give Celtic */o:/ (see Seil above and **ros*-), it is conceivable that it was raised to *[u:] in the borrowing process where an original [w] followed. Paul Tempan suggests in correspondence (26/06/2010) that the name of Ram Head near Ardmore, Co. Waterford, may be analysed in the same way. Its Irish name is *Ceann* or *Carraig an Ráma*, and the final element has no known early forms and no known Irish etymology (Power 1907: 68). The headland is a less dramatic formation than the others mentioned here, to judge by photographs I have seen, but by compensation it is the extreme south-eastern tip of Ireland and therefore a seamark of the greatest conspicuousness and importance.

~~There is a problem with Cornish *tor* 'belly', which seems to appear in place-names referring to hills, like its Welsh counterpart *tor* and the Irish *torr* represented in such place-names as the *Torr*s in Culfeightrin, Co. Antrim (Mac Gabhann 1997: 149-151, 206-207). There is an (originally dialectal) English word *tor* applied to rocky outcrops or crags, and this is widely believed to come from the Cornish word (as mentioned by Padel 1985: 221-222), though probably incorrectly. The semantic aspect of this idea is problematic, and it is open for us to wonder whether the English word is really an application of PrSem **ṭur* (Phoenician <ś/š-w-r>'rock'), as seen in the name of the city of Tyre, Lebanon (modern Arabic *Ṣūr*), on its offshore rock, transmitted through a non-Cornish channel. Padel notes the difficulty that *tor* does not appear in Cornish with the sense of 'tor, crag', which creates a serious problem in any theory of the transmission of the term to English. But formally, there is no problem: **tor*, a feminine noun, could be for "British" **turā*, a formally celticized version of **ṭur*.[26] Militarev (2006: entry 328) reconstructs the PrSem etymon as **ṭ̣u/ir* [sic; 'flint, rock'], though that form suggests Aramaic (cf. Biblical Aramaic *ṭūr*) rather than Phoenician/Punic; others reconstruct it as **šur/śur*. If the latter scholars are correct, this suggestion does not necessarily fall; maybe the relevant Semitic sibilant was heard as sufficiently different from British initial *[s] to be given a different treatment, and replaced by the corresponding plosive; the British *[s] was after all of such a character that it became [h] in the first couple of centuries after the year zero (Jackson 1953: 517-520; Schrijver 1995: 382), and British had no *[ʃ] or similar sibilant. On the other hand, we have suggested above (5., 11., *ros*) that such a fricative may elsewhere be replaced by Common Celtic */s/. The argument about *tor* therefore depends on the correctness of (my interpretation of) Militarev's position, and should perhaps be discounted as the weakest of the suggestions in this paper.~~

Neo-Brittonic **bod*- 'dwelling' (Welsh *bod*, Cornish *bos*; British **bot*-) can be compared directly with PrSem **but*- 'hut' (Orel and Stolbova 1994, *s.v.*) and, as a feminine noun, it is consistent with a Proto-Celtic **butā*. Padel (1985: 25) suggests that the Brittonic word denoted or connoted a dwelling-place of humbler status than **treβ*-, the standard word for 'farm' or 'village' in the Neo-Brittonic languages. *Botis*, the name generally taken to be that of the island of Bute in the *Ravenna Cosmography* has been analysed by Rivet and Smith (1979: 273) as being root-identical with the

'dwelling'-word. A case can be made on formal grounds, and 'dwelling(s) island' might imply an entire territory marked by a difference of status expressed in building technology, or simply naming from a, or the, prominent settlement. On the grounds of a formally strong phonological similarity here, *Bute* is allocated a place in the candidate list at 13. above.

The much-discussed OW *cair* 'fort; (later) village', Cornish *ker* 'univallate curvilinear hillslope enclosure; village', Breton *kêr* 'village' (Padel 1985: 51), still has no generally accepted explanation. Schrijver (1995: 447-448) suggests a connection with Old Irish *cathir* (genitive singular *cathrach*) 'fortress, fortified town', which is semantically beyond reproach but phonologically difficult despite the similarity being "too striking to be accidental": the loss of [θ], or its transmutation into [j], remains unexplained. Derivation from Latin *quadra* 'square' (Pokorny 1949-50: 135) suffers from essentially the same phonological difficulty, as well as a semantic shift that is not outrageous but requires some justification. James (2007-) derives *cair* from a British **cagrā*, making it root-cognate with Welsh *cae* 'field', reviving an earlier suggestion by Loth (1903: 299), who had acknowledged its provisional status, remarking: "Je ne vois aucun moyen sûr de se tirer d'affaire avec *caer*." The suggestions of Loth and Pokorny were characterized by Padel (1985: 50) as the best suggestions available at the time of writing for a "difficult" derivation. Whilst I am fully in sympathy with the drive to provide a Western etymology, given the lack of agreement and for the purposes of the present context the word can be compared with the PrSem root **kpr* 'village' (not recorded in NWSem, but cf. Ancient Hebrew *kāpār* (bound form *kəpar*), Modern Hebrew and Syriac *kfar*, Arabic *kafr*, Huehnergard 2000: *kpr*[2]; Orel and Stolbova 1994 give a base **kap-* 'house'[27]), with regular pan-Celtic loss of /p/ from a form like */kapir/, */kaper/. That would, of course, continue to leave it isolated from Old Irish *cathir*.

Final considerations

The suggestions in the previous section of the paper, like the earlier toponymic ones, are advanced with all due caution. It is possible, of course, that resemblances between Insular toponymical and topolexical material on the one hand, and firmly-established PrSem lexical roots on the other, are coincidental, but for me, there are too many to dismiss those resemblances casually. In a small way, the suggestions also display phonological consistency, especially as regards the possible treatment of */a:/ and the treatment of non-plain (i.e. uvular and other emphatic-series) consonants (they are lost if they are back fricatives and de-emphasized, i.e. de-uvularized, if they are plosives). The range of voiceless fricatives and affricates is reduced. But I have touched only lightly on the question of how PrSem consonant phonemes might have been represented in Celtic. The mentioned possibilities should be treated with caution, of course, because they reflect back, in part, the constraints of phonological plausibility I imposed on myself when searching PrSem sources. There may be inconsistencies in the implied phonological development of some of the items discussed here (as

implicitly in *Rame* and *Rám* vs. *Rum*), but need not be if one allows for alternative vocalizations of the root, for either lexical or grammatical reasons. There is hardly anything that can be said on the basis of this evidence about vowels, or about morphology, that of Semitic being of course typologically quite different from that of Indo-European. All that remains is the possibility of glimpsing through a glass darkly the lexis of a language used in the British Isles in periods of settlement more remote than we can see through the lens of the known languages of the area.[28,29]

In making all these suggestions, I have proposed or implied no particular cultural context except the general probability of the settlement of the British Isles from the south, and deduced from evidence the possibility that one linguistic strand in that settlement might be represented by North-West Semitic with no detailed regard for the reasons that might have taken it there.[30] But we cannot leave this important issue up in the air.

The main aim of this paper has been to allow a modest amount of obscure data to speak for itself, from a purely linguistic perspective and with only limited amplification. But it is difficult to leave an argument which carries unexplored implications for prehistoric population movements or trading relations hanging in the air. At very least, we must think about what *sort* of contacts might have left place-names for major territorial units – islands – for their successors of other linguistic stocks to use, yet no recognizable archaeological traces and, so far as is known, no record of other aspects of their language (e.g. a community writing or speaking it). If we accept that the suggested evidence for the use in the British Isles of a Semitic language is valid, it is logically possible that the islands were populated by speakers of a Semitic or Semitic-like language who were linguistically overwhelmed but some of whose toponyms were accepted by their conquerors or absorbers. This is the point at which the inconclusive wider arguments about a Hamito-Semitic substratum in Celtic could plug in, but whilst the argument for such influence has been widely touted it has not generally been thought convincing enough to become orthodoxy (*pace* Vennemann and his predecessors, and those who have believed that such an influence on Celtic may have been transmitted on to English). In any case, the possibility of PrSem influence on Celtic is logically distinct from that for the use of PrSem in the islands, because PrSem influence on Celtic could have taken place in Iberia, meaning that we would still lack an explanation of how PrSem place-names got into the British Isles except, perhaps too implausibly, by wholesale transfer (naming-after). An alternative scenario would allow PrSem adstratal influence on established Celtic populations, e.g. with Phoenician/Punic traders as the bearers. This possibility runs into the evident difficulty that a presumably transient population must have left its names for some of the major topographical features of the area and that these were taken up by the inhabitants and used in preference to their own names for them.[31] Sims-Williams (2011: 280, note 16) downplays any such difficulty, emphasizing that even if *Ériu* were of PrSem origin, that need not imply a settled presence of speakers of this language in Ireland. We could perhaps argue that these

exonyms were the ones transmitted to other cultures by the traders, and that they then filtered back into local native usage in waves from more prestigious later "Southern" cultures, a possibility which Broderick (2009: 167, points 5.-7.) suggests.[32] But what would serve very well as an analogy would be the discovery of names genuinely left on conspicuous geographical entities, especially coastal ones, by more or less transient populations, in a context where long-settled populations were the norm.[33]

The existence of such a name-set can be demonstrated, though the circumstances of its genesis do not match precisely what is known of the situation in prehistoric times. I know of no detailed study – in fact I do not believe it has ever been remarked on before – of the Scandinavian place-nomenclature which survives in the inner Bristol Channel and the Severn estuary, but this is a situation where the settled local population is universally believed to have spoken English and Welsh in their historic settings, and where there is no evidence in the local dialects for Scandinavian loanwords beyond those found generally in varieties of the two languages in England and Wales (PN Gl, Smith 1965, 4: 44). Smith either does not record, or does not comment specially on, any of the names discussed below: a body of names formulated in Scandinavian, a language spoken in the region only by people documented as raiders and traders, a few of whom may have become settlers no little distance away. These names are coastal, and in some cases denote local features where actual Scandinavian settlement is unthinkable, such as rocks in the sea. Let us list and discuss these names.

Firstly, we need to note the existence of three Scandinavian settlement names close to the inner Severn Sea (by which I mean further up-channel than Pembrokeshire where there is a cluster of such names indicating compact settlement). The first two are in historic Glamorgan and the third in historic Monmouthshire: *Homri*, in St Nicholas, in the Vale of Glamorgan north of Cardiff, *Womanby* in St John, Cardiff, and *Lamby*, at the mouth of the Rumney river and now in east Cardiff (Charles 1938: 158, 163 and 240-241).[34] These, with their Scandinavian specifiers combined with the characteristic element **bȳ-* 'farm, village', are genuinely in an extreme minority, and, not being adjacent to each other, it is doubtful whether they can be viewed as forming a cluster. But there is other very solid evidence of toponymic influence in the wider surrounding area, which needs some discussion.

The island of Flatholm, in St Mary's parish, Cardiff, Glamorgan, is sometimes said (e.g. Watts 2004: 232) to contain Scand. *floti* 'fleet' plus *holm* 'small island' (on the basis of the spellings *Flotholm* recorded in 1375, *the Floteholmes* 1387; Charles 1938: 163, though Charles took the view that it contains ON *flatr* 'flat; but NB the lexical expression *flota-hólmr* 'an isle' in Cleasby-Vigfusson). Watts links the name with the incidents reported in the *Anglo-Saxon chronicle* in, when a Viking fleet was starved out of the island (917, A version; the other versions say Steepholm). Flatholm is actually flat, by marked contrast with its English neighbour Steepholm. Whichever story we prefer, its name is of Scandinavian origin. The name of Steepholm has an

English first element and presumably dates from a period when *holm* was borrowed into English in a range of senses (Smith 1956: 258-9), therefore by itself offering no evidence for Scandinavian in the region.

There is a collection of shoals, reefs and banks in the Severn estuary which, despite the lateness of their first records, appear to have unmistakably Scandinavian names, that is, they contain elements which I have not found reported in regional English or Welsh lexis, but only in names. These include, far up the Severn and up to fifteen miles from the Cardiff area:

Gruggy (in mid-Severn in Redwick, not in PN Gl), cf. ON *grugg* 'mud; dregs', *gruggóttr* 'muddy': seemingly Scand. **Grugg-ey-* 'mud island'
Leary Rock (in mid-Severn in Aust, PN Gl 3: 129 (from 1830)), cf. ON *leirr*, another word for 'mud': seemingly Scand. **Leir-ey-* 'mud island'
The Scars, cf. ON *sker* 'rock, skerry' (in mid-Severn in Redwick, not in PN Gl)

We also find, rather more surprisingly, that some shoreline features have names formulated using Scandinavian elements. Perhaps the most striking is that recorded as *dumble*, *dunball* and the like in several places on the shoreline of the Severn upriver as far as Rodley (PN Gl 3: 205) and in the Taff estuary, where it names the outermost reach of tidally flooded land (i.e. not permanent saltmarsh; discussed fully in Coates 2007a, where it is interpreted as Scandinavian for 'mallard's abode or lair'). Another near-certainty is *Guscar Rocks* (Woolaston, not in PN Gl), in which the second element is beyond reasonable doubt *sker* (see *The Scars* above; 'goose rock', Scand. **gás*, assimilated to OE *gōs*?).[35] Charles (1938: 125-126) interprets *Mumbles* (Oystermouth, Glamorgan) as containing ON *múli* 'promontory' as its second element, and Coates (2007a: 64, image 72) sees Scand. **haug-* 'mound' or **havuð* 'head' in Howe Rock, off the end of Brean Down, Brean, Somerset. (The lost *Meles* in Margam (Glamorgan; Charles 1938: 137) is convincingly from Scand. **mel-* 'dune', but in an English or probably Norman French plural form, which therefore does not guarantee Scandinavian origin of the name.) Birnbeck Rock/Island, Weston-super-Mare, Somerset, has no known early spellings, but its name may be viewed as containing Scand. **bekk-* in the sense 'bench' attested in literary Old Norse but otherwise not identified in English place-names, whatever the first element might be; no other suggestion is in play. A pier was built linking the island to the mainland in 1867 (as originally proposed in 1845), and the original landform is not easily recoverable.[36]

A reviewer of this paper [WHOM I WOULD BE DELIGHTED TO ACKNOWLEDGE BY NAME IF S/HE CONSENTED TO BE REVEALED] has suggested that these Scandinavian names may have persisted into the Middle Ages and beyond through being reinforced by Bristol Channel traders based in originally-Scandinavian Dublin, and even into the age of rutters and coastal charts. I freely

accept this possibility, but the evidence for the continuity of the relevant names and vocabulary into the usage of any such traders, in dialect or on early maps, is lacking.

Most of the names in this group should be treated with caution because of their late attestation, but there seems to be a consistent pattern for which any other systematic explanation is at least equally difficult. Here we have evidence of a toponymic layer which has been taken up by a settled community from a visiting community involved in trade in the broadest sense, even if only piracy. The Scandinavians eventually must have put down roots which found toponymic expression in the three Glamorgan villages mentioned above, but the other names just listed do not form a natural hinterland or sphere of influence of those villages, and yet they seem to be names taken over as such from the visitors. The history of this process is one which remains to be written. In that sense, this name-set can be compared with the one which is central to this paper, although I acknowledge immediately that the sets are of a different order of prominence in the toponymic landscape of their respective periods. Nevertheless, the Scandinavian evidence shows that it is possible for economic visitors to give topographical place-names to a people speaking a different language, and for those place-names to stick without evidence of the visitors' language becoming part of the local ecology. From that perspective, then, the possibility of adstratal PrSem influence on Celtic-speaking communities in the British Isles in the later first millennium B.C.E. is one to be reckoned with, and should not be dismissed out of hand or from an entrenched viewpoint.

Recapitulation

It is best to set out finally, once again, the limits of what is proposed. The textual and philological evidence is restricted, and not always straightforward to interpret or uncontroversial. But what there is is compatible with the position that:

1. a small but not negligible number of the anciently recorded names of some of the larger islands of Ireland and Britain are of Proto-Northwest-Semitic origin, and that the suggestion that they are should not be dismissed out of hand;

2. it is defensible to interpret the existence of such names in the light of known and reasonably supposed incidents in the prehistory of the islands and of known analogies to their patterning.

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NOTES

[1] John T. Koch has recently (2009) argued that Tartessian was in fact Celtic.

[2] Relevant texts by these writers are printed in Rivet and Smith (1979: respectively 87-92, 79-80, 82).

[3] Rivet and Smith (1979: 62-3).

[4] Vennemann appears to subscribe to the notion that modern linguistic evidence may disguise earlier evidence through wholesale folk-etymology (in one of two senses: Vennemann 1999b).

[5] More specifically, he believes that Germanic is "substratally Vasconized, superstratally Hamito-Semiticized Indo-European" (Vennemann 2000: abstract). The possibility of a Semitic substrate in Irish was first articulated systematically by Pokorny (1927), following Rhŷs (1890) and Morris Jones (1900); see also McCone (2005: 412-419). But their conclusions relate almost exclusively to grammar, and there is little suggestion of Semitic substrate lexis in their work, as McCone says forcefully elsewhere (2006: 40).

[6] However, I see this endeavour as entirely separate from current discussions about the possible influence of Semitic on Celtic and therefore on early English (Vennemann 2001, 2002; Filppula *et al.* 2008: *sparsim*, and further references there of which the fountainhead is Pokorny 1959: e.g. 161). I have nothing to say about this here, and the present paper should not be taken as indicating an attitude towards it (but see Coates 2010).

[7] I should make it perfectly clear that Vennemann has not uttered an opinion on the two names discussed in this section, and that his views on the elements mentioned are given here to provide a wider context for my remarks. He believes, moreover, that Vasconic influence on these or any other island-names is unlikely, since its speakers in his view "were no seafarers" (personal correspondence, 18/08/2008).

[8] A perhaps surprising recent addition to the list of Celtic island-names is *Yell* in Shetland (Coates 2007b).

[9] See Coates (1988b) for the full argument; the loss of final /m/ is an effect of Greek phonotactics. Sauren (2005: 280, n. 3) translates 'perfumes, spices'. Cf. also Krahmalkov (2000: *s.n.*). Note also the alternative Ptolemaic name of the group consisting of Ibiza and Formentera, *Pityussa*, taken to mean 'Pine Islands' after Greek *pitúa* 'pine'; and the argument of Rivet and Smith (1979: 452) that the unidentified garble *Saponis* in the *Ravenna cosmography* denotes fir or pine in a Celtic language.

[10] Bennett *et al.* (1990: 289), citing Wilkins (1984), have noted pine *(Pinus sylvestris)* from the archaeobotanic record of peat-bogs in South Uist, even though this tree is now extinct in the Western Isles.

[11] The caution with which this paragraph is formulated alerts to two difficulties: firstly, treading on ground which is not the writer's area of specialism; secondly, the quite significant differences of opinion on certain topics within the relatively small body of experts in this area, including the imputation of eccentricity to some particularly imposing works. There is also sometimes a disconcerting lack of congruity between apparently authoritative sources; for example the otherwise established "island"-word seems absent from anywhere in Orel and Stolbova/ Militarev and Stolbova's overarching Afro-Asiatic resource (1994-2007). No attempt has been made to harmonize differing transcription systems used by different Semiticists. I proceed with as much caution as I can muster, intending that the positions espoused reflect the most widely-held current opinions of Semiticists. I do not court the charge of eccentricity for its own sake.

[12] A general issue – and indeed risk factor – to be aware of is that the surviving Punic inscriptions would be broadly incomprehensible without some prior knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic. Specifically, the Punic word for 'island' was recognized as such because the word is much more commonly attested in Biblical Hebrew. Some "knowledge" of Punic is therefore projected back from later states of Semitic, though that does not make it indefensible in itself.

[13] Coates (1988a) discussed this element in relation to a possible non-IE etymology for the waterway known as *The Solent* before opting for an IE solution.

[14] I owe to an anonymous colleague the observation that the final *-m* in *'yym* is a marker found specifically in Phoenician, Hebrew and Akkadian.

[15] The PrSem **paḫ(i)ḏ-* 'hip, thigh' reconstructed by Militarev (2006: entry 142) seems unlikely to be relevant here, and is in any case absent from the evidence for North-West Semitic.

[16] *Ramsey* (Pembrokeshire) seems to have an origin in a personal name, not *ram* (Charles 1938: 32; Owen and Morgan 2007: 406-407).

[17] One might compare the /b/ found in Latin *Britannia* and some Greek analogues with etymological /p/ in Welsh *Prydain*, but this would require the existence of */p/ in the source language which evidently therefore did not share phonological characteristics with Goidelic. I make no precise suggestion about what mechanism or route of transmission might have been involved in such a borrowing in either case, *Britannia* or *Ebudae*, or about whether it might be the same in both cases.

[18] Vennemann acknowledges (2006: 365-368) an unpublished suggestion by Peter Schrijver (in a personal communication to Vennemann, 2005) that a good case can be made for the <o> in the Ptolemaic spelling of the island-name (*Toliatis*, i.e. *Tonatis*) being taken at face value, since there is a later Brittonic and Gaulish sound change unrounding [o] before [a] as the later spellings require. This would make the spelling-record completely coherent, according to Schrijver. But there is an evident transmission error in Ptolemy's form, <ΛΙ> for <N>, and this necessarily weakens the credibility of the first vowel <o>, which is unique in the record. Having said that, though, I must also acknowledge that Schrijver's reasoning is correct if the <o> is not erroneous.

[19] I do not deal here with the vexed question of the relation between this name and a presumably related one with initial *Í-* (see for instance Isaac 2009; Broderick 2009: 153-154).

[20] For completeness' sake, I should draw attention to the Iberian anthroponymic and toponymic element *urke*, *orke-*, *urka* identified by Untermann (1998: 77, 81) as possibly comparable with the first element of *Orkney*, but this resemblance is the only one that can be derived from his list and its apparent presence could therefore be put down to chance resemblance.

[21] Schrijver (1997 and 2005) suggests some lexis of possible non-IE origin in European languages including Celtic, but concentrates on the phonological characteristics such a language may have had, rather than on the question of identifying one.

[22] This idea has been published recently independently by Vennemann (2006: 349-350 and notes), picking up earlier work by Henning (1925). Tempan (2008a; 2008b) has independently suggested the alien origin of Irish *ros*.

[23] The long vowels heard in the modern English place-names *Roos* (parish, Yorkshire East Riding) and *Roose* (Dalton-in-Furness, Lancashire) might be seen as offering difficulties. They seem to be late developments within English, because spellings implying a short vowel appear earlier in the record of both names (Smith 1937: 56; Ekwall 1922: 202). It is hard to imagine that the Yorkshire place could have been Brittonic-speaking late enough to show Brittonic lengthening of short stressed vowels (in the sixth century). Both places are close to, but not on, their respective counties' coast, and both could be considered as 'moor' names rather than as 'promontory' ones. Roos was a Domesday manor out of which several holdings have been carved, and it does not sound like typical moorland: "The parish comprises by measurement 2324 acres, of which two-thirds are arable and one-third pasture; the surface is undulated, and the soil a clayey loam, with gravel" (Lewis 1848, *s.n.*). Neither does it have any special prominences, though it is in Holderness, fairly close to Spurn Head, so it is possible, and attractive to suppose, that it preserves the pre-English name of, or a word for, the entire Holderness peninsula including Spurn, whose topography has no doubt changed profoundly in two millennia through coastal erosion on its east and cyclical tidal deposit and

scour on its south. On the other hand, in the far north of the parish there is an area called *The Furze*, which was common pasture, suggesting moor after all. Roose has no importance now except as a suburb of Barrow-in-Furness, but it was a Domesday manor. Ekwall (1922: 202) says: "The hill N.E. of Roose may well once have been a moor, i.e., a hill covered with furze and heather." As with Roos in Yorkshire, we may be dealing here with an original name for a whole peninsula, this time Furness. Whatever the case, it was apparently named by contrast with adjacent Leece, from Brittonic **lïs* 'court', though it was evidently later understood as "Leighs", which is Ekwall's interpretation of the name's origin (1922: 209). *Leece*, like *Roose*, has an etymologically expected long vowel, because anglicization of the area no doubt occurred later than the Brittonic lengthening, but that makes early spellings of *Roose* suggesting a short vowel problematic.

[24] The root is given as **rVyVm*- in Militarev (2007: entry 1179, evidenced in e.g. Ugaritic and Hebrew, though the Hebrew daughter has alternating /w/ for the second consonant).

[25] As cited from his suggestion (Stokes 1890: 000) in Watson's footnote mentioned in the text above.

[26] ~~On the corresponding Irish *torr*, see now also Tempan (2008b).~~

[27] Seemingly absent from Militarev (2006).

[28] In making the suggestions in this paper, I commit myself to no other aspect of any "Semitidic" hypothesis than those specifically mentioned. I am not a Semiticist, and have relied throughout on others' accounts of Semitic roots and their meanings, aware that, in some cases, scholars' reconstructions of the same root have differed and that they have been transcribed, and perhaps even vocalized, in different ways. I have not attempted to standardize their systems of representation; that is a matter for the specialists to reconcile (cf. note 11 above).

[29] Note the very interesting recent paper by Mac Eoin (2007) suggesting that *a* language substratal to Irish must have had intervocalic /f/. This suggestion is incompatible with that language's being PrSem at the stage of phonological development suggested by the evidence presented here.

[30] That is, nothing is concluded about whether PrSem might be substratal, superstratal or adstratal to the familiar languages of the islands. Further to my note 4, "Vennemann appears to subscribe to the notion that modern linguistic evidence may disguise earlier evidence through wholesale folk-etymology": if one starts with that perspective, one may doubt the acceptable Celtic solutions available for such names as *Eigg* from Ir. *eag* 'notch', *Hinba* (= ?Jura) from Ir. *inbe* 'incision' (Watson 1926: 85 and 82-83), and *Ériu* (Ireland) ultimately from PIE **piHwerjon*- 'fat (land)' (Schrijver 1995: 288 and predecessors). For the last of these, as noted under point 12. in the main text, Vennemann (1998b) has counter-proposed an

origin in PrSem **'y-wr'(m)* (? = **'iy-weri'um*) 'copper island', which might or might not suggest that he regards the modern form of the name as having been subjected to IE/Celtic folk-etymology.

[31] Broderick (2010) does not regard this possibility as problematic: "... it would be reasonable to expect that such prospectors and traders would have named the principal landmarks in their own language, and if they had settled in any numbers to exploit the mineral resources of Ireland and Britain, that their names for such prominent geographical features as bays, promontories, islands, mountains, etc, that served as landmarks might well survive to become incorporated within the later Celtic languages." But his scenario is equivocal between mere trading and settlement.

[32] We cannot do much with the logical possibility that any PrSem names represent Punic rationalizations of still more obscure native local names. The evidence presented should give us confidence that the vocabulary of the names in question and the words analysed have a sufficiently non-random similarity to PrSem etyma, across a data-set of restricted denotational range, to reduce this possibility.

[33] It is a moot point whether it is appropriate to compare the names left by imperial powers which have stuck to places as diverse as *Côte d'Ivoire*, *Islamabad*, *Port Moresby* and *Tripoli*, where the traders, religionists and settlers left their languages (French, Arabic, English, Greek) as a major, and demonstrably continuing, part of the local linguistic ecology. But *Indonesia* (Greek/Latin) and *Lagos* (Portuguese) might be useful, though not straightforward, comparators.

[34] The situation of Lamby (locally *The Lambies*), currently an open area at the mouth of the river Rumney/Rhymni, suggests that the second element might be Scand. **ey-* 'island', but the record of spellings assembled by Charles (1938: 240-241) makes it clear enough that we are dealing with a **bȳ-*, thus 'long farm', if this is the same place. *Homri* is 'Horni's farm' or 'horn farm' and *Womanby* is 'houndsman's farm', according to Charles (158, 163).

[35] The one restraining factor is the existence of the place, originally a farm, called *The Scarr* (recorded from 1779) in the inland parish of Newent (PN Gl 3: 179). However, this seems to be a recent name, because Rudge, in his epitome of Sir Robert Atkyns's county history, calls the property "*Waters*, or *Athelord's Place*, or the *Scar*" (Rudge 1803: 36).

[36] It is not inconceivable that *Birnbeck* is for Old Irish **berna bec(c)* 'little gap', perhaps metonymically for the narrow tidal channel separating Birnbeck from the end of Worlebury Hill, even though lenition of the adjective appears to be absent; but note that the one indisputably Irish name in Somerset, *Beckery*, a monastic establishment near Glastonbury, is from the syntactically different *Bec-Ériu* 'little Ireland' (Ekwall 1960: 33).

A Glimpse through a Dirty Window into an Unlit House: Names of Some North-West European Islands

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Abstract

It is well known that many of the major island-names of the archipelago consisting politically of Ireland, the United Kingdom and Crown dependencies are etymologically obscure. In this paper, I present and analyse a corpus of those which remain unexplained or uncertainly explained, for instance *Man* and *Ynys Môn*, *Ar(r)an, Uist, Seil, Islay*, *Mull*, *Scilly*, *Thanet*, *Sark*, among others. It is timely to do this, since in the disciplines of archaeology and genetics there is an emerging consensus that after the last Ice Age the islands were repopulated mainly by people from a refuge on the Iberian peninsula. This opinion is at least superficially compatible with Theo Vennemann's Semitic and Vasconic hypotheses, i.e., that languages (a) of the Afroasiatic family, and (b) ancestral to Basque, are important contributors to the lexical and onomastic stock of certain European languages. The unexplained or ill-explained island names form a sufficiently large set to make it worthwhile to hope for the emergence of some hard evidence bearing on their collective linguistic heritage, and therefore to give – or fail to give – preliminary support to Vennemann's hypotheses.

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The Shakespearean scholar A.D. Nuttall once began a lecture at the University of Sussex about the difficulties he perceived in Darwin's theory of natural selection by saying: "This lecture is the rashest act yet committed in an admittedly rather unadventurous life."[1] *I feel rather the same way about what I have written here.*

It is commonly accepted that the final glacial advance of the last Ice Age (so far) in the British Isles was during the very cold event called the Younger Dryas (Oppenheimer 2006: 151–5). This happened at the end of the Würm interglacial, about 12,800–11,500 years before the present and therefore ending by approx. 9,500 B.C.E. The glaciers of the Loch Lomond Readvance covered much of southern Scotland and northern England and left the remainder of Britain under cold desert or tundra conditions. At this period, the region now occupied by the islands is believed to have been uninhabited.

Stephen Oppenheimer (2006) presents a synthesis of convincing genetic evidence that, after the Younger Dryas, Britain and Ireland were resettled by modern humans mainly emerging from the Ice Age refuge of the Iberian peninsula about 10,000 years ago. These people(s) had a Mesolithic material culture. Oppenheimer's view is consistent with the archaeological evidence cited by Barry Cunliffe (1997; 2001), which is interpreted as showing that a succession of material cultures, including those of the megalith-builders responsible for monuments such as Carnac, Newgrange, Callanish and Stonehenge, spread up from the south along the Atlantic coast to the British Isles. The route may have been maritime or terrestrial, and the alternatives available depend on the date. We know that the land-bridge joining Britain to the continent was not finally broken till about 6,500 B.C.E. Before that, people and their artefacts could have arrived by either land or sea, and after that only by sea.

Those who headed north as Europe warmed up must have spoken some language or languages. We have no historical knowledge of this period, of course. But we do have some archaeological knowledge of the languages spoken in the Iberian peninsula before the beginning of the Roman Empire (fully: Untermann 2001), and that knowledge will have to act as a proxy for an understanding of the local cultures of the first millennium B.C.E.

Some linguists group together certain poorly-evidenced and incompletely-understood Iberian languages as *Palaeohispanic*, a term intended to exclude the colonial and economic languages arriving late, namely Punic, Greek and Latin.

Palaeohispanic

Tartessian in south-western Iberia, ?7th–2nd centuries B.C.E.; linguistic affiliation unknown (Anderson 1988: ch. 5); uninterpreted texts; minimal detectable morphology (suffix *-ipon*).

Iberian in eastern and south-eastern Iberia, ?7th century B.C.E. – 2nd century C.E.; linguistic affiliation unknown, and a relationship with Basque no longer seriously entertained (many works of Tovar and Michelena; against Román del Cerro 1993); uninterpreted texts on stone, metal and coins, fairly rich anthroponymic, and some toponymic, records (Untermann 1998; Moncunill Martí 2007: esp. 55–6)

Lusitanian in inland western Iberia, ?6th century B.C.E. – year 0; an Indo-European language of uncertain relationship with Italic or Celtic (briefly García Alonso 2000: 31–2); 5 texts and some toponymic, anthroponymic and theonymic data.

Celtiberian or **Hispano-Celtic** in north-central Spain, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.E.; a branch of Continental (Q-)Celtic (survey by Eska and Evans 1993: 30–5); not fully interpreted texts; onomastic evidence; its existence is consistent with ancient Irish stories in *Lebor Gabála Érenn* 'Book of the Taking of Ireland' ("books" 2 and 8) about Gaelic migration from Iberia, the so-called "Milesian" invasion (on the relevant archaeology see Cunliffe 1997: ch. 7), though it is questionable what the linguistic effect of an invasion of male warriors would have been (as also observed by Mac Eoin 2007:117).

Aquitanian

A very close relative of reconstructed ancient **Basque**, with which it is practically identical; wider linguistic affiliation unknown (Trask 1997: 398–403). There is no clear justification for classifying this as a Palaeohispanic language. The strongest evidence for its existence in Roman times comes from north of the Pyrenees (Trask 35–42), and it cannot be ascertained how widespread it was before the year zero in the part of modern Spain where Basque has been spoken in historic times (but NB Michelena 1961–2; Trask 402–3). There is a considerable amount of anthroponymic and theonymic evidence for this language, offering lexical insights, but little else.

Colonial and economic languages

North-West Semitic (Phoenician, Punic) in some colonies of Carthage, e.g., Cartagena, Ibiza, Málaga and Cádiz, on the Mediterranean coast; inscriptions found even after the year zero.

Ancient Greek in some colonies on the Mediterranean coast, e.g., Ampurias, Hemeroskopeion (?Alicante) and Zakynthos (Zakantha; Sagunto).

Latin which eventually occupied almost the whole of Iberia.

There is little prospect of establishing the existence of any native non-Indo-European in the British Isles from historical sources. Most scholars accept that most of pre-Roman Britain and Ireland spoke some variety of Celtic (*pace* Oppenheimer 2006: ch. 7). It is still uncertain whether

all the evidence for Pictish indicates that it was a Celtic language or not (for a review, see Forsyth 1997). There are certainly non-Celtic or doubtfully Celtic place-names recorded from (esp.) northern Scotland (Nicolaisen 2001: ch. 9, esp. 244–5), but whether these might usefully be called Pictish or not is a controversial and unproductive matter. Ivernian or Ivernic, said to have been spoken in Ireland well into historic times and alluded to in Cormac's glossary (*Sanas Cormaic*; 9th/10th century; Meyer 1912; Russell 1988), is not fully recorded and it is only in evidence as a vocabulary source for a formal register of Old Irish. It may have been a P-Celtic language, and it cannot be concluded that it was non-Celtic. Some scholars of Irish have recently allowed the possibility of the existence of pre-Celtic languages contributing to toponymy without conceding explicitly that a particular non-Indo-European language might be involved (e.g., Mac Eoin 2007; De Bernardo Stempel 2007: 138; Tempan 2008b).

It has been known from the earliest times that speakers of the languages mentioned in bold type above, which I will collectively call "Southern", could possibly have penetrated for economic reasons as far as the British Isles. Latin would have been the last of the line. Greeks from Massilia visited the islands perhaps in the sixth century B.C.E. (an anonymous sailor, as reported by Avienus, though that has been challenged by Hawkes 1977: 17–25), and in the fourth century (Pytheas, as reported somewhat sceptically by Strabo, Pliny and Polybius).[2] Strabo says that the Phoenicians used British tin, but that does not necessarily mean that they ever came to Britain. However, in Elizabethan times, the schoolmaster and antiquarian John Twyne (1590) suggested that Phoenician/Punic tin-speculators had indeed reached Britain, bringing the coracle with them. Twyne's biographer calls this "a notion that beguiled much later generations" (Martin 2004), but it is not inherently implausible.

If there is any substance in the theory that the British Isles were resettled from Iberia after the Younger Dryas, then our knowledge of these languages represents the only hope of being able to offer any linguistic support to the settlement hypothesis arising from the joint venture of genetics, archaeology and Irish mythology. Looking for points of systematic resemblance between Insular Celtic and "Southern" would be well motivated in the light of these recent advances. We could look for "Southern" traces in the most problematic vocabulary of the Celtic languages, i.e., that which has been identified as uncertainly Indo-European (as others have done for a relation between Basque and Celtic; Trask 1997: esp. 368–72), and we could look for toponymic links between Iberia and the British Isles starting with the most obscure surviving toponyms in the islands. The latter task can be performed in two ways. We could look at the little available evidence of the "Southern" languages and see whether there is anything that illuminates the most problematic place-names. Or we could look at the most problematic place-names and see whether anything reminds us of the minimal "Southern" evidence. In practice, we could do these simple-minded tasks at the same time. But doing them is methodologically problematic: the evidence base at both ends of the task is so small and so semantically restricted that we are unlikely to discover anything systematic; and the danger of theorizing on the basis of individual snippets of data runs risks which are too well known to need emphasizing. We also need to bear in mind the probability of unknown linguistic changes in the relevant languages between the recording of texts and names at different times. Something is known about the history of Aquitanian/Basque (Michelena 1954 and subsequent work), Punic (Krahmalkov 2000, 2001) and of course Greek, and a fair amount about Continental Celtic (Eska and Evans 1993; Sims-Williams 2006); nothing is known of the evolution of the other languages. We need to bear in mind the risk of the obliteration of some sorts of evidence, for example phonological, when a name is adopted and adapted by speakers of another language. The additional risk of completely normal so-called folk-etymological pressure is constantly present.[3]

We could conclude straight away that we are looking for needles in a haystack even though we are unsure exactly what needles look like and suspect that the haystack contains a few things

which look a bit like what needles might look like. It would be foolish to expect anything more than some hints and possibilities to emerge from the present paper, and I do not want to raise expectations. We will be playing with similarities in the interpretation of which we risk an excessively naïve approach to the little data we have. But it is a task worth doing. If another discipline produces a serious hypothesis with linguistic implications, then linguists are right to see what light they can shed on the problem. And our own discipline, independently of the genetic findings, has come up with a serious proposal: Theo Vennemann has proposed in a long series of articles that the vocabulary of northern European languages has both a Semitic-like (Semitidic) and a Basque-like (Vasconic) strand.[4] Vennemann's hypothesis (as set out for example in his 1998a paper) is at least superficially compatible with aspects of the story told by genetics, archaeology and Celtic mythology. It is against the background of this *prima facie* possibility that I want to explore possible Insular-"Southern" relations.

The rest of this paper presents selected evidence from one category of names in Britain and Ireland – island-names – that has proved resistant to analysis or controversial. No other single group of names offers so much dark material, though I shall mention other names from time to time, and strike off in a new but related direction at the end. A complete onomastic analysis would deal also with river-names and personal names in the early Irish and Romano-British (RB) record, and we ought also to consider historically unexplained lexical items in Celtic: but let's start with island-names as a well-defined category.

The Island Mysteries

There are two small sets of difficult island-names sharing similarities, and these are of particular interest in a study where too much may easily be read into a single name. Here, the default strategy of previous investigators has been to attempt an explanation in terms of known elements in known languages, and that is of course perfectly reasonable: it respects the evidence as we have it. It does not always produce a credible solution, but sometimes it does.

1. *Mann* (Man) and *Môn* (Anglesey)

We need to examine these names in the present context because of Vennemann's (e.g., 1993: 460–8; 1995) attention to a supposed Vasconic root seen in Basque *mu(i)no* 'hill' and *muna* 'slope, bank' appearing in many European place-names. These words are, however, likely to be Romance borrowings in Basque (Trask 1997: 367, following Corominas and Pascual 1980, who propose a Romance stem **bunn*-), and if that is the case Vennemann's suggestion that these words may appear in Vasconic place-names in Europe is compromised.[5]

Mann and *Môn* have often been confused, partly for phonological and orthographic reasons and partly because the islands share the Irish Sea with each other. Despite massive orthographic variation in the sources, philology demands that *Mann* be referred to a British **Manaw(j)ā* (see Rivet and Smith 1979: 410 for a summary of discussion up to that date). Such a form may also be responsible for the name *Manaw Gododdin (Manau Guotodin)*, an early-recorded district at the head of the Firth of Forth, and for Irish names of the type *Mano* (Loth 1934). There seems no reason to give credit to Pliny's spelling *Monapia*, which might have induced us to look at the Tartessian suffix including *-p-*, of unknown meaning. Rivet and Smith refer **Manaw(j)ā* to a root meaning 'high'. It might be cognate with the root of British **monijo*- 'upland' which may also be seen in *Mona*, *Môn*; De Bernardo Stempel (2007: 158) actually suggests that the name of Man means 'the one related to Mona'. The relation might be underpinned by the well-evidenced change of [o] to [a] before a resonant consonant when followed by another [a] (Schrijver 1995: 94–7), and if that is right then the name is Celtic, specifically Brittonic. Rivet and Smith cite continental analogues. Broderick (2006: xi) offers a more cautious "Indo-European" suggestion involving the root **men*- 'rise', and Hamp (2003) suggests more specifically for Anglesey **mon-ā*

'the high one'. These three ideas are compatible (though in part curious, since Anglesey is not literally high; perhaps Holyhead Mountain/Mynydd Tŵr on adjacent Holy Island was meant).

> Verdict: *Mann* and *Môn* are probably Celtic, and almost certainly Indo-European. *Môn* may be British of an archaic suffixless morphological type. No relevant root is known in the Palaeohispanic languages. Indeed neither Iberian nor Aquitanian/Proto-Basque has root-initial /m/, and their prehistoric forms would therefore be incapable of transmitting lexemes beginning with /m/ to other languages.

2. *Eilean Arainn* (Isle of Arran) in historic Buteshire, Scotland, an old dative form where the *-n* is part of the inflectional suffix;
Oileáin Árann (Aran Islands) in Co. Galway, Ireland; base name of the largest island: *Árainn;*
Árainn Mhór officially, earlier simply *Árainn* (Arranmore) in Co. Donegal, Ireland.
In forthcoming work, Paul Tempan identifies other possible instances.

It is very tempting to associate these three island-names with each other, despite the short vowel in the first syllable of the Scottish name as opposed to the long vowel in the two Irish ones. Flanagan and Flanagan (1994: 17) suggest, in a rather careful wording, that the two Irish names embody Irish *árainn* 'ridge'. Watson (1926: 87) suggests Irish *áru* 'kidney' for Arranmore in Donegal, citing its shape. The eye of faith could no doubt see reason for both suggestions, but neither 'kidney' nor 'ridge' is really convincing for the Donegal name, and a view from a very high-flying bird's eye is needed before the island in Bute appears kidney-like. Watson adduces some Welsh names with a historic short vowel, of which one is that of a river, one is applied to two adjacent hills, and one with a diminutive suffix is again a pair of adjacent hills. Owen and Morgan (2007: 17–18) are confident that the hill-names can be derived from a diminutive form *aran* 'little ridge' with an original long vowel in the first syllable (like others mentioned by Thomas 1938: 180); *Arenig* would contain therefore a double diminutive. The variety of application is troublesome, as is the phonological disparity. 'Ridge' is arguably suitable for Aran and the hill-names in Wales, but a generalized 'elevation' word would suit all except Arranmore, which is not exceptionally high, to judge from the photographic evidence I have seen on the Web. An etymological long vowel is compatible with the known forms of all except Arran.

> Verdict: no single solution seems possible. Vennemann has suggested that a phonologically suitable word, the ancestor of Basque *aran* 'valley', is found throughout north and west Europe – and in at least one English place-name (*Arundel*; 1999a: 30–3), but this can be shown with near-certainty to be wrong (Coates 2000: 5–6). It is semantically out of the question that it should figure in any of these island-names, and Vennemann has not suggested that it does.

We are now reduced to examining singletons, individual island-names which might hold out some promise of revealing their origins through a "Southern" magnifying-glass. What might give us confidence that this is worth doing?

3. *Uist*

In an obscure little paper in which Vennemann has taken a gratifying interest (Coates 1988b), I suggested an etymological link between *Ibiza* in the Balearic Islands (Catalan *Eivissa*; *Ebusos* in Manilius and Pliny and *Ebousos* in Didorus Siculus) and the two Hebridean islands called *Uist* (Scottish Gaelic *Uibhist*, /iβiʃt/). I followed Hübner in the first edition of *Pauly-Wissowas Real-Encyklopädie* (1905) in proposing that *Ibiza* represented a Semitic name possibly meaning 'island of some fragrant plant, e.g., balsam or pine' (cf. Proto-Semitic [PrSem] **bśm* 'balsam'),[6] and suggested that *Uist* had the same origin (not ruling out transfer), gaining its modern final /t/ under analogical influence from Old Norse *ívist* 'inner dwelling', this form being on record *(Iuist)* as the

Scandinavian name of the islands.[7] Armed with this hint (to put it no more strongly than that), we might look closely at some of the remaining obscure names.

I shall use the term *Proto-Semitic* below as a way of characterizing lexical roots without suggesting that the names discussed must go back to the date when Proto-Semitic was a spoken language, and without precise implications of period, dialect, or vocalization of the roots cited unless more detail is given; that is, the term should be taken to include the daughter language Proto-North-West-Semitic [NWSem] and to be non-dogmatic about morphology.

4. *Iona*

Iona (more correctly *Ioua*; Old Irish *Í*, sometimes spelt with a decorative initial <h>) is of unknown origin. It can scarcely mean 'yew' as Watson (1926: 89) suggests, unless the name was given commemoratively. There is no evidence on this well-excavated island for yew at any period, and it has always been notoriously barren. Herbert Sauren (2005) documents an epigraphically well attested Punic word, the most usual variant of whose base-form he analyses as *'y*, meaning 'island, isolated place'. Sauren notes that the word appears in royal correspondence from Byblos as *yw* (2005: 279–80; morphology unclear to me), which brings us somewhat closer to the name of Iona as known to history.

Although there is little indeed to go on phonetically, it is not beyond possibility that this root is what is represented in *Ioua*. If the form *Ioua* contains more than *Í* does, rather than simply a now-silenced root-integral /w/, then perhaps it is a lost second element. Vennemann has suggested several other island-name etymologies with the structure PrSem **'y XXX*, i.e., with a generic-first structure.

5. *Seil*

An island called *Sóil* is recorded in the Book of Leinster (Watson 1926: 41). This is generally acknowledged to be the one called in modern Gaelic *Saoil* (English *Seil*). No etymology has been proposed, but it seems worth comparing Arabic *sāḥil* 'coast', PrSem root **šḥl*. This is not as fanciful as it might sound; Seil is the closest of all the Inner Hebrides to the mainland, and is linked to it by Clachan Bridge (built in 1792–3), which the local tourist office claimed for many years to be the only bridge in the world over the Atlantic Ocean (as illustrated below).

Clachan Bridge *The Atlantic Ocean from Clachan Bridge*

Source: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clachan_Bridge

6. *Islay*

Islay is of doubtful Celticity (Watson 1926: 86–7, offering some problematic comparisons). It appears as *Ile* or *Ila* in ancient Irish literature, as *Ilea insula* in Latin, and in modern Gaelic it is *Eilean Ìleach*. Here, too, there is little to go on. One might consider the unexplained name of the ancient town of *Ilipa* near Seville in Tartessian territory, suggesting that the *-ip-* in this might

represent the only securely identified suffix in that language. But given the notable European propensity for regarding islands in the west as sacred, noting that Islay is the westmost in its sector of the Inner Hebrides, and following the hint of Semitic involvement, perhaps we should not rule out a connection with PrSem **ħll* 'pure, holy', or better even with the root of the divine word or name seen in Phoenician *'l*, with the second syllable in the modern name attributable to an extended form of the root comparable to those seen in Hebrew *'Eloah*, Biblical Aramaic *'Ĕlāhā* and Arabic *Allāh* (< **al-'ilāh*). Maybe here too we have survival of the generic **'y* in initial position: 'island of the god.'

7. *Mull*

Mull is probably recorded in the Ravenna Cosmography as *Malaia*, and in Ptolemy as *Maleos*. Watson (1926: 38) gives a convincing phonological account of the development of the modern form in Gaelic, *Muile*, and thus English *Mull*, from some such form. He offers a Celtic etymology from a root meaning 'praise', and speculates on an application of this root in the sense 'lofty'. De Bernardo Stempel (2007: 153) suggests the meaning is 'the evil one', which is formally acceptable, but she offers no motivation. If these suggestions are considered semantically somewhat contrived, it might be worth reserving a glance for the PrSem **mlħ* 'salt': cf. Hebrew *mallûaħ,* a salt-marsh plant (?marsh mallow). Whilst Mull is not archaeologically known for sea-salt production, it certainly has saltmarsh (Gillham 1957), which is the prerequisite for the industry. Several such sites on Mull are mapped by Burd (1989), though none is a large one, and the presence of small areas of saltmarsh in the Western Isles is not unusual.

8. *Scilly*

It has been suggested by Vennemann (1999a: 40–2) that *Scilly*, a name with a very diverse and inconclusive record of spellings, might be compared with a PrSem root "**s-l-*" meaning 'rock, cliff', as seen in Hebrew *sela'*.[8] With mean sea level as it is at present, Scilly has plenty of rocks, but not much significant cliff except on the island of Tresco. Some time ago, when considering the name of The Solent (1988a), I evaluated some of the same evidence without finally coming to this conclusion.

9. *Hebrides*

In the same article (1999a: 46), Vennemann also suggests a PrSem origin for the ancient name of (some of) the Hebrides *(Ebudae)*, involving the plural of the generic **'y* we have seen previously (**'yym*) and a specifier related to one of two PrSem roots of the form **pħd*, namely 'lamb' and 'fear'. He avoids the difficulty of the general loss of prehistoric */p/ in the borrowing Celtic languages by proposing that */m-p/ is rendered by Ancient Greek *β*, and that a reflex of this is what surfaces in the attested forms. Perhaps this relies too heavily on the analogy of Modern Greek spelling conventions, and for me it undermines the proposal; we should be looking instead for an explanation internal to PrSem. But I leave it on the table because of the evident semantic and toponomastic attractiveness of the 'lamb' possibility seen in the light of the various Scandinavian 'sheep islands' of the north and west, such as the Faroes, more than one Soay, and Lambay, the Eilean nan Caorach in Durness, Sutherland, and the English Sheppey in Kent. De Bernardo Stempel (2007: 155) suggests instead that the name is a modification of *Epidion*, an island-name in Ptolemy, but like Vennemann has to resort to the unmotivated phonetic development [p] > [b] to account for it.

10. *Thanet*

Vennemann (2006) explores the possibility of a PrSem origin for *Thanet*. I myself mentioned that such a possibility had been suggested in the past, but did not pursue it, in a paper whose main

topic was the alternative recorded name *Ruoihin* or the like (2000: 32–9); Vennemann's more sophisticated work on this persuades me that I may have missed an opportunity. He concludes, arraying a great deal of evidence which I have no space to repeat here, that the name enshrines that of the Phoenician goddess Tanit.

11. *Sark*

In Coates (1991: 73–6), I regarded the ultimate source of *Sark* as unknown; its early attestations suggest a root **Sarg-*. One might compare PrSem **śrq* 'redden; rise (as of the sun); east' (cf. Arabic *šarq* 'east'). Sark is of course the easternmost, and outermost, island of the Guernsey geological group.

12. *Echri*

This Welsh name of Flat Holm in the Severn estuary is unexplained, except as a possible variant of "Echnus", maybe to be equated with Éogan (Owen and Morgan 2007: 153), an Irish saint having no known connection with the place. On the other hand, PrSem **'ħr* 'behind, back' is suggestive: Flat Holm is the last usable island heading up the Severn, i.e., one reaches it after Lundy, Stert Island, Sully Island and Steep Holm. Denny, which comes after, is an uninhabitable rock.

I must remind readers that, for me, these observations taken together do not amount to a proposal with worked-out consequences. They are suggestive juxtapositions of some ancient and modern island-names with some ancient roots. In almost all cases so far, the morphology of the suggested original name is not fully elucidated. There are some sparse hints of contact effects in the phonology (of an unsurprising kind), viz. the non-transfer (elision) of **ħ* (except perhaps before [r]; see 12.), the elimination of **p* in line with the known development of Celtic, and the substitution of /s/ for **š* and **ś*. But a direction is emerging: with whatever diffidence these suggestions are put forward, Proto-Semitic at least provides something to consider in relation to insular toponymy, and I shall suggest below some further evidence that points in the same direction.

Other similarities between British island-names and Continental evidence

13. *Wight*

We might re-examine *Wight* (RB *Vectis*), which has generally been given a not entirely convincing Celtic derivation, cf. Middle Welsh [MW] *gweith* 'turn, occasion, course, [etc.]'. Rivet and Smith (1979: 488–9) cite Förster's quotation of a thirteenth-century interpretation of Nennius associating the island-name with a MW term *"Gueid vel Guith"*, which is equated with Latin *divorcium*, in the sense 'fork in a road', possibly meaning the island where the Solent splits at the end of Southampton Water, or the island which generates double tides in the Solent by splitting the surge of the Atlantic waters at its western end. Both of these ideas offer difficulties about how these phenomena might have been perceived and toponymically encoded. But note also that *Vectis* might usefully be compared with the name of the *insulae Vacetae* (Collins 1988), a generic name in the Ravenna Cosmography for the islands of Oléron and Ré in the French sector of the Bay of Biscay. If a form ancestral to the latinized *Vacetae* was stressed on the first syllable (which we can't tell, but cf. *Namnetes* > *Nantes*), it could, via a syncopated form */wakt-/, give *Vect(is)*, though the RB stressed vowel is then in need of explanation.[9] No etymology can be given for *Vacetae*, but it cannot have been Aquitanian/Basque for phonological reasons; and even though the continuator of Fredegar's Chronicle equates the eponymous tribe called the *Vaceti* with the Basques,[10] there is no philological connection between the names. We are left with the

possibility of a Southern connection for *Wight*, but cannot even associate it with a particular language.

14. *Bass Rock*

In the light provided by this direction, we might re-examine *Bass* Rock (East Lothian, Scotland), whose earliest recorded form seems to be universally *Bas*,[11] and compare the equally unexplained name of the island of *Batz*, close to Roscoff (Brittany, France), recorded early as *Battha*, *Baz* and now *Baz* in Modern Breton *(Enez Vaz)*.[12] The difference between the final consonants may offer some difficulty, but an early **Bats* could have undergone cluster simplification in any variety of Insular Celtic.

15. *Coll*

The island of Coll in the Inner Hebrides is recorded twice as *Colosus* in Adamnán's *Life of Columba* (Watson 1926: 84–5). Any form with an intervocalic /s/ is a problem to explain in Celtic, and Watson accordingly suggests it might be pre-Celtic. Accepting the dangers of identifying this form naïvely with Greek *kolossós* (of uncertain origin, not originally Greek; see most recently Lindner 2003: 107), we should by no means find it incredible that there could have been a large standing stone of humanoid shape here, as on other Hebridean islands such as North Uist and Lewis. There are at present two smallish stones, the Totronald Stones (personified in Gaelic as *Na Sgeulaichean*, 'The Storytellers'), 5' and 6' tall. These underline an earlier possibility even though they are themselves not exactly convincing as human figures (RCAHMS).

One of *Na Sgeulaichean.*
© Tony Oliver, Coll Digital, reproduced with permission

The name could have been given at a time when *kolossói* were a well-known feature of Hellenic and therefore Mediterranean culture, or by speakers of a language in which the ancestor of the word was a native term. This suggestion leaves the island-name without a generic, but there is no shortage of other islands in the Western Isles whose current names have no apparent (surviving reflex of a) generic term: Seil, Islay, Rum, Eigg and Mull, for example.

Coll is generally explained as deriving from Gaelic *coll* 'hazel'. It is true that hazel is a component of the native flora of certain islands in the Inner Hebrides (Gilbert 1984; Coppins, Coppins, and Quelch 2002), but the modern word does not in itself fully explain the form of the name in Adamnán's *Life of Columba*.

Conclusions negative and positive?

This is only a short paper, and it is already time to take stock. My first conclusion is probably unsurprising: there is no definite evidence for any Palaeohispanic impact on island nomenclature, except to the extent that the presence of Q-Celtic Gaelic may itself represent a strand of such evidence. Perhaps there could not be any in the present limited state of our knowledge. My second conclusion is that the same island nomenclature offers no support at all for Vennemann's Vasconic hypothesis, but Vennemann himself would not expect his Vasconic herdsmen to be involved in the naming of island habitats (personal correspondence, 18/08/2008).[13]

There is, however, some further tantalizing evidence beyond what I have presented here which suggests that Vennemann's other hypothesis of a Semitic connection should not be dismissed out of hand, and which tends to make the suggestions above less incredible. Beyond the small fistful of singleton island-names just presented (Uist, Iona, Seil, Islay, Mull, Sark, and perhaps Scilly, *Ebudae* and Thanet), there are further hints of contact with Semitic, this time in the common topographical vocabulary of Celtic and other place-names of the Celtic-speaking lands.

The Proto-Celtic **ros*- is semantically problematic, having the meanings 'promontory' and 'moor' (Padel 1985: 199–203). Within Indo-European, a single possible Indic comparandum has been suggested (Sanskrit *prasthas* 'plateau', = literally 'that which stands forth'). But perhaps in the first of these senses, which seems to be the earlier (esp. in Irish and Cornish), it could be compared with PrSem **ra'š* 'headland, promontory', in the specifically NWSem form with a backed and raised vowel (Phoenician **rōš* 'head, headland').[14]

Another height-word in Semitic is **rām* as in the modern place-names *Ramat Gan*, Israel, and *Ramallah*, Palestine (PrSem root **rwm*). I have elsewhere argued cautiously that this might be seen in the Cornish place-name *Rame* which may allude to the conspicuous conically-shaped hill on a headland in this parish guarding the entrance to Plymouth Sound, and whose modern pronunciation can be explained in terms of local English dialect conditions (Coates 2006: 7–8). The same root might be seen in a vocalically different form in the name of the island of *R(h)um* (recorded ostensibly in 677 as *Ruim*), whose name is not satisfactorily explained. Mac an Tàilleir (2003) is willing to call it "pre-Gaelic" in defiance of a *prima facie* case for Gaelic *rùim* 'space' and of an earlier Indo-European proposal by Stokes, quoted by Watson (1926: 95, n.3). Rum happens to have the highest mountains anywhere in the Western Isles except the Cuillins group on Skye, including therefore the highest non-Cuillin peak (Askival, 2664', 812m).[15]

There is a problem with Cornish *tor* 'belly', which seems to appear in place-names referring to hills, like its Welsh counterpart *tor* and Irish *torr*. There is an (originally dialectal) English word *tor* applied to rocky outcrops or crags, and this is widely believed to come from the Cornish word (as mentioned by Padel 1985: 221–2). The semantic aspect of this idea is problematic, and it is open for us to wonder whether the English word is really an application of PrSem **ṭur* 'rock', as seen in the name of the city of Tyre, Lebanon, on its offshore rock. Padel notes the difficulty that *tor* does not appear in Cornish with the sense of 'tor, crag', which creates a problem in any

theory of the transmission of the term to English. But formally, there is no problem: **tor*, a feminine noun, could be for "British" **turā*, a formally celticized version of **ṭur*. [16]

The much-discussed but still unexplained OW *cair* 'fort; (later) village', Cornish *ker* 'univallate curvilinear hillslope enclosure; village', Breton *kêr* 'village' (Padel 1985: 51), can be compared with the PrSem root **kpr* 'village' (cf. Ancient Hebrew *kāpār* (bound form *kəpar*), Modern Hebrew *kfar*, Arabic *kafr*), with pan-Celtic loss of /p/.

The suggestions in this part of the paper too are advanced with all due caution. The possibility of coincidental resemblances cannot be dismissed, but for me, there are too many to do that casually. No cultural context is given except the general probability of the settlement of the British Isles from the south, and the possibility that one linguistic strand might be represented by North-West Semitic with no detailed regard for the reasons that might have taken it there.[17] There may be (but need not be) inconsistencies in the implied phonological development of the items discussed here (as implicitly in *Rame* and *Rum*), and I have only touched on the question of how PrSem consonant phonemes might have been represented in Celtic. There is hardly anything that can said on the basis of this evidence about vowels, or about morphology, that of Semitic being of course typologically quite different from that of Indo-European. All that remains is the possibility of glimpsing through a glass darkly the lexis of a language used in the British Isles in periods of settlement more remote than we can see through the lens of the known languages of the area.[18, 19]

Notes

* I am grateful for magnanimous comment on this paper by Theo Vennemann given in the face of nearly twenty years of scepticism on my part about his larger theses. I am also grateful to Paul Tempan for sight of two pre-publication articles of his, on the discovery that we are working with similar ideas; and also to Tony Oliver for permission to use his image of a Totronald Stone. This paper covers some of the ground of my unpublished paper, "On a recent view of the linguistic prehistory of Europe", read to the Linguistics Association of Great Britain conference, University of Sussex, Brighton, April 1996.

1. Quoted by Laurence Lerner in his obituary of Professor Nuttall, *The Independent*, 8 February 2007.

2. Relevant texts by these writers are printed in Rivet and Smith (1979).

3. Vennemann appears to subscribe to the notion that modern linguistic evidence may disguise earlier evidence through wholesale folk-etymology (in one of two senses: Vennemann 1999b).

4. More specifically, he believes that Germanic is "substratally Vasconized, superstratally Hamito-Semiticized Indo-European" (Vennemann 2000: abstract). The possibility of a Semitic substrate in Irish was first articulated systematically by Pokorny (1927).

5. I should make it perfectly clear that Vennemann has not uttered an opinion on the two names in this section, and that his views on the elements mentioned are given here to provide a wider context for my remarks. He believes, moreover, that Vasconic influence on these or any other island-names is unlikely, since its speakers "were no seafarers" (personal correspondence, 18/08/2008).

6. See Coates (1988b) for the full argument; the loss of final /m/ is an effect of Greek phonotactics. Note also the alternative Ptolemaic name of the group consisting of Ibiza and Formentera, *Pityussa*, taken to mean 'Pine Islands' after Greek *pitúa* 'pine'; and the argument of Rivet and Smith (1979: 452) that the unidentified garble *Saponis* in the *Ravenna cosmography* refers to fir or pine in a Celtic language.

7. Bennett *et al.* (1990: 289), citing Wilkins (1984), have noted pine *(Pinus sylvestris)* from the archaeo-botanic record of peat-bogs in South Uist, even though this tree is now extinct in the Western Isles.

8. I discussed this element in relation to an etymology for the waterway known as *The Solent* before opting for an Indo-European solution (Coates 1988a).

9. It may be significant that the other front vowel in the Gaulish phonological system, [e], may be raised to [i] after [w] (Lambert 1997: 41); an analogous effect on the lower vowel [a] could account for *Vectis*, assuming that Gaulish and British shared some phonological characteristics.

10. «… cum exercito magno et plurima Wasconorum qui ultra Garonnam commorantur, quem antiquitus vocati sunt Vaceti.» Quoted by Collins (1988: 214).

11. E.g., Wyntown's *Cronykil*, 1404, 1426; Hector Boece 1526.

12. Forms recovered, with others, from http://www.infobretagne.com/ile-de-batz.htm (accessed March 2008).

13. For completeness' sake, I should draw attention to the Iberian anthroponymic and toponymic element *urke*, *orke-*, *urka* identified by Untermann (1998: 77, 81) as a possible comparandum for the first element of *Orkney*, but this resemblance is the only one that can be derived from his list and should therefore be put down to chance.

14. This idea has been published recently independently by Vennemann (2006: 349–50 and notes), picking up earlier work by R. Henning. Tempan (2008a; 2008b) has independently suggested the alien origin of Irish *ros*.

15. The fact that the names *Rame* and *Rum* end in /m/ poses a problem for Celtic derivation. Since intervocalic lenition of */m/ would be expected, my account suggests implicitly that these exotic names were indeclinable and suffixless in Common Celtic, in much the same way that one finds *Les Écrehou* for certain cluster of rocks in the Channel Islands, whose name is of foreign (in this case Scandinavian) origin. Otherwise, the source of the /m/ must be found in a geminate or a bilabial cluster, which are inconsistent with the present suggestion.

16. On the corresponding Irish *torr*, see now also Tempan (2008b).

17. That is, nothing is concluded about whether PrSem might be substratal, superstratal or adstratal to the familiar languages of the islands. Further to my note 3, "Vennemann appears to subscribe to the notion that modern linguistic evidence may disguise earlier evidence through wholesale folk-etymology": if one starts with that perspective, one may doubt the acceptable Celtic solutions available for such names as *Eigg* from Ir. *eag* 'notch', *Hinba* (?Jura) from Ir. *inbe* 'incision' (Watson 1926: 85 and 82–3), and *Ériu* (Ireland) ultimately from PIE **piHwerjon-* 'fat (land)' (Schrijver 1995: 288). For the last of these, Vennemann (1998b) has counter-proposed an origin in PrSem **'y-wr'(m)* (? = **'iy-weri'um*) 'copper island', which might or might not suggest that he regards the modern form of the name as having been subjected to IE/Celtic folk-etymology.

18. In making the suggestions in this paper, I commit myself to no other aspect of any Semitidic hypothesis than those specifically mentioned. I am not a Semiticist, and have relied throughout on others' accounts of Semitic roots and their meanings, aware that, in some cases, reconstructions of the same root have differed and that they have been transcribed and vocalized in different ways.

19. Note the very interesting recent paper by Mac Eoin (2007) suggesting that *a* language substratal to Irish must have had intervocalic /f/. This suggestion is incompatible with that language's being PrSem at the stage of phonological development suggested by the evidence presented here.

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THE ORIGINS OF THE *COMMENDA* CONTRACT

By JOHN H. PRYOR

ULTIMATELY the origins of the medieval *commenda* contract are unknowable simply because the contract was the product of an amalgamation of many different traditions. That which follows does not pretend to offer conclusive evidence for the derivation of the *commenda* from any other single contract. Rather, its intent is to show that the *commenda* embodied borrowings from several sources in different proportions and that this was entirely natural since the peculiar features of the *commenda* were developed by the commercial community itself during the early Middle Ages. Indeed, the *commenda* would be expected to have embodied borrowings from elsewhere since the commercial community was surely the most pragmatic and eclectic of all segments of medieval society. Yet even if the *commenda* comprised an amalgam of borrowings from several different sources, the extent of borrowing from each of the various sources differed. It is a reinterpretation of the strength of the various influences and a suggestion for a revised synthesis which is offered here.

In the course of the last decade, Professor Udovitch has argued forcefully and repeatedly that the source most likely to have contributed to the peculiar characteristics of the *commenda* was the Muslim *qirād* contract. He has argued this thesis in three successive works: "At the Origins of the Western Commenda: Islam, Israel, Byzantium?" SPECULUM 37 (1962), 198–207; *Partnership and Profit in Early Medieval Islamic Trade* (Princeton, 1970), p. 172; and "Commercial Techniques in Early Medieval Islamic Trade," in D. S. Richards, ed., *Islam and the Trade of Asia: A Colloquium,* Papers on Islamic History 2 (Oxford/Philadelphia, 1970), p. 48. However, in spite of the forcefulness of his arguments and the indisputably close similarity of the *qirād* to the *commenda,* historians of medieval economic history remained skeptical. For example, on page 76 of his attractive little book *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950–1350,*[1] Professor Lopez left the question open. He simply said that Islam and Byzantium seem to have the best claims as possible sources for the *commenda.* By this he alluded to the Byzantine *chreokoinōnia* contract as well as to the *qirād.* In fact, the influences on the development of the *commenda* were even more complex than this. Both the Jewish *'isqa* contract and the Roman *societas* have good claims to be important sources of the principles and characteristics of the *commenda.* The possible influence of these last two contracts on the *commenda* has been underestimated by most historians.

A contract in which one party invested his labor and the other invested his capital was an eminently practical means of financing commerce. Consequently, it is not in the least surprising that contracts similar to the *commenda* should have been used previously by other civilizations. The Babylonian

[1] Englewood Cliffs, 1971.

tapputim, the Athenian maritime loan ἑτερόπλουν, and the Roman sea loan (*nauticum fenus*) might be added to those already mentioned. However, only the *nauticum fenus*, the *societas*, the *'isqa*, the *chreokoinōnia*, and the *qirād* seem close enough to the *commenda* in time and geography to have had any direct influence upon it. Even then, whether these contracts did influence the development of the *commenda* and of each other cannot be determined with certainty simply because a contract like the *commenda* was such a practical means of financing commercial activity. They may all have been individual responses to similar economic needs in different places at different times. There is no direct evidence of influence on the *commenda* by any of these contracts except the *chreokoinōnia*. Therefore, in considering the relative importance of the various influences on the *commenda*, all that can be attempted is to point out certain similarities and differences and to assess which contract was the most similar to the *commenda* and therefore most likely to have influenced its development.

In what follows there is no attempt to describe in detail the structure of the *commenda* contract. At the present time, even the best works on the *commenda*, those of Astuti and Scialoja,[2] are greatly deficient in their analysis of the way in which the *commenda* fitted into the pattern of commerce in the Mediterranean and of the basic economic function of the contract: the ways in which individual merchants put *commenda* contracts into operation in order to increase their material prosperity. An exploration of the extensive legal and economic ramifications of the *commenda* must await a further study,[3] but for the purposes of this study it is necessary to outline the basic economic features of the *commenda* contract. These were as follows:

1. A sedentary investor, generally known as a *commendator*, delivered capital[4] into the possession of a travelling associate, generally known as a *tractator*.
2. The *tractator* might or might not add capital of his own to that of the *commendator*. If he did not, the contract is referred to by modern historians as a unilateral *commenda* since the capital was supplied by one party only. If he did invest some additional capital, it was usually a half of that contributed by the *commendator* and modern historians refer to the contract as a bilateral *commenda* since both parties supplied capital.

[2] Guido Astuti, *Origini e svolgimento storico della commenda fino al secolo XIII*, Documenti e Studi per la Storia del Commercio e del Diritto Commerciale Italiano 3 (Turin, 1933). Antonio Scialoja, *La commenda nel diritto commune del Mediterraneo dei secoli XI–XIII* in his *Saggi di storia del diritto marittimo* (Rome, 1946).

[3] Such a study related to a single port was the subject of my unpublished Ph.D. thesis: "The Commenda Contract in Mediterranean Maritime Commerce During the Thirteenth Century: A Study Based on Marseilles," University of Toronto, 1974. This article is a development of part of that thesis and owes much to several teachers who furnished valuable advice: in particular Professor A. Watson, Professor J. Gilchrist, Father L. Boyle, and Father W. Hayes.

[4] By capital is understood coinage, precious metals, merchandise, or a combination of all three.

3. The *commendator* might give certain directions concerning the management of the enterprise to be undertaken by the *tractator.*
4. The *tractator* took the capital away with him, generally overseas, and put it to work in some way.
5. On expiration of the time or voyages specified in the agreement made between the parties, the *tractator* returned to the home port to render account and divide the proceeds[5] with the *commendator.* Under certain circumstances, or by agreement with the *commendator,* the *tractator* could remit the proceeds without returning to the home port himself.
6. After allowing for expenses incurred and deducting the capital originally contributed by either or both parties, profit or loss was divided according to a ratio agreed upon in the original contract. Generally, and in the archetypal case, in a unilateral *commenda* the *commendator* received ¾ of any profit and bore all liability for loss while the *tractator* received ¼ of any profit and bore no liability for loss of capital. He lost the value of his labor of course. In a bilateral *commenda* any profit was usually divided ½–½ while the *commendator* bore ⅔ of any loss and the *tractator* ⅓. (This is the archetypal division of profit and loss for both forms of the *commenda* as found in the statutes and most contracts from ports such as Genoa, Venice, Amalfi, Marseilles, and Barcelona. There were, of course, many variations. At Dubrovnik, for example, the ¾–¼ division of profit for the unilateral *commenda* was not the rule at all.)

In addition to the economic structure of the contract, the juridical nature of the *commenda* and the medieval conception of it as a contract must be understood before proper analogies between it and other contracts can become apparent. Professor Udovitch's attempt to determine the origins of the *commenda* suffered severely from an inadequate analysis of the *commenda* itself; an analysis which led him to underestimate the possible influence of the *'isqa* and *chreokoinōnia* and to ignore altogether that of the Roman *societas* and *nauticum fenus.* In an essay as short as this, one would neither be able, nor wish, to examine in depth the juridical nature of the *commenda.* On the other hand, it is necessary to look at all aspects relevant to the succeeding discussion of the possible influence of other contracts. These may be grouped under two headings: the relationship between the unilateral and bilateral forms of the *commenda* and secondly the precise juridical nature of the contract. Just what kind of contract was the *commenda*?

The Unilateral and Bilateral *Commenda*

At the basic economic level a merchant's choice of whether to use a unilateral or bilateral *commenda* for a particular enterprise was largely determined by his own economic resources and by those of the party with

[5] By proceeds is understood the entire developed capital, that is, the original capital plus all profit made or minus all loss incurred.

whom he contracted. A *tractator* who had no personal capital of his own could contract a unilateral *commenda* only. On the other hand, if a *tractator* did have some capital of his own, it was in the best interests of the *commendator* to make the *commenda* a bilateral one. The rate of return would often have been higher when the capital was thus increased by fifty per cent.[6] The fact that the use of either form of *commenda* was largely occasioned by economic circumstances is well illustrated by extant Genoese notarial acts for *commenda* contracts. When a *tractator* had some capital but could not, or did not wish to, invest as much as a half of the amount proposed by the *commendator,* the Genoese combined a unilateral *commenda* with a bilateral one to meet the need. For example:

> Testes Lanfrancus Brugnun, Oger Brugnon, Petrus Iombardus, Bonus Vassallus. [*sic*] Caput Galli et Iordan de domo contraxerunt societatem in quam Bonus Vassallus lb. triginta et Iordanus lb. .xv. contulit Hanc Iordanus ultramare et inde quo maluerit Alexandriam vel Ianuam vel Buçeam ab Alexandria tamen Buçeam et Buçea Ianuam venire possit, tracto ipso capitali proficuum per medium. Ultra has portat idem Iordanus lb. .ciii. ipsius Boni Vassalli Capitis Galli, quo cum predicta societate iverit et debent expendere et lucrari per libram et de proficuo earum quartam habere debet ipse Iordan, in potestatem Capitis Galli venire debet et iste et alie. Actum in domum Capitis Galli, millesimo .clvii., .vi. kalendas septembris, indicione quarta.[7]

Here the *commendator,* Bonus Vassallus Caput Galli, invested in a bilateral *commenda* double the amount of capital available to the *tractator,* Iordan(us) de Domo, and then invested his excess capital of £103.0.0 in a unilateral *commenda* appended to the bilateral. The two forms were employed quite indifferently as a result of the amount of capital available to each of the two parties. There is also an extant notarial act for a dual *commenda* of this type at Marseilles.[8] Indeed, there seems every reason to believe that such a common-sense practice would have been widespread.

[6] Theoretically, the *commendator* received the same amount of profit regardless of whether a bilateral or unilateral *commenda* was used. If the *commendator* invested £100 and profit was 100%, he would gain ¾ × £100 = £75 from a unilateral *commenda* and ½ × £150 = £75 from a bilateral *commenda.*

[7] Mario Chiaudano, Mattia Moresco, eds., *Il cartolare di Giovanni Scriba,* Documenti e Studi per la Storia del Commercio e del Diritto Commerciale Italiano 1 and 2, 2 vols. (1935; rpt. Turin, 1970), no. 263. See Eugene H. Byrne, "Commercial Contracts of the Genoese in the Syrian Trade of the Twelfth Century," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 31 (1916), 145–147. Further examples may be found in *Giovanni Scriba,* nos. 444, 888, 1291. Margaret W. Hall, Hilmar C. Krueger, Robert L. Reynolds, eds., *Guglielmo Cassinese (1190–1192),* Notai liguri del secolo XII, No. 2, 2 vols. (Genoa, 1938), nos. 8, 12, 38, 123, 143, 218, 249, etc. Margaret W. Hall-Cole, Hilmar C. Krueger, R. G. Reinert, Robert L. Reynolds, eds., *Giovanni di Guiberto (1200–1211),* Notai lig. del sec. XII, No. 5, 2 vols. (Genoa, 1939), nos. 178, 661, 768, 797, 843, 1044. J. E. Eierman, Hilmar C. Krueger, Robert L. Reynolds, eds., *Bonvillano (1198),* Not. lig. del sec. XII, No. 3 (Genoa, 1939), nos. 2, 65, 76, 102, 116, 135, 175.

[8] Louis Blancard, ed., *Documents inédits sur le commerce de Marseille au moyen-âge,* 2 vols. (Marseilles, 1884–1885), 2 (*Les notules commerciales d'Amalric*) no. 118. Blancard's edition of this cartulary is highly unreliable and should be avoided wherever possible.

The sole extant accounting of *commenda* voyages, that given at Genoa by a *tractator,* Ansaldo Baialardo, to his *commendator,* Ingo da Volta, for three voyages made in 1156, 1157, and 1158, provides further evidence that the form of contract used was determined by the economic resources available at the time to the parties in question.[9] In this case, the choice of form of contract for each of the three voyages was apparently determined by the capital available to the *tractator,* Ansaldo Baialardo. For the first voyage in 1156 he had no capital and the *commenda* therefore had to be unilateral. His share of the profit made on this voyage amounted to £18.10.0 and could have been invested in a bilateral *commenda* for the second voyage. However, perhaps because £18.10.0 was such a small sum in relation to the £254.14.1 which Ingo da Volta wished to invest in the second voyage, the partners apparently decided that Ansaldo should use his £18.10.0 on his own account separately from this £254.14.1, which he now received from Ingo in a second unilateral *commenda.* Ansaldo made a profit of £17.9.11 on his own £18.10.0 and in addition received £56.16.6 as his fourth share of the profit on the unilateral *commenda.* After the second voyage he had thus accumulated capital of £92.16.5. For the third voyage he invested a very worthwhile £64.8.8 in a bilateral *commenda* yet could still leave part of his accumulated profit in reserve. On the other hand, in addition to the £128.17.4 which he invested in this bilateral *commenda* for the third voyage, Ingo da Volta also supplied another £284.9.10 in a unilateral *commenda.* In this case, the *tractator's* fourth share of the profit was to be turned back into the bilateral *commenda,* meaning that he would receive only one eighth of the profit from the unilateral *commenda.* As Professor Astuti has said,[10] for these three successive voyages the two forms of *commenda* were used and adapted indifferently and cumulatively according to the capital available to the *tractator.*

If the choice between a unilateral and a bilateral *commenda* was determined for a particular voyage as much by the capital resources of the partners as by anything else, were the two forms of *commenda* considered to be different contracts or simply varieties of the same contract to be used in different circumstances? With the very notable exception of Astuti, modern historians have generally treated the unilateral and bilateral *commendae* as different

[9] Published in Guido Astuti, *Rendiconti mercantili inediti del cartolare di Giovanni Scriba,* Istituto giuridico della R. Università di Torino. Testi inediti o rari 3 (Turin, 1933). See also Florence Edler de Roover, "Partnership Accounts in Twelfth-Century Genoa," *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society* 15, no. 6 (Dec. 1941), 87–92.

[10] G. Astuti, "Ancora su le origini e la natura giuridica del contratto di *commenda* marittima," in *Mostra bibliografica e Convegno internazionale di studi storici del diritto marittimo medioevale: Amalfi — luglio–ottobre 1934,* 2 vols. (Naples, 1934–35), 1:1–28; here p. 7: "L'identità di struttura giuridica ed economica delle due forme emerge altresì nel modo più evidente e sicuro da alcuni documenti genovesi della metà del secolo XII, già da me pubblicati ed illustrati, che conservan testimonianza dei rapporti intercorsi per un periodo di più anni tra un capitalista ed un mercante, nei quali l'una e l'altra forma sono adottate indifferentemente ed anche cumulativamente a seconda della disponibilità patrimoniali del commerciante, e presentano, sotto ogni aspetto, la più completa identità nel loro funzionamento pratico."

contracts. The reason for this point of view lies simply in the circumstance that different names were often applied to the two forms in the Middle Ages. The names *commenda, comanda,* or *accomendatio* were often applied to the unilateral contract and the names *societas* (*maris*) or *compagnia* to the bilateral. However, even the nomenclature did not differentiate consistently between the two forms and it was, moreover, largely a question of local custom whether different names were used for the two forms or not. Where they were, it was simply for convenience rather than because there was any real difference between the two forms.

Amongst the municipal statutes, the *Constitutum Usus* of Pisa used *compagnia* for the unilateral *commenda* and *societas* for the bilateral, but only the one generic term *societas* when discussing provisions of the law applying equally to both forms of *commenda.*[11] Venetian legislation used the name *collegantia* and Amalfitan legislation the name *societas maris* for both forms of *commenda.*[12] The statutes of Pera, Genoa, and Marseilles treated *accomendationes* (Marseilles — *commande*) and *societates* together without differentiating between them in any way.[13] Elsewhere the statutes either mentioned one form only or else it is not clear whether the two forms were referred to by the same or by different names.[14] Nomenclature was also inconsistent in notarial

[11] Pisa, *Constitutum Usus* XXII (*De societate inter extraneos facta*), in Francesco Bonaini, ed., *Statuti inediti della città di Pisa dal XII al XIV secolo,* 3 vols. (Florence, 1854–70), 2:883–897. Both unilateral and bilateral *commendae* were included within the term *societas.* In par. 4, where division of profit and loss for the bilateral *commenda* was discussed, the term *societas* was used. In par. 8, where that for the unilateral *commenda* was discussed, the term *compagnia* was used.

[12] Venice, *Nove constitutiones sive leges que a domino Rainerio Dandulo . . . institute sunt* 16, in Enrico Besta, Riccardo Predelli, eds., "Gli statuti civili di Venezia anteriori al 1242," *Nuovo archivio veneto,* Nuova serie 1, parte 2 (1901), p. 251. This statute prohibited the *tractator* from investing in *collegantiae.* If *collegantia* was used for a contract in which he could not invest, there must have been unilateral *collegantiae* as well as the bilateral ones which were thus declared illicit. Amalfi, *Consuetudines civitatis Amalphae* 14, in Niccola Alianelli, *Delle antiche consuetudini e leggi marittime delle provincie napolitane* (Naples, 1871), p. 136.

[13] Pera, *Statuti di Pera* 207–232, in Vincenzo Promis, ed., "Statuti della colonia genovese di Pera," *Miscellanea di storia italiana edita per cura della Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria* 11 (1870), 736–754. Genoa, "Breve genovese del Consolato de'Placiti," in Pietro Datta, ed., "Frammento di breve genovese del Consolato de'Placiti," *Atti della Soc. Lig. di Storia Patria* 1, parte 2 (1859), 82–84. Marseilles, *Statuts de Marseille* 3.19–3.25, 6.19, in Régine Pernoud, ed., *Les statuts municipaux de Marseille,* Collection de textes pour servir à l'histoire de Provence (Monaco/Paris, 1949), pp. 133–136, 199–201.

[14] The *Consolat del Mar* of Barcelona called the contract *comanda* but did not mention the bilateral form: *Consolat del Mar* 165–176, 210, 234, 235, in Travers Twiss, ed., *Monumenta Juridica. The Black Book of the Admiralty,* Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages 55, 4 vols. (London, 1871–1876), Appendix: Part III, 3:306–560. The same was true of the *Costums de Tortosa,* which referred to the unilateral contract only and called it *comanda,* and of the Statutes of Dubrovnik, which referred to the unilateral contract only but called it *collegantia. Costums de Tortosa* 4.17, in Bienvenido Oliver y Esteller, ed., *Libre de les costums generals excrites de la insigne ciutat de Tortosa,* vol. 4 of his *Historia del derecho en Cataluña, Mallorca y Valencia. Código de las costumbres de Tortosa* (Madrid, 1876–1881), pp. 189–193. *Liber statutorum Ragusii* 7.50–7.51, in V. (Baltazar) Bogišić, Constantin Jireček, eds., *Liber statutorum civitatis Ragusii compositus anno 1272,* Monumenta

acts for *commenda* contracts. At Genoa at least one bilateral *commenda* was called an *accomendatio*[15] and unilateral *commendae* were sometimes called *societates.*[16] Giovanni Scriba, who redacted the earliest extant Genoese notarial cartulary, twice used the term *societas ad quartum proficui* for a unilateral *commenda.*[17] Some Genoese notaries in the Levant towards the end of the thirteenth century used the term *societas sive accomendatio* in acts they recieved for unilateral *commendae.*[18] Venetian notarial acts used *collegantia* for the bilateral *commenda* but gave no name at all to the unilateral.[19] At Amalfi notarial acts appear to have used *societas* for the bilateral *commenda* while viewing the unilateral as a type of sale.[20] At Pisa and in Pisan-controlled Sardinia in the thirteenth century unilateral *commendae* were termed *societates maris.*[21] At Marseilles notaries sometimes confused the nomenclature for the two types of *commenda.* In 1248 Giraud Amalric used the term *comanda* for a bilateral *commenda* in which the *tractator* invested £54.10.0.[22] Conversely, in 1292, the notary Pons Marin termed a unilateral *commenda* a *societas.*[23]

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historico-juridica Slavorum meridionalium 9 (Zagreb, 1904), p. 167. The *Establimen de Comandas* of Montpellier discussed *comanda* and *companhia* but did not indicate whether the unilateral and bilateral forms were referred to: *Establimen de Comandas,* in de St. Paul, Grasset, Desmazes et al., eds., *Thalamus Parvus. Le Petit Thalamus de Montpellier* (Montpellier, 1836), p. 132. The Customs of Toulouse referred to a unilateral *commenda* only but called it a *societas: Consuetudines Tholose* 72 (*De societatibus*), in Henri Gilles, ed., *Les coutumes de Toulouse (1286) et leur premier commentaire (1296),* Extrait du Recueil de l'Académie de Législation, Sixième série, No. 5 (Toulouse, 1969), pp. 110–111. The Assizes of the Court of Burgesses of the Kingdom of Jerusalem did not name the contract at all but nevertheless considered the unilateral form only: *Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois* 44, 48, in Arthur A. Beugnot, ed., *Assises de Jérusalem,* Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Lois. Tome 2 (Paris, 1843), pp. 43–46.

[15] *Bonvillano (1198),* no. 234.

[16] *Guglielmo Cassinese (1190–1192),* nos. 32, 36. *Giovanni Scriba,* nos. 11, 115, 355, 356, 612.

[17] *Giovanni Scriba,* nos. 209, 705.

[18] Cornelio Desimoni, "Actes passés en 1271, 1274 et 1279 à l'Aïas (Petite Arménie) et à Beyrouth par devant des notaires génois," *Archives de l'Orient latin* 1 (1881), B (Acta Friderici de Platealonga e registro Nicolai Dentis Notarii), nos. 4, 5, 72, 77, 79, and by the same author, "Actes passés à Famagouste de 1299 à 1301 par devant le notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto," *Archives de l'Orient latin* 2 (1884), Documents, no. 190.

[19] Bilateral *collegantiae* in Raimondo Morozzo della Rocca, Antonio Lombardo, eds., *Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli XI–XIII,* Documenti e Studi per la Storia del Commercio e del Diritto Commerciale Italiano 19, 20, 2 vols. (Turin, 1940), nos. 13, 106, 123, 191, 234, 239, etc. Unilateral and unnamed in ibid., nos. 467, 468, 469, 471, 477, 478, etc.

[20] Matteo Camera, *Memorie storico-diplomatiche dell'antica citta e ducato di Amalfi,* 2 vols. (Salerno, 1876, 1881), 1:433–435, 2:xl–xli.

[21] Robert S. Lopez, "The Unexplored Wealth of the Notarial Archives in Pisa and Lucca," doc. 8, in *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen-âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), p. 429. David Herlihy, *Pisa in the Early Renaissance: A Study of Urban Growth,* Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 68 (New Haven, 1958), Appendix IV (Doc. 20), p. 208. Francesco Artizzu, *Documenti inediti relativi ai rapporti economici tra la Sardegna e Pisa nel Medioevo,* Pub. dell'Istituto di Storia Medioevale e Moderna dell'Università degli Studi di Cagliari 1, 2, 2 vols. (Padua, 1961, 1962), 1:nos. 4, 5.

[22] *Archives Communales de la Ville de Marseille,* série II, No. 1, fol. 61v.

[23] Ibid., série II, No. 12, fol. 81r.

This confusion in nomenclature resulted from a close identification of the two forms of *commenda* by the notaries in question. At Marseilles, because of the vastly greater number of unilateral contracts for which he received acts, Giraud Amalric became so habituated to the unilateral term *comanda* that on the occasion when he had to write an act for a bilateral *commenda*, he often initially wrote *comanda* without thinking and later cancelled it and replaced it by *societas* or *companhia*.[24] Indeed, for Amalric nomenclature was not determined by the nature of the investment of capital at all, but rather by the division of profit. If the *tractator* was to receive a quarter of the profit, Amalric termed the contract a *comanda*. If he was to receive a half of the profit, Amalric termed the contract a *societas* or *companhia*. Thus, in one act he originally termed the contract a *comanda* because it was unilateral but, after completing the act, realized that the *tractator* was to receive a half of the profit rather than a quarter and therefore changed *comanda* to *societas* and *companhia*.[25] Genoese notaries sometimes appear to have reasoned similarly. For example, in 1198 Bonvillano wrote an act for a bilateral *commenda* which he called an *accomendatio* apparently because the *tractator* was to receive only a quarter of the profit.[26] Guglielmo Cassinese and Giovanni Scriba both wrote acts for unilateral *commendae* which they called *societates* because in each case the *tractator* was to receive a half of the profit rather than a quarter.[27]

Close identification of the two forms of *commenda* was to be expected since they differed only in the method of investment of capital and the division of profit and loss. Notarial acts for the two forms of *commenda* were identical except for specifications concerning these points. Both consisted of a declaration of obligation by the *tractator* alone even though he also invested capital in bilateral *commendae*. The various clauses succeeded each other in the same order in acts for both forms of *commenda*. Specifications concerning the voyage and trading with the *commenda* were the same in both cases because the *tractator* alone had an active role during the voyage no matter what the form of *commenda*. Therefore, in both forms the *tractator* alone posted security against proper performance of his obligations. The *commendator* had no need to do so since he was presumed to have delivered his capital to the *tractator* prior to redaction of the notarial act for the contract and he then had no further obligations until the division of proceeds. Only then did the source of capital, whether the *commenda* was unilateral or bilateral, again become important.

In statutory law and notarial practice all indications are that the unilateral

[24] Ibid., série II, No. 1, fol. 60v: ". . . Et ego dictus Bertrandus confiteor quod in hac *comanda* (companhia) habent . . . ," and fol. 122v: . . . et recepisse in *comanda* (companhia) a te . . ."

[25] Ibid., série II, No. 1, fol. 71v. In the example given at n. 22 above, Amalric reversed his logic. The *tractator* was to receive only a quarter of the profit even though the contract was bilateral.

[26] *Bonvillano (1198)*, no. 234.

[27] *Guglielmo Cassinese (1190–1192)*, no. 32; *Giovanni Scriba*, nos. 355, 356 & 612.

and bilateral forms of *commenda* were regarded simply as varieties of the same contract. Where different names were used for the two forms, it was a practice used simply for convenience. The fact that the statutes of Marseilles, Genoa, and Pera discussed *accomendationes* (Marseilles — *commande*) and *societates* without differentiating between them in any way was indicative of the common identity of the two forms. So also was the use of a common *nomen juris* to embrace both forms in the *Constitutum Usus* of Pisa. Elsewhere there was sufficient confusion in nomenclature and reference to the two forms by the same name to indicate a common identity. We might add that the historical development of the two forms was so close as to almost preclude in itself the assumption that they were, in fact, different contracts. The bilateral *commenda* seems to have been the form in earliest use and the unilateral seems to have developed out of it.[28] The differences between the unilateral and bilateral *commenda* were simply alternative responses to slightly different circumstances. The flexibility of the *commenda* contract as a form of investment enabled *commendator* and *tractator* to modify it as they wished in order to cope with varying economic needs.

The Juridical Nature of the *Commenda*

Because the *commenda* was a development of the customary law of commerce rather than of juridical science, the earliest extant sources referring to it are notarial acts and municipal statutes. It is first referred to in 976 in its Venetian form of *collegantia* and the first extant notarial act for a *collegantia* contract dates from 1073.[29] Of the municipal statutes referring to *commendae* whose date can be fixed with certainty, the oldest is the Pisan *Constitutum Usus* of 1156; however, the *Tabula de Amalfa* of Amalfi and the *Ordinamenta et Consuetudo Maris* of Trani may originally have been promulgated prior to this. The statutes divide into two categories in their conception of the juridical nature of the *commenda*. At Venice and Amalfi, *commen-*

[28] Bilateral *commendae* were used more frequently during the early part of the commercial revolution but were displaced by unilateral *commendae* towards the end of the twelfth century. See Frederic C. Lane, "Investment and Usury," in *Venice and History: The Collected Papers of Frederic C. Lane* (Baltimore, 1966), p. 59 (reprinted from *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History,* ser. 2, 2 [1964], pp. 3–15), and Byrne, "Commercial Contracts," pp. 152–170. See also Hilmar C. Krueger, "Genoese Merchants, their Associations and Investments, 1155–1230," in *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani,* 6 vols. (Milan, 1962), 1:421, and André Sayous, "Les associations de caractère capitaliste à Venise entre le Milieu du XIe siècle et celui du XIIe," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes-Rendus des Séances,* Année 1933, pp. 441–443. The first extant unilateral *collegantia* does not appear at Venice till 1205 (see n. 19 above). In the statutes promulgated by Rainerio Dandolo (n. 12 above) the bilateral *collegantia* was banned. At Genoa the ratio of unilateral to bilateral *commendae* climbed from .38:1 in the period 1155–64 to 5.54:1 in 1200 (based on figures in Krueger, "Genoese Merchants," pp. 421–422).

[29] Morozzo della Rocca, *Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli XI–XIII,* no. 13. Translated in Robert S. Lopez, Irving W. Raymond, eds., *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World,* Records of Civilizations, Sources and Studies 52 (1955; rpt. New York, n. d.), pp. 176–177. The earliest mention of a *collegantia* is published in Julius von Ficker, *Forschungen zur Reichs- und Rechtsgeschichte Italiens,* 4 vols. (1868–74; rpt. Aalen, 1961), 4, no. 29 (p. 40).

dator and *tractator* were referred to as *creditor* and *debitor* respectively. This practice emphasized the idea of a debt owed for capital received. Thus, in the *Usus Venetorum* of 1204:

> Si autem rationem faciendo dixerit debitor quod habere colegantie sibi ceciderit uel fuerit sibi furatum, si ita iurauerit, habere non compellatur reddere creditori. Quod si dixerit quod naufragium habuerit uel fuerit captus uel eciam fuerit combustus (et ita legitimis testibus comprobauerit) tenebitur firmare quod ita sit suo sacramento.[30]

This chapter of the *Usus Venetorum* dealt with the means by which a *tractator* should render account to his *commendator* and in it the *tractator* was termed the *debitor* and the *commendator* the *creditor*. The case was the same in a chapter of the *Consuetudines civitatis Amalphae* of Amalfi dealing with the division of profit:

> . . . sed si datur [pecunia] in societate maris, de lucro creditor habebit tres quartas partes, reliqua quarta pars debitori pro suis fatigiis remanente. . . .[31]

It seems very likely that, as a consequence of the close historial relationship of Venice and Amalfi with Byzantium, the overtones of debt (*chreos*) recognized in the Byzantine *chreokoinōnia* (see below, p. 23) may have been inherited in the conception of the *commenda* held at Venice and at Amalfi.

Elsewhere in the Western Mediterranean municipal statutes stressed a relationship of *societas*, partnership, rather than of debt, between *commendator* and *tractator*. For example, at Marseilles the Statutes of 1253 referred to the *commendator* and *tractator* as *socii*, partners:

> . . . et ille qui taliter recepit [commandam] sine licencia vel consensu dicti socii vel commendatoris vel haeredem ejus . . .

and:

> . . . poterit petere seu proindre [sic] agere cum effectu adversus dictum commendatarium [tractatorem] vel socium aut eorum heredes vel successores . . .[32]

Tractator and *commendator* were similarly referred to as *socii* in the statutes of Genoa, Pera, and Pisa; in fact, in all statutes where they were referred to by any other name at all.[33]

[30] Venice, *Usus Venetorum* 32, in Besta, Predelli, eds., "Gli statuti civili di Venezia," p. 222. Cf. *Usus Venetorum* 30, 32 (ibid., pp. 221–222); *Nove constitutiones sive leges que a domino Rainerio Dandulo . . . institute sunt* 16 (ibid., p. 251); and *Nove leges Jacobi Teupoli* 16 (ibid., p. 273).

[31] Amalfi, *Consuetudines civitatis Amalphae* 14, in Alianelli, *Delle antiche consuetudini . . . napolitane*, p. 136.

[32] Marseilles, *Statuts de Marseille* 3.19 (p. 133), 3.25.1 (pp. 135–136).

[33] Genoa, "Breve genovese del Consolato de'Placiti," 6 (p. 84): "Si quis uero cum pecunia uel rebus alicuius iuit extra ianuam negotiatum et miserit (ianuam) merces uel res aliquas ego si inde ab aliquo socio eius aut accomendatario qui pecuniam ei in societate uel accomendatione dederit monitus fuero. . . ." Pera, *Statuti di Pera* 207 (p. 736): "Si quis in societate vel accomendacione vel mutuo aut emptione facienda pecuniam ab aliquo acceperit et in cursum iverit vel

Of all the municipal statutes, the Customs of Toulouse and the juridical commentary on them most demonstrably identified the *commenda* as a partnership, *societas*. The *commenda* as used by the merchants of Toulouse was described as follows in the Customs themselves:

> Noverint, etc. quod usus seu consuetudo est Tholose inter mercatores quod, si aliquis tradiderit alicui vina vel aliquam mercandariam causa ducendi seu deferendi in quibuscunque partibus extra Tholosam, videlicet ad quartum denarium quem recipiens debet de lucro recipere et habere vel ad majorem seu minorem partem . . .[34]

In the juridical commentary on the Customs, written some ten years after their promulgation, this *commenda* contract of the Toulousain merchants was identified with the Roman *societas* as described in *Digest* 17.2.29 and 17.2.30:

> *De societatibus* habemus rubricam et quia sepe societas inter aliquos contrahitur, ideo de actione pro socio videamus que actio ut competat titulus sit necessaria. . . . Tercium quod societas ista contrahatur ad commodiorem usum et uberiorem questum ad hoc ut locum habeat directa actio pro socio et hoc invenitur in Marcho Tullio, licet expressim verba ista in lege non ponantur, equipolencia tamen ponuntur. Nam dicitur in societate unius socii industriam multum conferre et sic propter unum sit comodior usus alterius et conquestus uberior et multociens habetur ratio dampni et lucri *ff. pro socio l. si non fuit* § *ita et* § *si. et l. Mucius.*[35]

As we shall see, the type of *societas* described in the *Digest* texts referred to here by the commentary on the Customs of Toulouse could be extremely similar to the *commenda*. To the author's knowledge, no other medieval text so clearly identified the *commenda* with this type of *societas* of Roman Law.

Because the *commenda* was a medieval contract, unknown in Roman times, the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* naturally contained no reference to it. Consequently, the medieval jurists did not discuss the *commenda* per se for they were interested in Roman Law rather than current commercial law. To the historian this lack of direct reference to the *commenda* in the works of the medieval jurists is particularly frustrating since he has the constant feeling that they were, in fact, alluding to the *commenda* in their glosses and commentaries but can seldom find concrete indications of it. On the other hand, because the *commenda* was unknown to Roman Law, the category of Roman Law contract under which medieval jurists did discuss a contract the same as the *commenda* in all respects must be indicative of the contract with which the *commenda* was most closely identified. This gives us an indication of the juridical conception of the *commenda* held by medieval society even if another name is used for the contract in the works of the jurists. For example, had the *commenda* been primarily considered as a type of trust or commission, the *mandatum* of Roman Law, its peculiar characteristics could be expected to

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miserit sine socii voluntate in navi. . . ." Pisa, *Constitutum Usus*, XXII, par. 2 (p. 883): "Generaliter constituimus in omnibus maris societatibus in civitate faciendis, ut socius qui havere tractare debet. . . ."

[34] Toulouse, *Consuetudines Tholose* 72 (p. 110).

[35] *Commentarium Consuetudinum*, in Gilles, op. cit., p. 234.

have been discussed in glosses and commentaries on *mandatum.* Indeed, a *tractator*'s performance of a service on behalf of his *commendator* recalled the *mandatum.*[36] André Sayous hypothesized that the word *commenda* was in fact derived from *cum mandare.*[37] However, the *commenda* differed from the *mandatum* in that the services of a *tractator* were not gratuitous as were those of a mandatee. Medieval jurists did not discuss a non-gratuitous form of *mandatum* and thus would not seem to have identified the *commenda* with the *mandatum.* In addition to *mandatum,* there were still other contracts of Roman Law with which the *commenda* had certain characteristics in common but from which it differed in various ways: for example, *depositum* and *nauticum fenus.* However, we do not find discussion of any of the peculiar *commenda* characteristics under the titles of these contracts either. In fact, the only contract of Roman Law under which medieval jurists did discuss a contract similar to the *commenda* in all respects was *societas:* specifically, the *societas* of labor and capital.

Medieval jurists approved of the *societas* of labor and capital as outlined in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis.* Moreover, they went further and sought to answer the question of whether the capital-investor could receive more than half the profit if, as in the case of a *commenda,* the labor-investor was held liable for no loss of capital. (In the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* the labor-investor could be held liable for no loss of capital only if the value of his labor lost was equal to that of the capital lost. This meant that the value of the investment of both parties was equal and therefore any profit had to be divided equally also.) The mere fact that the medieval jurists did attempt to answer this question, which was not even posited in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis,* indicates that they may have had in mind the practice in current use in the *commenda* whereby the capital-investor, the *commendator,* received three quarters of the profit even though the labor-investor, the *tractator,* was liable for no loss of capital.[38] Some medieval jurists in fact agreed that whatever division of profit and loss was agreed upon by the partners ought to be respected, provided that it did not make the *societas* leonine.[39] These included the authors of *Lo Codi* and the *Summa Codicis des Irnerius* in the twelfth century,[40] Cino da Pistoia in the

[36] See Adolf Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law,* Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series 43, part 2 (Philadelphia, 1953), pp. 574–575.

[37] André Sayous, "Les méthodes commerciales de Barcelone au XIIIe siècle, d'après des documents inédits des archives de sa cathédrale," *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 16 (1931), 155–198; here p. 165.

[38] That is considering the capital invested by the *commendator* only in the case of a bilateral *commenda.* That invested by the *tractator* was subject to entirely different principles since he also invested the labor to work it.

[39] A leonine *societas:* one in which a single partner took all the profit and was liable for no loss. So called from Aesop. Such a *societas* was invalid according to Ulpian in *Digest* 17.2.29.2.

[40] H. Fitting, ed., *Lo Codi: Eine Summa Codicis im provenzalischer Sprache aus der Mitte des XII Jahrhunderts.* Erster Teil: *Lo Codi in der lateinischen Ubersetzung des Ricardus Pisanus* (Halle, 1906), 4.57.8 (pp. 121–122); and edited by the same author, *Summa Codicis des Irnerius* (Berlin, 1894), 4.37.6.

thirteenth,[41] and, at the end of the fourteenth, Petrus de Ubaldis, the author of the most authoritative medieval treatise on partnerships. Petrus wrote:

> Nam si decernimus ex quo interuenit pactum praedictum, quod damnum esset meum, lucrum verò commune: licet principio casu: fortuito omnia sint concremata tempore, quo operae correspondebant solum parti sortis, et interusurio totius, et non toti sorti, tamen totum damnum debet esse meum, quia ita conuentum est.[42]

However, guided by the principles concerning *societas* which were enunciated in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis,* the most eminent thirteenth-century jurists, Azo, Accursius, and Odofredus, could not but conclude that such a division of profit and loss was illegitimate. The basis of their argument was that, notwithstanding *Digest* 16.3.1.6 ("Si convenit, ut in deposito et culpa praestetur, rata est conventio: contractus enim legem ex conventione accipiunt."), such a division of profit and loss was contrary to the *ius fraternitatis* which was intrinsic to *societas.*[43]

Whereas the medieval jurists of Roman Law made no direct reference to the *commenda* which would enable us to conclude unequivocally that they identified it with the *societas* of labor and capital, there are at least three separate indications in canonistic literature that the *commenda* was considered a *societas* of labor and capital. The first of these occurs in commentaries on Innocent III's decretal *Per vestras* of 1206.[44] In this decretal Innocent advised the archbishop of Genoa that the dowry of a woman whose husband was shiftless should be invested with a merchant so that her share of the profit might support the marriage. The situation was obviously analogous to that of a *commenda.* The woman provided capital, the merchant labor, and the profits were shared. Hostiensis maintained that Innocent had intended

[41] Cino da Pistoia, *Cyni Pistoriensis in Codicem et aliquot titulos primi Pandectorum tomi . . . commentaria,* 2 vols. (1578; rpt. Turin, 1964), 4.37.1 (1:257A): "Duo contrahunt societatem, et vnus affert pecuniam, alter ponit operam vt hac lege. Modò quaeritur in proposito, cuiusmodi partes societatis habebunt? Respondeo, quod primo standum est conuentioni, vt Dig., depositi. lex 1. §. si conuenerit [*sic*]."

[42] Petrus de Ubaldis, *Tractatvs de dvobvs fratribvs et aliis sociis* (Venice, 1589), 4.5 (fol. 33v).

[43] Azo, *Svmma Azonis locvples ivris civilis thesavrvs* (Venice, 1566), 4.Pro socio.8 (col. 398): ". . . Item in societate potest apponi pactum, ut unus nullam partem damni sentiat, lucrum autem sit commune: quod quidem ita demum ualebit si tanti sit opera, quanti sit damnum. Et fortè aliter non tenet praedicta conuentio, ea ratione, quia societas est quoddam ius fraternitatis. Et licet aliter pacta tolerentur inter contrahentes, hîc tamen reprobantur. ut Dig., depositi. lex 1. §. si conueniant [*sic*] et Dig., eadem lex. si non fuerint. 1. responso et lex uerum. 1. responso et Institutiones, eadem. §. 1. uel fortè (ut ait Guil) [aliàs Bulgarus] non ualet conuentio societatis iure, sed ualet iure pactionis. Domino autem meo uidebatur subaudiendum esse maximè sicut et alibi Dig., de contrahenda emptione. lex fundi. Ego primae sententiae adhaereo. . . ."

Accursius and Odofredus simply followed Azo, acknowledging that their opinions were based on his. See Accursius, *Accursii glossa in Digestum Vetus,* Corpus glossatorum juris civilis, No. 7 (1488; rpt. Turin, 1969), 17.Pro socio.Si non fuerint (fol. 263r): f Societati]; and Odofredus, *Lectvra svper Digesto Veteri,* Opera ivridica rariora, No. 2, 1 and 2, 2 vols. (1550; rpt. Bologna, 1967–68), 17.Pro socio.Si non fuerint (vol. 2, fol. 90v).

[44] *Decretalium d. Gregorii Papae IX compilatio* 4.20.7, in Emil A. Friedberg, ed., *Corpus iuris canonici. Editio lipsiensis secunda,* 2 vols. (1879–81; rpt. Leipzig, 1928).

that the woman should bear no liability for loss but subsequent canonists disagreed.[45] It would, in fact, have been usurious had the merchant been liable for loss of the capital and there seems little doubt that Innocent intended the woman to bear liability for loss just as in a *commenda*. The decretal itself did not give a name to the contract proposed but subsequently the canonists, without exception, interpreted it as referring to investment in a *societas* of labor and capital.[46] The second indication that the *commenda* was considered a *societas* of labor and capital is found in the treatise, *De usuris,* of the Franciscan canonist and theologian Alexander of Alexandria who defended his thesis in a public disputation at Genoa towards 1303. In *De usuris* he defended a contract which he referred to as *pecunia commendata* and *pecunia commodata*. By these terms Alexander must surely have been referring to the Genoese *accomendatio* since he defended the contract on the grounds that the investor retained the ownership of, and therefore the liability for loss of, the capital which he invested with another. He could, therefore, legitimately take a share of the profit.[47] Significantly, he had taken this argument directly from St. Thomas Aquinas's defence of the *societas* of labor and capital.[48] The final reference is in Panormitanus's *Lectura in Decretales* of the early fifteenth century where *societas* of labor and capital was referred to as a contract in everyday medieval use. In commenting on Gregory IX's decretal *Naviganti,* which had condemned sea loans, Panormitanus asked the question: if sea loans were illicit, what about those people who contracted *societates* of labor and capital "quotidie"?[49] His answer to the question need not concern us. What is important is his reference to the *societas* of labor and capital as a contract in daily use at the time. This need not have been the *commenda* itself of course. By the fifteenth century partnerships had become much more varied in form and, although the classic twelfth- and thirteenth-century form of *commenda* still survived, there were also other variant types of partnerships of labor and capital.[50] Never-

[45] Hostiensis, *Svmma domini Henrici cardinalis Hostiensis* (Lyon, 1542), 5.De vsuris.8 (fol. 251r). Cf. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae. IIa. IIae.* (Rome, 1897), 78.2, Ad obj. 5; and also Panormitanus, *Lectura in Decretales,* 6 vols. (Augusta Pervisia, 1509), 4.De donationibus inter virum et vxorem.Per vestras,8 (vol. 6, fol. 48v).

[46] See, amongst others, Hostiensis, loc. cit.; Bernard of Parma, *Glossa in Decretales* 4.20.7: Honesti lucri], in *Decretales d. Gregorii Papae IX* (Lyon, 1584), col. 1568; and Baldus de Ubaldis, *B. Ubaldi perusini . . . consiliorum sive responsorum. Volumen primum (– quintum),* 5 vols. (Venice, 1575), 3.453 (vol. 2, fol. 132r).

[47] Alexander of Alexandria, *Tractatus de usuris* 7.2.§124 in Alonzo-M. Hamelin, ed., *Un traité de morale économique au XIVe siècle: Le Tractatus de Usuris de maître Alexandre d'Alexandrie,* Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia 14 (Louvain, 1962), pp. 175–176.

[48] Aquinas, loc. cit.

[49] Panormitanus, *Lectura in Decretales,* 5.De vsuris.Naviganti,11 (vol. 6, fol. 65r): "Sed extra glossam quero pro declaratione prime partis canonis. hic non est licitum mutare et aliquid recipere vltra sortem etiam si creditor suscipiat in se periculum: numquid in istis qui quotidie contrahunt societatem et vnus apponit operam et alius pecuniam."

[50] For the later development of the *commenda,* particularly in France, see R. Saleilles, "Etude sur l'histoire des sociétés en commandité," *Annales de droit commercial* 9 (1895), 10–26, 49–79; 11 (1897), 29–49.

theless, Panormitanus's comment points to his conception of various forms of medieval partnerships as being *societates* of labor and capital as formulated in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*. When the *commenda* was in widespread use in the thirteenth century, would it not also have been regarded as a *societas* of labor and capital? Together with the evidence of the municipal statutes, that of the canonists and jurists of Roman Law would support the assertion.

The Origins of the *Commenda*

(1) *Societas* of Labor and Capital

If we then acknowledge that in the Middle Ages the juridical conception of the *commenda* was as a *societas* of labor and capital, what are the possibilities that the *commenda* was, in fact, descended from this contract? A Roman *societas* was "a union of property, skill or labor, or any combination of these for a common purpose or exploitation."[51] Within the genus of *societas* a wide range of partnership relationships could be encompassed; the *societas* of labor and capital was only one of these. It was a *societas* in which one partner contributed capital while the other contributed his labor or a combination of labor and capital together. Obviously the economic relationship was extremely similar to that of the medieval *commenda*. Such a *societas* of labor and capital was pronounced legitimate in *Codex* 4.37.1 ("Societatem uno pecuniam conferente alio operam posse contrahi magis obtinuit.") and *Institutes* 3.25.2 (". . . nam et ita coiri posse societatem non dubitatur, ut alter pecuniam conferat, alter non conferat et tamen lucrum inter eos commune sit, quia saepe opera alicuius pro pecunia valet."). The justification was given by Ulpian in *Digest* 17.2.5.1 that the value of the one partner's labor was commensurate with that of the other's capital. ("Societas autem coiri potest et valet etiam inter eos, qui non sunt aequis facultatibus, cum plerumque pauperior opera suppleat, quantum ei per comparationem patrimonii deest.") Therefore both partners could be considered to have contributed equally to the *societas*.

Labor and capital could thus be invested in a Roman *societas* in the same way as they were to be in the medieval *commenda*. Moreover, in *Digest* 17.2.29.pr. Ulpian also provided a basis for the type of division of profit found in the *commenda:*

> Si non fuerint partes societati adiectae, aequas eas esse constat, si vero placuerit, ut quis duas partes vel tres habeat, alius unam, an valeat? placet valere, si modo aliquid plus contulit societati vel pecuniae vel operae vel cuiuscumque alterius rei causa.

Here unequal division of profit was pronounced acceptable if one partner invested more than the other in the *societas*. This extra investment could be in the form of capital, labor or anything else: skill, knowledge, or connections perhaps. Ulpian went on to allow the labor-investor of such a *societas* to bear no liability for loss of capital but nevertheless to share in the profit:

[51] W. W. Buckland, *A Manual of Roman Private Law*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1953), p. 294.

> Ita coiri societatem posse, ut nullam partem damni alter sentiat, lucrum vero commune sit, Cassius putat: quod ita demum valebit, ut et Sabinus scribit, si tanti sit opera, quanti damnum est: plerumque enim tanta est industria socii, ut plus societati conferat quam pecunia, item si solus naviget, si solus peregrinetur, pericula subeat solus.[52]

As with division of profit, so also with liability for loss; the *Digest* provided a structure for division which could be very similar to that which was to be characteristic of the *commenda*. The labor-investor could be liable for no loss of capital provided that the value of his labor lost had been equal to that of the capital lost and both partners could therefore be considered to have lost equally. In such a case, any profit would have had to have been divided equally since the two partners had invested equally: the one his labor and the other his capital. This was the sole economic difference between the Roman *societas* of labor and capital and the medieval *commenda*. As we saw, the medieval jurists attempted to resolve precisely this difference.

At the juridical level the major difference between *commenda* and *societas* of labor and capital lay in the fact that the *commenda* was a real contract whereas the *societas* was consensual.[53] A *tractator* of a *commenda* became bound to undertake the voyage agreed upon only after he had taken possession of the capital from his *commendator*.[54] In being real the *commenda* was one with the *nauticum fenus, chreokoinōnia, 'isqa,* and *qirād*.[55] Having evolved in a commercial sphere in which these other contracts either had been used or were currently being used for analogous purposes, it is not surprising that the *commenda* was also a real contract even though in so being it differed from the *societas* of Roman Law. Moreover the difference between reality and consensuality was not insurmountable and does not preclude development from the *societas* to the *commenda*.[56]

[52] *Digest* 17.2.29.1. Cf. *Institutes* 3.25.2.

[53] A consensual contract became binding on the parties concerned when merely a consent (*consensus*) of the parties existed and was expressed. This was opposed to a real contract which was made binding by the handing over of some thing (*res*) by the one party to the other. See Berger, *Encyc, Dict. Rom. Law,* pp. 408, 413.

[54] See below, p. 33.

[55] The *nauticum fenus* was real as were all Roman loans. (Berger, op. cit., p. 591) The *qirād* also did not become binding until the labor-investor had taken possession of the capital (below, p. 33). Evidence for the *chreokoinōnia* and *'isqa* is inconclusive but they also appear to have been real since the laws concerning them commenced with the premise that possession had been transferred to the labor-investor. *Chreokoinōnia*: *A* gives gold or silver for the service of a partnership . . . (below, p. 23). *'isqa*: If a man accepted an *'iska* from his fellow . . . (Isidore Epstein, ed., *The Babylonian Talmud. Seder Neziḳin*. Vol. 2: *Baba Meẓia* (London, 1935), 105a (p. 598). The operative words are "give" and "accept" which accorded directly with usage for the *commenda* (see n. 103).

[56] In *West Roman Vulgar Law: The Law of Property*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 29 (Philadelphia, 1951), Ernst Levy pointed to the decline of the classical Roman Law concepts of transfer of ownership via purely consensual contracts such as sale (*emptio-venditio*) during the later empire. In vulgar law such contracts tended to become overlaid with the requirement of *traditio*.

Insistence upon possession of *commenda* capital by the *tractator* was a consequence of a feature which further differentiated the *commenda* from the Roman *societas:* the tractator's independence in the conduct of the enterprise and the anonymity of the *commendator* in relationship to third parties. Whereas direction of the enterprise was common to all partners in a Roman *societas,*[57] the *commendator* had no active direction of the enterprise in a *commenda*. If he wished to have even a passive role he had to specify his requirements in the original contract. Furthermore, a *tractator* acquired rights with respect to third parties on his own behalf only. The *Constitutum Usus* of Pisa declared that a *commendator* had rights with respect to third parties only in cases of improper conduct by the *tractator:* when a *tractator* deliberately disposed of a *commenda* against the best interests of the *commendator*, when a *tractator* exchanged the *commenda* capital for something else while still in his home port before leaving on his voyage, and when a third party had been in collusion with the *tractator* to defraud the *commendator.*[58] It should be added here that historians have long considered the *commenda* as an early example of limited liability in a partnership on the grounds that the *commendator* was not liable for debts contracted by the *tractator* on behalf of the *commenda* beyond the capital which he had originally invested.[59] By the sheer logic of the case this would seem to be so but, to the present author's knowledge, there is not the slightest concrete evidence to either affirm or deny it. If it was the case, then, combined with the *commendator*'s lack of rights with respect to third parties, it constituted yet another deviation from the *societas* of Roman Law. In the latter contract partners held rights with respect to third parties in common and were liable for the debts of the *societas* beyond the amount of their initial investment.[60]

Were we to look for the origins of the *commenda* in the *societas* of labor and capital, these differences would not appear to be insurmountable. The merchant community of the early Middle Ages was sufficiently practical and eclectic to have adjusted the *societas* to suit its needs and to have incorporated desirable features of other contracts in so doing. The main changes that would have been necessary were a relaxation of the rules governing division of profit and loss; an adjustment to the principles of liability; a restriction of the management of the enterprise to one partner; and a change from the consensual method of contracting to the real. Moreover, both the unilateral and bilateral forms of *commenda* could have evolved from the *societas* of labor and capital. The *Digest* made no distinction between a *societas* of the type in which the labor-investor invested no capital and one in which he did invest some capital in addition to his labor. He simply supplied labor equal in value to the extra capital invested by the capital-investor. Whether that was all of the capital or only part of it was quite irrelevant. In the Middle Ages, after

[57] *Digest* 17.2.64.

[58] Pisa, *Constitutum Usus* XXII, paragraphs 6, 11 (pp. 885, 887–888).

[59] See, for example, Lopez and Raymond, *Medieval Trade,* p. 174.

[60] *Digest* 17.2.27, 17.2.82. Cf. Berger, op. cit., p. 708.

the rediscovery of the *Digest,* this principle was perfectly well understood by the jurists. Most of them simply talked about one partner investing *pecunia* and the other *opera* but they did so purely as the archetypal case. Occasionally jurists made it clear that both the unilateral and bilateral forms were legitimate according to the *Digest.* For example, in his *Summa* on the *Decretales* of Gregory IX, Godfrey of Trani wrote:

> Vis autem dare pecuniam nauiganti vel eunti ad nundinas seu alii mercatori sine peccato pone tu pecuniam et alius operam personalem et pecuniam tantum vel minorem. plerumque enim quod pecunie deest opera suppletur ut Dig., pro socio. lex 5. § . 1. et connicetis [*sic*] pericula lucra et damna.[61]

However, it was Petrus de Ubaldis who pointed out most succinctly that the unilateral and bilateral forms were but variations on the principle of the *societas* of labor and capital:

> . . . et tunc . . . unus posuit pecuniam, et alter operam, vel mistim pecuniam et operam . . .[62]

The similarities between the *commenda* and the *societas* of labor and capital were striking at the very least. The mere fact that in the Middle Ages the *commenda* was regarded as a form of *societas* in statutory law would be enough to make us suspect its ultimate origins in the Roman *societas* of labor and capital even without other evidence. We must acknowledge that the *commenda* was a development of early medieval commercial law and practice but beyond that we may search for influence and the origins of ideas and characteristics. Few ideas were ever totally original in customary law in the Middle Ages. Well-defined institutions such as the *commenda* were invariably the product of long evolution and an eclectic adoption of ideas from many quarters. The other contracts which may have contributed to the development of the *commenda* should therefore be looked at in the light of an assessment of the extent to which each could have, or was likely to have, added its own peculiar characteristics to those of the *societas.*

(2) *Nauticum fenus*

The Roman sea loan, *nauticum fenus,* was a contract *sui generis,* quite distinct from, although akin to, the ordinary loan, *mutuum.* Like the medieval *commenda* a sea loan was contracted for the duration of a voyage and it was the lender, the party supplying the capital, who was liable for any loss incurred at sea. The loan was repaid only if the ship arrived safely in port with its cargo.[63] Consequently rates of interest were higher than for ordinary

[61] Godfrey of Trani, *Summa perutilis et valde necessaria domini Goffredi de Trano super titulis Decretalium* (Lyon, 1519), 5.De vsuris.12 (fol. 221v).

[62] Petrus de Ubaldis, *Tractatvs de dvobvs fratribvs* 4.2 (pp. 31–32).

[63] *Codex* 4.33.5 (4): "Traiecticiae quidem pecuniae, quae periculo creditoris mutuo datur, casus, antequam ad destinatum locum navis perveniat, ad debitorem non pertinet."

There are no extant Roman sea loan contracts but early medieval contracts show these points

loans.[64] On the other hand, the sea loan differed from the *commenda* in that the lender was liable for no loss other than that incurred at sea and in that he received a fixed percentage return on his capital rather than a share of whatever profit the borrower happened to make.

Even though the sea loan continued in use into the Middle Ages, a contract such as the *commenda* might have developed from the *nauticum fenus* as a result of disrupted economic conditions following the collapse of the Roman Empire.[65] With the virtual collapse of Mediterranean homogeneity the climate for commerce became less favorable and information about markets and supplies less reliable. Risk of loss from seizure abroad, robbery, sudden changes in political conditions, and unreliable information would have made invalid the assumption that a reasonable profit was to be made if the dangers of navigation could but be overcome. Investors may have accepted liability for all loss in order to attract agents willing to carry their goods in perilous situations. They may have abandoned the security of a loan at fixed interest in return for a share of what might be a very large profit. Agents may have preferred to return a share of the profit, even a large share, rather than a fixed interest since a profit was not assured even if the voyage was successfully accomplished. However, all these assumptions seem improbable. The *societas* of labor and capital was much closer to the *commenda* than the *nauticum fenus* and if the *commenda* developed from either one of the Roman contracts it would surely have been from the *societas*. If the *nauticum fenus* had any influence it was probably in the area of developing the idea of the capital-investor's liability for loss.

(3) *Chreokoinōnia*

The *chreokoinōnia*, which was apparently used at Byzantium for investment in maritime commerce, was a form of partnership with overtones of a debt. *Chreos* signified debt and *koinōnia* partnership. Unfortunately our knowledge of the *chreokoinōnia* is derived entirely from one brief legal text in the *Rhodian Sea Law* of the seventh or eighth century. In Ashburner's translation it reads:

> *A* gives gold or silver for the service of a partnership. The partnership is for a voyage, and he writes down as it pleases him till when the partnership is to last. *B*, who takes the gold or the silver, does not return it to *A* when the time is fulfilled, and it comes to grief through fire or robbers or shipwreck. *A* is to be kept harmless and to receive his own again. But if, before the time fixed by the contract is

clearly. See Calvin B. Hoover, "The Sea Loan in Genoa in the Twelfth Century," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 40 (1925–26), 495–529; here pp. 496, 502. Examples in *Giovanni Scriba*, nos. 32 (navi Georgii sana eunte Tunisim et redeunte), 179, 218, 219, 238, 239, 240, 295, etc. It was tacitly assumed that the borrower would arrive at the specified destination together with the ship and its cargo; however, this also was specified sometimes in the contracts. Ibid., nos. 104 (navi in qua vado sana eunte Alexandriam et inde redeunte), 106, 113, 114, 119, 120, 197, 231, 329, etc.

[64] The rate of interest was unlimited until fixed by Justinian at 12%. Berger, op. cit., p. 469.

[65] See Astuti, *Origini . . . della commenda*, pp. 125–127.

> completed, a loss arises from the dangers of the sea, it seemed good that they should bear the loss according to their shares and to the contract as they would have shared in the gain.[66]

As this text presents it, the *chreokoinōnia* seems to have been a partnership in which one partner contributed capital and the other labor just as in the *societas* of labor and capital. *Chreia* and *chreos*, the words appended to *koinōnia* and signifying need[67] and debt respectively, indicate that the partnership was considered to have overtones of a debt owed for capital received by the labor-investing partner from the capital-investing partner and that the labor-investor had a need for capital. Moreover, the *chreokoinōnia* was similar to the *nauticum fenus* and *commenda* in that it was contracted for a sea voyage although the duration of the contract was apparently at the will of the partners.

In the article "At the origins of the Western Commenda: Islam, Israel, Byzantium?" Udovitch dismissed the *chreokoinōnia* as a possible origin of the *commenda* on the grounds that in the *chreokoinōnia* the labor-investor's liability for loss corresponded to what his share of the profit would have been had there been any. In the *commenda* the labor-investor or *tractator* was not liable for any loss of capital. On the basis of Ashburner's translation this would appear to have been the case. However, the *chreokoinōnia* should not be dismissed so easily. The final clause of the *Rhodian Sea Law* text is all important and its true meaning is clearer if the Greek text is translated more literally than it was by Ashburner:

> . . . just as it seems right [to receive shares] of the gain, [so] it seems right to assume the losses in proportion to the shares according to the agreements.[68]

It does not seem that shares of loss necessarily had to correspond to anticipated shares of profit as suggested by Ashburner's translation and interpreted by Udovitch. Rather, the partners simply bore shares of loss, and received shares of profit, in whatever proportions they had agreed upon in

[66] Walter Ashburner, ed., ΝΟΜΟΣ ΡΟΔΙΩΝ ΝΑΥΤΙΚΟΣ: *The Rhodian sea-law* (Oxford, 1909), 3.17 (p. 97). Greek text γ. ιζ' (p. 22): ιζ' *ἐάν τις δώσῃ ἐπὶ χρείᾳ κοινωνίας χρυσίον ἢ ἀργύριον καὶ ταύτην κατὰ πλοῦν καὶ ἐγγράψηται καθὼς ἀρέσει ἕως πόσου χρόνου τῇ χρεοκοινωνίᾳ, ἐὰν ὁ λαμβάνων τὸ χρυσίον ἢ τὸ ἀργύριον πληρωθέντος τοῦ χρόνου μὴ ἀποστρέψῃ αὐτὸ τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ συμβῇ ἀπὸ πυρὸς ἢ λῃστῶν ἢ ναυαγίου περιπεσεῖν, ἀζήμιον μένειν τὸν κύριον τοῦ χρυσίου καὶ σῶα τὰ ἴδια ἀπολαμβάνειν. ἐὰν δέ, τοῦ χρόνου τῶν συνθηκῶν μὴ πληρωθέντος, συμβῇ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν κινδύνων ἀπώλειαν γενέσθαι, καθάπερ τοῦ κέρδους ἔδοξε καὶ τὰς ζημίας πρὸς τὰ μέρη καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ἀναδέχεσθαι.*

[67] Ashburner translated *chreia* as "service." "Need" seems more accurate. In the table of contents of the *Rhodian Sea Law*, the form is *κερδοκοινωνία*, that is, a partnership for profit.

[68] In place of *καὶ τας συνθήκας* the strongest manuscript tradition has *κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας* (note on *καὶ*, Ashburner, op. cit., p. 97). Therefore I have translated *πρὸς τὰ μέρη καί* [*κατα*] *τὰς συνθήκας* as "in proportion to the shares according to the agreements." This reading is supported by the fact that *καὶ* (which the other manuscripts have) can mean "that is" as well as "and." *πρὸς τα μέρη καί τὰς συνθήκας* could be translated as "in proportion to the shares, that is, to the agreements."

the contract. Nothing could be more reasonable and the *Rhodian Sea Law* did not in fact demand that each partner's share of loss had to correspond to his share of profit. That may have been the case in individual contracts but it would have been a matter for agreement, as also would have been the opposite case: differential sharing of profit and loss.

In the *Ecloga* of Leo III the Isaurian (a compilation made during the reign of Leo III, 717–741, in an attempt to bring the *Codex* up to date by incorporating contemporary laws and practices) there is a chapter in which the partners' shares of loss definitely were made to correspond to their shares of profit. This text has been taken to refer to the *chreokoinōnia* by historians but, in fact, it mentions nothing other than *koinōnia*, partnership:

> Either in writing or not in writing, a partnership is constituted between two, or even more, whenever each of them contributes his own, either equal or lesser, share; or when some contribute capital and others their own labour. [They ought] to divide the profit accruing to them according to the agreements reached between them with subtraction of the initial capital funds, clearly. And if such a partnership should sustain a loss to the capital, each partner ought to meet it according to his own proper share of the gain.[69]

There seems no reason not to see this text as a simple legacy of the Roman *societas* of labor and capital, perhaps transmitted via *Codex* 4.37.1. The arrangements for division of profit and loss would perhaps represent current practice at Byzantium in the early eighth century. However, since there is no mention of a sea voyage or any reference to the idea of a debt or loan involved, there is no reason to identify the *koinōnia* of the *Ecloga* text with the *chreokoinōnia* of the *Rhodian Sea Law*. The *chreokoinōnia* may have been an application to maritime commerce of the more general *koinōnia* of labor and capital which was itself derived from the *societas* of labor and capital.

As Astuti has maintained,[70] the *chreokoinōnia* could well have influenced the development of the *commenda*. It is significant that the only indications of direct influence on the *commenda* come from Byzantium and the *chreokoinōnia*. Professor Lopez has suggested Byzantine influence on the Venetian *collegantia* in the curious use of *iactare* to describe the *commendator's* method of investment in a *collegantia*. He finds its origin indicated in a passage of the life of St. Spyridon by Theodore of Paphos where the verb βαλη (to throw) is used to describe investment in a Byzantine coasting voyage.[71] In reading

[69] Iōannēs D. Zepos and Panagiōtēs I. Zepos, eds., *Jus graecoromanum*, vol. 2 (1931; rpt. Aalen, 1962), Ἐκλογη Νομων, ι. ε (pp. 41–42):
ε'. Συνίσταται κοινωνία ἐγγράφως ἢ ἀγράφως μεταξὺ δύο ἢ καὶ πλειόνων, ὁπόταν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐξ ἰσότητος ἢ καὶ ὑπ' ἔλαττον τὴν οἰκείαν συνεισαγάγῃ μοῖραν, ἢ τινων μὲν ἐνθήκην ἑτέρων δὲ τοὺς ἰδίους μοχθους καταβαλλομένων. τὸ δὲ περιποιούμενον αὐτοῖς κέρδος, μεθ' ὑφαίρεσιν δηλονότι τῶν κεφαλαίων, κατὰ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν στιχηθέντα ἐπιμερίζεσθαι. εἰ δὲ συμβῇ ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαὐτῃ κοινωνίᾳ τῇ ἐνθήκῃ προσγενέσθαι ζημίαν, ἕκαστον κοινωνὸν κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν τοῦ κέρδους μοῖραν καὶ αὐτὴν ἐπιγινώσκειν.

[70] Astuti, *Origini . . . della commenda*, pp. 125–133, and "Note sulla collegantia veneta," *Rivista del diritto della navigazione* 7, parte 1 (1941), 71–138; here pp. 83–118.

[71] Robert S. Lopez, "The Role of Trade in the Economic Readjustment of Byzantium in the

municipal statutes dealing with the *commenda*, I myself was struck by the fact that the partners of *commenda* contracts were described as *creditor* and *debitor* only in those ports with the strongest traditional connections with Byzantium: Venice and Amalfi (see above, pp. 13–14). In view of these points of connection, and in view of the fact that an outright dismissal of the *chreokoinōnia* over the principles of liability for loss cannot be sustained in a closer reading of the *Rhodian Sea Law*, we must at least consider the *chreokoinōnia* seriously as a possible source of *commenda* characteristics. It may well have been the intermediary between the *societas* of labor and capital and the *commenda:* the stage at which the principle of the *societas* of labor and capital became utilized in maritime commerce.

(4) *'isqa*

The Jewish *'isqa* contract was described by the *Babylonian Talmud* as a "semi loan and a semi trust".[72] Although all capital was provided by a single capital-investor, half of it was regarded as an interest-free loan which had to be returned regardless of the outcome of the venture. The other half was regarded as a trust to be returned with a share of any profit made on it. However, if it was lost, this trust half did not have to be returned. The *Talmud* mentioned two methods of dividing profit and loss. The investor either bore two thirds of the loss and received a half of the profit or else he bore a half of the loss and received a third of the profit.[73] This Talmudic pattern remained the classic one for division of profit and loss right into the Middle Ages. For example, consider this record of an *'isqa* whose details are recorded in a *responsum* of the *Sefer Hadinim* of Rabbi Judah haCohen:

> Q. *A* gave a *minah* to *B* for investment purposes, but did not stipulate any conditions. *B* earned profit with the money until the combined sum was two hundred *dinars*. When they came to divide the profit, *A* wanted to take one half of such profit. *B*, however, told him that he was entitled to one third of the profit only, since in case the business transactions would have produced a loss, *A* would have insisted on being charged with no more than half of such loss.
> A. If at the beginning *A* had specified that he expected to receive one half of the profit — *A* would then be charged with two thirds of such loss. If, however, *A* had originally specified that he would not be responsible for more than one half of the loss, he would then be entitled to receive but one third of the profit. Since at the time the partnership [*'isqa*] was concluded the manner of dividing loss and profit was not specified and since under such circumstances if the business of the partners resulted in a loss, *A* would have been charged with two thirds of the loss (since usury is a Scriptural tort, and in case of doubt *A* would have been charged

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Seventh Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 13 (1959), 68–85; here p. 81. The same expression still exists in English of course. Other historians have also stressed the connection between the *chreokoinōnia* and the *collegantia*. See Roberto Cessi, "Note per la Storia delle società di commercio nel medio evo in Italia," *Rivista italiana per le scienze giuridiche* 59 (1917), 3–95, 181–224; esp. pp. 18 ff., 182–183.

[72] *Babylonian Talmud. Seder Neziḳin.* Vol. 2: *Baba Meẓia*, 104b (p. 598): "The Nehardenas said: An *'iṣḳa* is a semi loan and semi trust. . . ."

[73] Ibid., 68b (p. 400).

> with the harsher alternative) — now that there is a profit, *A* is entitled to one half of that profit: For in this type of partnership, when the active partner receives no compensation whatever for his effort, the Talmud rules that only two arrangements are non-usurious: either the passive partner is charged with two thirds of the losses and is then entitled to one half of the profits; or he is charged with but one half of the losses, and is then entitled to one third of the profits.[74]

In this *responsum* Rabbi haCohen simply reiterated the Talmudic formulae. However, by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries greater flexibility in the division of profit and loss seems to have developed in the Mediterranean.[75] Maimonides (1135–1204) declared that almost any division of profit and loss was permissible provided that the labor-investor's share of profit remained greater than his share of loss.[76] He reported various views held by his teachers and other authorities but that which he represented as being the most widely accepted was as follows.[77] The labor-investor received all profit on that half of the capital which had loan status since the loan was interest-free. On the half with trust status, it was considered usurious that the capital-investor should receive all the profit and to avoid this the labor-investor should be paid for his labor.[78] If no payment had been agreed upon, the labor-investor should receive a third of the profit made on the trust half of the capital. With all the profit from the loan half he would receive two thirds of the total profit. He would be liable for one third of all loss "inasmuch as he is liable for one half of the loss as regards half the sum that has the status of a loan, but he is allowed one sixth as compensation for handling the half that has the status of a trust, with the result that one third of the loss devolves upon him, while the investor [of capital] bears two thirds of the loss." This arrangement represented a slight adjustment to the Talmudic principle in favor of the labor-investor.

Other authorities are reported by Maimonides as having taught still further variations and he himself elaborated upon the principle which he preferred.[79]

[74] Translation from Irving A. Agus, *Urban Civilization in pre-Crusade Europe*, 2 vols. (1965; rpt. Leiden, 1968), 1:284–285. Cf. pp. 80–81, 194, for other examples of such division of profit and loss.

[75] Udovitch, "At the Origins of the Western Commenda," p. 199, n. 9.

[76] Isaac Klein, trans., *The Code of Maimonides. Book Twelve: The Book of Acquisition*, Yale Judaica Series 5 (New Haven, 1951), 4.6.4 (p. 228).

[77] Ibid., 4.6.2–4.6.4 (pp. 226–228).

[78] An *'isqa* mentioning such payment is referred to in Stephen D. Goitein, "Commercial and Family Partnerships in the Countries of Medieval Islam," *Islamic Studies* 3 (1964), 315–337; here p. 325.

[79] Maimonides's own opinion was as follows: "What appears to me to be the just and right way is that if they agree upon the share of the profits of the trustee and there is a loss, then he should bear a loss corresponding to two thirds of the share he would get in case there were a profit. Thus also if the agreement is made about the loss and they make a profit, then the trustee should take an amount corresponding to the loss he would have to bear in the case of a loss plus one third of the share of the other's profit." *The Code of Maimonides. Book Twelve: The*

Professor Udovitch argued that because the labor-investor always retained some liability for loss of capital in an *'isqa*, the *commenda* could not have evolved from it.[80] His reason for rejecting it as a possible origin of the *commenda* was thus the same as his reason for rejecting the *chreokoinōnia*. In this analysis he neglected the fact that there were in fact two types of *commenda:* the unilateral and the bilateral. At the very beginning of his article he made it clear that he was considering the unilateral *commenda* only; however, he was surely wrong to do so because, as I have shown, the two forms evolved together and were simply varieties of the same contract. In fact, if we do consider the bilateral *commenda* it becomes immediately evident that the division of profit and loss found in the *'isqa* accords very closely with that found in the bilateral *commenda*. According to the Talmudic formulae the labor-investor could be liable for one third of any loss and receive one half of any profit. In the bilateral *commenda* the *tractator* was normally liable for one third of any loss and would receive one half of any profit. What was then the difference between the two? Simply that in the *'isqa* the labor-investor did not have to invest capital in the first instance whereas in the bilateral *commenda* the *tractator* did have to. This difference between investing capital in the first instance and being liable to replace it later does not seem of such significance that it rules out the possibility of influence by the Talmudic *'isqa* on the mathematics of division of profit and loss in the bilateral *commenda*.

Moreover, Maimonides reported that certain of his teachers had taught a division of profit and loss for the *'isqa* which could give results identical to those for the division of profit and loss in the archetypal forms of both the unilateral and bilateral *commenda*.

> My teachers have further held that if the two agree that the trustee should take three quarters of the profit and the investor one quarter, then it makes only one quarter of the sum a trust and three quarters of it a loan. Therefore if there is a loss the trustee bears three quarters of it minus one third of a quarter, while the investor will lose one quarter plus a third of a quarter, which totals one third of the entire loss.
>
> Thus if one gives the other 100 *denar* with that condition and there is a loss of 24, the investor loses eight and the trustee pays back 16.
>
> Such the arrangement should always be: that whatever share of the profits the investor receives is determined by the agreement they have made. But if there is a loss, he bears a corresponding share plus a third of that sum.
>
> Hence if they agree that the trustee take a quarter of the profit and there is a loss, he does not have to pay anything, since over against the quarter of the loss for which he is liable because of the part of the money which has the status of a loan, he has due him a corresponding third of the sum that the investor would bear, which is a quarter of the total sum. The two sums thus cancel each other.[81]

Book of Acquisition 4.6.5 (p. 230). Maimonides's own opinion has no bearing on the discussion since he lived too late to have influenced the development of the *commenda*.

[80] "At the Origins of the Western Commenda," p. 201.

[81] *The Code of Maimonides. Book Twelve: The Book of Acquisition* 4.6.5 (pp. 228–229).

Although the division of profit and loss for the *'isqa* was based upon principles completely foreign to the *commenda*, the mathematical results were the same according to this group of Maimonides's teachers. Applying these principles of liability for loss in the *'isqa* to the division of profit in both archetypal forms of the *commenda*, we obtain the following results:

Unilateral *commenda* — *tractator*'s profit ¼
¼ capital considered as loan
¾ capital considered a trust
Tractator liable for ¼ − (¾ × ⅓) of loss, i.e., no loss
Bilateral *commenda* — *tractator*'s profit ½
½ capital considered as loan
½ capital considered as trust
Tractator liable for ½ − (½ × ⅓) of loss, i.e., ⅓ of loss

These results are the same as the actual liability for loss in the archetypes of both forms of *commenda*. Of course we do not know whether this particular division of profit and loss was common for the *'isqa* in the early Middle Ages when the principles of division for the *commenda* were being developed. To the author's knowledge, no *'isqa* contract or *responsum* records such a division. However, on the basis of Maimonides's authority, it is at least possible that during the formative period of the *commenda* this division was used for the *'isqa* by Jewish merchants. If it was widely regarded as a just and equitable division, it may well have been borrowed by Christian merchants as an archetype for the *commenda*. As is well known, the Jews occupied positions of prestige in the European commercial community at the time and nothing would have been more natural than for the Christians to have borrowed mathematics which gave an equitable division of profit and loss even if the principles upon which the mathematics were based did not apply to their own contract. However, it must be admitted that there is no direct evidence of such a borrowing and the supposition that there was a borrowing is based solely upon the mathematical coincidences. It is equally as possible that the reverse was the case and that this division taught by certain of Maimonides's teachers for the *'isqa* was influenced by current practice in the eleventh and twelfth centuries for the *commenda*.

(5) *Qirād*

The records of the Cairo Geniza, which have been explored by Professor Goitein and his students, contain examples of both the *'isqa* and its Muslim counterpart the *qirād*.[82] It seems that the *qirād* was preferred to the *'isqa* by both Muslim and Jewish merchants in Egypt.[83] The reason for this prefer-

[82] Stephen D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*. Vol. 1: *Economic Foundations* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1967), pp. 171, 176–177. See also "Commercial and Family Partnerships," p. 318.

[83] Goitein, "Commercial and Family Partnerships," p. 318.

ence may have been the main difference between the *qirād* and *'isqa:* a difference which was elaborated upon by Maimonides in a *responsum* translated by Udovitch. In a *qirād* the agent, or labor-investor, was liable for no loss of capital as he was in most cases in an *'isqa*.[84] It was this characteristic of the *qirād* which Udovitch seized upon as indicating that the *qirād* was the probable origin of the *commenda*. However, as we have seen, in doing so he neglected the fact that the unilateral and bilateral *commendae* were essentially the same contract. If the *qirād* were to be regarded as probable origin of the *commenda*, it would have to have been able to have influenced the development of the bilateral *commenda* as well as that of the unilateral.

In Muslim law there was a serious objection to the very idea of a bilateral *qirād*. Muslim jurists considered it usurious that the capital-investor should receive a share of the profit made on the part of the capital invested by the labor-investor. They maintained that the capital-investor had no right at all to profit from capital which was not his and which he did not provide labor to work.[85] Consequently, the jurists did not discuss the bilateral *qirād* at all and we have no way of knowing from legal sources what would have been the division of profit and loss in such a *qirād*. However, the practice of commerce was far removed from the niceties of law and the bilateral *qirād* was indeed used in the practice of commerce; the agent or labor-investor being liable for the loss of his capital or for loss proportionate to the share of the total capital which his investment constituted.[86] On the basis of this evidence there was no difference between the liability for loss in both forms of the *qirād* and both forms of the *commenda*. The latter could well have been adapted from the former. There was a difference, however, in the sharing of profit. In the *qirād* any proportional division of profit agreed upon by the partners was acceptable.[87] Whereas all Western legal texts agreed that in the archetypal form of a unilateral *commenda* the profit should be divided in a ratio of ¼ – ¾, Muslim legal texts used numerous divisions: ⅓ – ⅔, ¼ – ¾, ²/₅ – ³/₅, even ¹⁹/₂₀ – ¹/₂₀.[88] Although it is true that individual contracts in the West did specify by agreement between the partners divisions other than the ¼ – ¾ which was the norm, such contracts were very much the exception to the rule for the *commenda*. In the Muslim world there was no such rule for the *qirād*.

[84] Udovitch, "Origins of the Western Commenda," pp. 200–201.

[85] Alberto Gaiani, "The Juridical Nature of the Moslem Qiràd," *East and West* 4, part 2 (1953), 81–86; here p. 83: We read indeed in the Mudawwanah that Màlik disapproved of the *qirād* in which both sides contribute to the capital, inasmuch as the capitalist partner can only be entitled to a profit arising from his capital; the prohibition is justified by the usurious character of the profit acquired (*li istighzàr ash-shirà*). See also Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit,* pp. 194–195.

[86] Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society,* 1:176. See also "Commercial and Family Partnerships," pp. 322–325. In a letter to the author Professor Goitein referred to bilateral *qirād* from the Cairo Geniza to be published in his forthcoming book: *Mediterranean People. Letters and Documents from the Cairo Geniza.*

[87] Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit,* pp. 190–196.

[88] Ibid., p. 191.

There were still further differences between the *qirād* and the *commenda:*

1. The *qirād* was most likely "an institution indigenous to the Arabian peninsula which developed in the context of the pre-Islamic Arabian caravan trade."[89] Even in the period of the Cairo Geniza the great majority of *qirād* contracts were used for land commerce.[90] On the other hand the *commenda* was developed and used in the Christian ports of the Mediterranean primarily for maritime commerce. There are some examples of *commendae* used for land commerce, particularly to the fairs of Champagne,[91] but such *commendae* were very much the exception. This difference between the *qirād* and the *commenda* reflected of course a basic difference in the character of Muslim and Christian commerce in the Middle Ages, even when we allow for Muslim maritime commerce in the Indian Ocean.
2. According to Muslim law the capital of a *qirād* could not be comprised of anything but money, that is coinage.[92] Even unminted precious metals were excluded except in those areas where they were circulated as a means of exchange like a currency.[93] In the West, the capital of a *commenda* could be comprised of anything at all: money, precious metals, merchandise, even shares in ships. However, this difference between the *qirād* and the *commenda* need not have been such an obstacle to influence of the former on the latter as it seems. Once again, Muslim commercial practice was far removed from the strictures of law and in the Geniza records there is more than one example of a *qirād* in which the investment was in merchandise.[94] Moreover, even in law a simple device was developed to enable the prohibition against investment in merchandise to be circumvented. An investor could entrust goods to his agent and instruct him to sell them and then use the cash realized from the sale as an investment in a *qirād* at a pre-determined division of the profit.[95]
3. On the question of liability of the capital-investor for obligations entered into on behalf of the *qirād* or *commenda* by the labor-investor, there seems to have been a very marked difference between the two contracts. Normally, the capital-investor of a *qirād* was not liable for obligations entered into by his agent or labor-investor. However, there was one notable exception. If the labor-investor used the *qirād* capital to buy something and then lost that capital before he could pay the seller of that which he was buying, he could have recourse to the capital-investor for an equal amount of capital with

[89] Ibid., p. 172.

[90] Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society,* 1:171–176.

[91] A convenient list of those redacted by the notaries Guglielmo Cassinese at Genoa in 1191 and Giraud Amalric at Marseilles in 1248 is given in Rosalind K. Berlow, "The development of Business Techniques used at the Fairs of Champagne from the End of the Twelfth Century to the Middle of the Thirteenth Century," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 8 (1971), 3–32; here pp. 25–31.

[92] Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit,* pp. 176–177, 180–183.

[93] Ibid., pp. 177–178.

[94] Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society,* 1:173, 175, 176. Cf. Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit,* p. 183.

[95] Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit,* p. 183.

which to pay for that which he had bought.[96] If the second amount of capital were lost, he could have recourse for a third and so on ad infinitum as long as the capital was lost each time through accidental circumstances for which the labor-investor was not liable. The loss also had to occur after the capital had been pledged for a purchase. If it was lost before, the *qirād* simply lapsed and the labor-investor was responsible for any purchases into which he entered. Such liability on the part of the capital-investor beyond the amount of his initial investment is completely undocumented in the West for the *commenda.* As noted above, there is no evidence one way or the other for such liability in the *commenda.*

The conception of the juridical nature of the *qirād* held by Muslim jurists was very much closer to that of the *commenda* than was the Rabbinic conception of the nature of the *'isqa.* While recognizing that the *qirād* was an autonomous contract, most jurists, particularly those of the Hanafite school, were impressed by the sharing of profit in the *qirād.* They regarded the contract as a partnership with overtones of a hire of labor. Other jurists were even more strongly impressed by this aspect of hire of labor and viewed the *qirād* as a unique contract lying midway between partnership and hire of labor.[97] A few emphasized the aspect of trust or mandate, as Rabbinic law did of the *'isqa,* but none saw any aspect of loan in the *qirād.* In spite of the different points of view of the various schools of law, the majority of jurists viewed the *qirād* as a partnership because of the sharing of profit[98] and because of the amalgamation of the twin resources of labor and capital. As the eleventh-century jurist Sarakhsi said, the *qirād* was permissible:

> Because people have a need for this contract. For the owner of capital may not find his way to profitable trading activity, and the person who can find his way to such activity may not have the capital. And profit cannot be attained except by means of both of these, that is, capital and trading activity. By permitting this contract, the goal of both parties is attained.[99]

Such an eminently practical comment could well have been written of the *commenda,* so similar was it to the *qirād.* Of the three contracts which

[96] Ibid., pp. 238–242.

[97] Gaiani, "Juridical Nature of the Qiràd," p. 84. The *qirād* became hire of labor if the labor-investor was given a fixed return in place of a share of the profit. See ibid., p. 82; and Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit,* p. 191. The same was true of the *societas* of labor and capital. See Petrus de Ubaldis, *Tractatvs de dvobvs fratribvs,* 4.6 (fol. 34v): "Sed primo quaero, quid si non apparet contracta societas, sed ponens operas tantum, uult aliquid certum pro opera sua, et non teneri ad damnum. Dic, quod tale pactum seu conuentio ualebat nec erit contractus societatis set locationis operarum." Cf. Joannes Andreae, *Ioannis Andreae . . . In Primum (– Sextum) Decretalium librum Nouella Commentaria,* 5 vols. (1581; rpt. Turin, 1963), 5.De vsuris.19 (vol. 5, p. 77A); and Bernardino of Siena, *Opera Omnia,* 9 vols. (Ad Claras Aquas Florentiae, 1950–65), vol. 4, sermo 39, art. 2, c. 3 (p. 283).

[98] Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit,* p. 196.

[99] Al-Sarakhsī, *Al-Mabsūt,* 30 vols. (Cairo, 1906–1912), 22:19. Translated in Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit,* p. 175.

Udovitch examined, the *qirād* was undoubtedly more similar to the *commenda* than were the *chreokoinōnia* and the *'isqa*. Even taking into account the qualifications which have been made about the nature of the *chreokoinōnia* and the *'isqa* and the differences which have been pointed out between the *qirād* and *commenda*, it still remains true that the economic structure of the *qirād* was extraordinarily similar to that of the *commenda*. Moreover, there were certain peculiar similarities which were so striking as to suggest strongly some degree of exchange of ideas between the two contracts.

1. Transfer of control over the capital in question was an absolute prerequisite for both the *qirād* and the *commenda*. In a *qirād* the money had either to be physically handed over to the labor-investor; or, in cases in which the money was not on hand, authority over its control had to be given to him.[100] There could be no effective *qirād* until the capital was in the agent's possession.[101] Exactly the same was true of the *commenda*. The *Constitutum Usus* of Pisa showed that it was essential for a *tractator* to take possession of the *commenda* capital before he incurred any obligation. Barring a special agreement to the contrary, when capital promised by a *commendator* was located at some place other than that where the contract was made, the capital was not considered to become a part of the *commenda* until the *tractator* took possession of it.[102] On the other hand, once the *tractator* had taken possession of the capital in question he could be compelled to fulfill the obligations to which he had assented.[103]

2. In both *qirād* and *commenda* the ownership of the capital remained with the capital-investor although the labor-investor had absolute control over it. In a *qirād* anything which the labor-investor acquired with the *qirād* capital belonged to the capital-investor except for profit or increase in value, in which the labor-investor acquired ownership proportionate to his specified share of profit.[104] In the West, the statutes of Dubrovnik, Toulouse, and the

[100] Udovitch, op. cit., pp. 187–189.

[101] Ibid., p. 222.

[102] Pisa, *Constitutum Usus* XXII, par. 11 (p. 888).

[103] Loc. cit. To support the legal evidence there is the fact that notarial acts for *commenda* contracts invariably specified that the *tractator* had already taken possession of the capital. Amalfi — Camera, *Memorie*, 1:434: "Nos . . . confiteor [*sic*] recepisse in societate a vobis . . . "; Barcelona — Sayous, "Méth. comm. de Bar.," doc. G: ". . . ego . . . concedo et in veritate recognosco . . . me recepisse et habuisse a te in tua comendacione . . . "; Dubrovnik — Grégor Cremošnik, *Spisi Dubrovačke Kancelarije: Knjiga 1. Zapisi notara Tomazina de Savere 1278–1282*, Monumenta historica Ragusina 1 (Zagreb, 1951), no. 785: "Ego quidem Radoannus Croie confiteor quod accepi . . . in collegantia . . ."; Genoa — *Bonvillano (1198)*, no. 2: "Ego Bertamis de Laudis confiteor me accepisse in sotietate [*sic*] a te . . ."; Marseilles — Blancard, *Documents inédits*, 2 (*Les notules commerciales d'Amalric*), no. 61: "Ego Nicolaus Marinarius confiteor . . . me habuisse et recepisse in comanda a te . . ."; Narbonne — Blancard, *Documents inédits*, 1 (*Les chartes commerciales des Manduel*), no. 40: "Ego Bertrandus de Bellovezino de Marssilia porto mecum a te . . ."; Pisa — Lopez, "Unexplored Wealth," doc. 8: ". . . recepit et habuit in societate maris a Sigerio . . ."

[104] Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit*, pp. 190, 224, quoting Shaybānī, *Aṣl, Muḍāraba*: "For anything he acquires with *commenda* [*qirād*] capital belongs to the investor, except if an increase

Kingdom of Jerusalem referred to the *commendator* as the *dominus* or *sire* of the *commenda* capital.[105] Moreover, in his discussion of the *societas* of labor and capital St. Thomas Aquinas differentiated between the illicit *nauticum fenus* and the *societas* of labor and capital on the grounds that in the latter ownership of the capital remained with the capital-investor.[106] In a bilateral *societas* of labor and capital, or a bilateral *commenda*, the labor-investor would have retained the ownership of that part of the capital which he invested. There is no reference in the West to the ownership of the profit of a *commenda* but there seems no reason to suppose that the principle which Muslim jurists applied to the *qirād* would not have been applicable to the *commenda*.

3. In both the *qirād* and the *commenda* there were two types of arrangements with respect to the labor-investor's freedom to manage the enterprise. There were two types of *qirād:* a *qirād* with limited mandate and a *qirād* with unlimited mandate.[107] An unlimited mandate was conveyed by the capital-investor's statement to the labor-investor: "act with it [the capital] as you see fit." Such a mandate allowed the labor-investor complete latitude in his management of the enterprise. When the labor-investor was not given such an unlimited mandate, his freedom of action was somewhat restricted, especially with respect to third parties. He could not combine the *qirād* capital with other property in his possession; he could not invest it in a *qirād* with a third party; and he could not invest it in an ordinary partnership (*mufawada*) with a third party. These restrictions were paralleled in the West *vis-à-vis* the *commenda*. Under normal circumstances a *tractator* was not permitted to combine *commenda* capital with other property in his possession[108] and was not permitted to invest it in a *commenda* with a third party.[109] I have found no examples of *commenda* contracts which gave the *tractator* permission to invest the capital in a *commenda* with a third party but there are certainly

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in value occurs, in which case the agent acquires a share in the ownership of the increase commensurate to his share of the profit."

[105] Dubrovnik, *Liber statutorum Ragusii* 7.50 (p. 167): "Et de lucro quod habebit dominus denariorum vel mercium, debet habere duas partes, et ipse [*tractator*] habebit terciam." Toulouse, *Consuetudines Tholose* 72 (p. 110): ". . . sin autem dominus mercandarie debet illud de suo proprio solvere, dum tamen supra dictus recipiens fidem dederit rationabilem dicto domino mercandarie predicte. . . ." Kingdom of Jerusalem, *Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois* 44 (p. 43): "Et c'il avient qu'il gaaignast en celui veage, si deit aver sa part le sire de l'aver, par dreit et par l'asize."

[106] St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae. II^a, II^{ae}.*, 78.2, ad obj. 5: "AD QUINTUM DICENDUM quod ille qui mutuat pecuniam transfert dominium pecuniae in eum cui mutuat. Unde ille cui pecunia mutuatur sub suo periculo tenet eam, et tenetur integre restituere. Unde non debet amplius exigere ille qui mutuavit. Sed ille qui committit pecuniam suam vel mercatori vel artifici per modum societatis cuiusdam, non transfert dominium pecuniae suae in illum, sed remanet eius, ita quod cum periculo ipsius mercator de ea negotiatur vel artifex operatur. Et ideo licite potest partem lucri inde provenientis expetere, tanquam de re sua."

[107] For the following see Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit*, pp. 204–210.

[108] Barcelona, *Consolat del Mar* 175 (p. 330).

[109] Ibid., 169 (p. 318). Cf. Pisa, *Constitutum Usus* XXII, par. 32 (p. 897).

many which gave him permission to combine it with other property in his possession.[110] Moreover, there were *commenda* contracts which gave the *tractator* permission to treat the *commenda* capital as part of his own property in a parallel fashion to the unlimited mandate in the *qirād*.[111] Municipal statutes confirm that clauses to this effect in *commenda* contracts nullified certain restrictions which the statutes themselves placed upon the freedom of action of the *tractator*.[112]

4. With respect to the mechanics of how the division of proceeds was actually accomplished, the *qirād* and *commenda* paralleled one another. In the *qirād* return of the proceeds to the capital-investor was essential. As Udovitch says: ". . . there is a kind of symmetry at both temporal poles of the contract. Just as the *commenda* [*qirād*] could not begin without the investor relinquishing control over his capital and handing it over to the agent, so too, did its conclusion depend on the agent's restoring it in full to the physical possession of the investor."[113] The profit was returned and divided at the same time as the capital was returned. In the West, it was mandatory upon the *tractator* to return into the physical possession of the *commendator* the entire capital and proceeds of the *commenda* as they were shipped back on his return voyage to his home port.[114] Unless he was given permission to do so by the *commendator,* the *tractator* could retain nothing in his own posses-

[110] The *tractator* could declare the other property and undertake to do business with it together with the *commenda*. See *Giovanni Scriba,* no. 121: "Ultra has portat lb. .ccccxxiiii. d. .xxxii. quas Wuilielmus Filardus dicit esse Ansaldini nepoti sui et . . . De his omnibus expensas debet facere per libram et de lucro quod Deus in eis dederit debet habere quartam partem." Cf. ibid., nos. 137, 141, 214, etc.; *Guglielmo Cassinese (1190–1192),* nos. 143, 235, 1011, etc.; and *Bonvillano (1198),* nos. 2, 3, 17, 102, 116, 135, etc. Alternatively, the *tractator* could declare that the *commenda* would be amalgamated with whatever other property he had in his possession and business done with the entire amalgamated capital as a unit. Marseilles — Blancard, *Documents inédits,* 1 (*Les chartes commerciales des Manduel*), no. 108: ". . . ego Guiraudus Medicus confiteor et recognosco tibi Johanni de Mandolio me habuisse et recepisse a te in commanda C l. monete miscle curribilis in Massilia, implicatas comuniter in meis implicitis. . . ." Cf. ibid., 1, nos. 106, 114, 115; ibid., 2 (*Les notules commerciales d'Amalric*), nos. 4, 8, 9, 25, 34, 44, 47, 61, 62, 65, etc. Genoa — *Giovanni Scriba,* no. 270; *Guglielmo Cassinese (1190–1192),* nos. 175, 181, 956, 1046, 1065, etc.: *Bonvillano (1198),* no. 97. Pera — George I. Bratianu, ed., *Actes des notaires génois de Péra et de Caffa de la fin du XIIIe siècle,* Académie Roumanie, Etudes et Recherches 2 (Bucarest, 1927); nos. 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, etc. Sardinia — Artizzu, *Documenti inediti,* nos. 4, 5.

[111] For example, Blancard, *Documents inédits,* 1, no. 62, and 2, nos. 91: "Quam comandam promicto . . . tenere et custodire et cum ea mercari et negociari prout melius potero vel scivero et totum capitale et lucrum reddere in posse vestro vel predictorum quorum estis procuratores, vel facere sicut facerem de meo proprio. . . ." Cf. nos. 371 and 402.

[112] Barcelona, *Consolat del Mar* 168 (p. 318). Pisa, *Constitutum Usus* XXII, par. 32 (p. 896).

[113] Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit,* p. 246.

[114] Marseilles, *Statuts de Marseille* 3.23.1 (pp. 134–135): "Generaliter decernimus ut quilibet socius vel commendatarius qui ab alio res aliquas nomine societatis vel commande portaverit vel portabit in aliquod viagium, cum inde redierit, dictam societatem vel commandam sive implicitas inde habitas vel redactas in potestate capitanei sui, illius scilicet qui res in societate vel commanda eidem tradidit, si ipse capitaneus vel ejus successor hoc volet vel postulabit ab illo fieri, ponat et assignet sine mora." Cf. ibid., 6.19.1 (p. 200); Pisa, *Constitutum Usus* XXII.16 (p. 890); Barcelona, *Consolat del Mar* 175 (p. 332).

sion.[115] Restoration of the capital to the investing partner or partners and division of profit or assignment of loss was then worked out on the spot between the two partners.

The four points discussed above were by no means the only points of close similarity between the *commenda* and *qirād*. However, these four were isolated because they illustrate peculiar and specific characteristics of the two contracts which lead to the suspicion that there was some degree of influence by either one of the two contracts upon the other. In which direction that influence moved is impossible to say although, because the Muslim legal sources upon which much of our knowledge of the *qirād* is based predate the earliest references in the West to the *commenda*, the influence would probably have been from Islam to Christianity rather than vice-versa.

Conclusions

There is direct evidence of influence on the *commenda* by the *chreokoinōnia* only, although both the *'isqa* and *qirād* displayed certain characteristics which strikingly paralleled those of the *commenda* and which strongly suggest influence. The *nauticum fenus* can be eliminated from consideration as being too far removed in both economic structure and juridical conception to have influenced the evolution of the *commenda*. Besides, it survived itself into the Middle Ages.

There remains the question of to what degree each of the *societas* of labor and capital, the *chreokoinōnia*, the *'isqa*, and the *qirād* was likely to have influenced the development of the *commenda*? If we consider their similarities and differences, the following points emerge. *Qirād* and *commenda* were most alike in the matter of liability for loss. The *chreokoinōnia* made liability for loss dependent upon agreement and therefore, no evidence to the contrary being available, it may have been possible for all loss of capital to have been assigned to the capital-investor. For the *'isqa*, some Rabbinic authorities taught that the labor-investor should be liable for a share of the loss equal to his share of the profit minus a third of the capital-investor's share of the profit. This gave mathematical results identical to those used for the archetypal forms of the *commenda*. In the matter of division of profit, the *qirād* and *chreokoinōnia* differed from the *'isqa* and *commenda* in having no norm and allowing a free division according to agreement between the parties. The *societas* of labor and capital differed from the *commenda* in that it allowed a capital-investor to take only a half of the profit when the labor-investor was not liable for any loss of capital.

[115] Marseilles, *Statuts de Marseille* 6.19.1 (p. 200). In commercial practice it was normal for *commenda* contracts to specify that the entire capital and proceeds would be returned to the commendator for division. Contracts which specified that the *tractator* could deduct his share of the profit before restoring the capital and *commendator's* share of the profit were the exception to the rule, although they did occur. Dubrovnik — Čremošnik, *Spisi Dubrovačke Kancelarije*, no. 785: "Et de lucro quod Deus dederit de dictis solidis debeo habere medietatem et dicto Petro

From the point of view of their juridical natures, all five contracts were unique, *sui generis,* within their respective legal systems.[116] Therefore, the types of contracts with which they were most closely identified best indicate the conceptions of them held by their respective societies. Here the *'isqa* stands alone. Whereas the *societas* of labor and capital, the *chreokoinōnia,* the *qirād,* and the *commenda* were all regarded as types of partnership, the *'isqa* was regarded as a combination of trust and loan.

The medieval identification of the *commenda* with the *societas* of labor and capital makes it very probable that ultimately the origins of the *commenda* stretched back to the Roman contract, even if the process by which they did so cannot be traced at present. We should bear in mind that the *commenda* first appeared in those areas where the traditions of Roman Law had survived most strongly: Liguria, Lombardy, Tuscany, and Venetia. Moreover, knowledge of the *Digest* would not have been necessary for someone to have known of the *societas* of labor and capital. It was mentioned in both the *Codex* and the *Institutes* and is in fact described in the Provençal *Lo Codi* which predates the rediscovery of the *Digest.* It seems reasonable that a Byzantine institution such as the *chreokoinōnia* might have been the connecting link between the *societas* of labor and capital and the *commenda.* In particular, it might have been the means by which the *societas* became applied to maritime commerce and thus took over part of the role filled by the *nauticum fenus* in Roman times.

However, although the sources for the idea of a *commenda* contract may reach back to the *societas* of labor and capital and the *chreokoinōnia,* there is no doubt that those sources were amalgamated and forged into a coherent institution in the commercial community of the early Middle Ages. In this community the Jews held an important if not dominant position.[117] The particular division of profit and loss adopted as the norm for the *commenda* must surely have been influenced by that used by the Jews for the *'isqa.*

Finally, the similarities both in economic structure and juridical conception between the *qirād* and *commenda* were far too striking for us not to admit that the *qirād* must have added its influence in those areas of parallelism. The medieval commercial community was characterized by its outward-looking aspect and its willingness to receive and utilize ideas from any source whatsoever as long as those ideas could be turned to making a profit; in short by its eclecticism. In developing the *commenda,* all available sources were utilized and the best characteristics from each combined to forge the highly utilitarian commercial institution that was the *commenda.*

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dabo aliam medietatem." Cf. nos. 794, 849, 978. Marseilles — Blancard, *Documents inédits,* 2, no. 429. Pisa — Lopez, "Unexplored Wealth," doc. 8. Sardinia — Artizzu, *Documenti inediti,* no. 4.

[116] Bearing in mind that the *commenda* was a contract of commercial and statutory law. The *societas* of labor and capital, with which the *commenda* was identified, was not the *commenda* per se.

[117] See in particular Agus, *Urban Civilization in pre-Crusade Europe.*

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COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY IN SARGONIC MESOPOTAMIA

By BENJAMIN R. FOSTER

Records of commercial activity from Sargonic Mesopotamia offer a wealth of evidence to the student of ancient trade and business. In view of the richness of the documentation and the dearth of studies dealing with it, a broad survey of the problems and evidence seems called for in preference to a detailed study of a particular issue or group of texts.[1] Questions that such a survey confronts are the nature and purpose of commerce in Sargonic Mesopotamia; who the people were who engaged in it and why; what the sources of their capital were; what commodities they dealt in, where and why; how their business was conducted, and what sort of records they kept. Documents and letters from various sites provide answers to some of these questions, even if they raise other problems of their own. This essay considers each of these questions in turn and the evidence the texts provide that helps to answer them.

Commerce in the Sargonic period is best defined by recourse to contemporaneous terminology: šám, that is, buying and selling of commodities.[2] The purpose of this commerce was two-fold: to make a profit and to acquire goods not available locally in Mesopotamia. Most of the available documents are records of business transactions of a profitable sort. Of these two possible motives for commerce: personal or institutional profit and the necessity of importing foreign commodities, the profit motive was probably the more important in the Sargonic period. Evidence for this hypothesis will be offered below.

The question of who engaged in this commercial activity is complicated by uncertainty about the role of the state in Mesopotamian commerce of the third millennium B.C. Several theories, which differ in detail, emphasize the importance of the crown in economic activity of third millennium Mesopotamia. These theories, most of which may be grouped under the rubric "state socialism," assign to the state dominance or even monopoly of various means of production and exchange, especially in the Sargonic and Ur III periods.[3] The evidence however yields a

[1] No previous study of this subject is known to me. Background information can be found in M. E. L. Mallowan, "The Mechanics of Trade in Western Asia" (*Iran* 3 (1965), 1–7); A. L. Oppenheim, "Trade in the Ancient Near East" (*V International Congress of Economic History* (Moscow, 1970), 1–37); G. Pettinato, "Il commercio con l'estero della Mesopotamia Meridionale nel 3. millennio av. Cr." (*Mesopotamia* 7 (1972), 43–166); H. E. W. Crawford, "Mesopotamia's Invisible Exports in the Third Millennium" (*World Archaeology* 5 (1973), 232–241); Philip L. Kohl, "Carved Chlorite Vessels: a Trade in Finished Commodities in the mid-Third Millennium" (*Expedition* 18 (1975), 18–31). Note for example that the Sargonic period is not referred to in Leemans' brief sketch of the pre-Old Babylonian merchant, *SD* III, 40 ff. The text references cited below are illustrative only and are not intended to be exhaustive.

[2] For discussion of this word and its graphic representations, see J. Krecher, *ZA* 63 (1974), 151 ff.

[3] For the concept of state socialism, see I. J. Gelb, *Studi in Onore di Edouardo Volterra* (Rome, 1969), 1:146 f., 153; V. V. Struve, *VDI* 1948 No. 2, 22 ff. Additional literature on this question may be found in B. Foster, *Umma in the Sargonic Period* (forthcoming), Chapter I note 12; and M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford, 1967), 3:1327 note 25.

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somewhat different picture. While state establishments were indeed active in commerce and enjoyed the advantage of large resources, individuals, sometimes on their own, sometimes through these same state establishments, participated in profitable business enterprises.[4]

To consider first private businessmen, one must distinguish between those who operated entirely on their own with their own resources and those who took advantage of lucrative opportunities that state service provided. One means of identifying such people is to see what sort of records they kept. Some private businessmen kept personal accounts. These were characterized by use of the vernacular and absence of the formal administrative terminology used by the state bureaucracy; a handwriting and tablet form often less refined than those of official records; and use of the first person rather than the third or impersonal usage favoured in official records. Documents that may plausibly be interpreted as records of this type include the archive of Quradum, a businessman perhaps at home in Sippar.[5] In one letter he went into partnership with a man who put up money for a slave whom Quradum agreed in turn to support for six years.[6] In another record he noted that he had paid out money to buy a certain slave, but had not received the slave by the time he drew up his accounts.[7] Some idea of the extent of his dealings can be gleaned from his summary account of copper, silver, livestock, oils, garments, and fruits in Tutul, Mari, and URU.SAG.RIG$_7$.[8] To judge from another record, he kept accounts with over a dozen people.[9]

The archive of a certain Ginunu, who was active at an unknown site in the Diyala, may also be the records of a man doing business on his own, though it is possible he held some official post.[10] He dealt mostly in grain and silver,[11] and was party to several legal transactions.[12] An associate of his, a certain Šunitum, is named in a variety of texts having to do with distribution of barley and foodstuffs.[13] Most of these appear to be records of commercial transactions, one a crudely written text in the first person.[14] The most splendid document in this group is a large, four-column account of foods, implements, lumber, and other goods priced in gold.[15]

At Umma a certain Ama-é, wife of Ur-Šara, was an enterprising business woman. Ur-Šara was one of a small group of men who contracted to raise state livestock and make regular deliveries of animals and hides to the owner.[16] Neither he nor his wife

[4] Diakonoff, who generally stresses the importance of the temple and state households in commerce before the Old Babylonian period, seems to grant this point, *VDI* 1968 No. 4, 9. State control of trade is often posited for the Ur III period, e.g. by Hallo, *JCS* 17 (1963), 60.

[5] First identified by Sollberger, *CT* 50, 8.

[6] *CT* 50 71. 5 ff.: *enma Qurādum ana Ūtah eqabbî, atta* ÌR *tašamma anāku* 6 MU *kiṣrīšu* [ ].

[7] *CT* 50 72.4: ÌR *ulla âḫuz* "I did not get the slave".

[8] *CT* 50 72.

[9] *CT* 50 74, subscribed *šūt* KÙ.BABBAR *Qurādum ilput*[*ū*], "those who credited Quradum's silver". For *lapātu* (Sumerian TAG) in the sense "book to one's credit", see Stephens, *RA* 49 (1955), 134. For a parallel Sargonic use of Sumerian TAG, cf. *MAD* 4 98.5. For a similar text but unsubscribed, see *TMH* V 52.

[10] In *OAIC* 52 he complains that bread (?) has not been given to soldiers (aga-uš). These aga-uš were presumably regular military personnel, cf. M. Lambert, *Iranica Antiqua* 6 (1966), 34 ff.; and *BIN* 8 144, in which they hold land allotments, probably of the šuku-type.

[11] *OAIC* 3, 8, 9, 10, 11 (cloth).

[12] *OAIC* 12, 14, 37, 49.

[13] *OAIC* 17–19, 21, 33.

[14] *OAIC* 21. Compare *MDP* 14 78, another transaction in the first person.

[15] *OAIC* 33.

[16] The "Ur-Šara Archive" is reconstructed and analysed in Foster, *Umma in the Sargonic Period*.

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held any state office. Ama-é received extensive land allotments from the state, probably on a rental or other contractual basis, and dealt in real estate, metal, and grain.[17] She invested her wealth with various agents. To one man she entrusted foods, aromatics, and wood, probably as an investment,[18] and to another silver.[19] Through another man she bought and sold wool in large quantities.[20] One may suppose that she outlived her husband and assumed his responsibilities at his death.[21] There is no reason to believe her career was exceptional, as women appear in other Sargonic commercial texts.[22]

Some people who held state offices took advantage of their positions to engage in commercial activities on their own behalf. Some of these were people who did not trade themselves, but entrusted commodities to official trading agents who traded for them. At Umma during the reign of Šar-kali-šarri a certain Ur-Ninildum, a granary officer, deposited 50 *gur* of emmer into a fund called the " Fund of the Balanced Account." [23] The nature of this fund is discussed more fully below, in consideration of the sources of capital. This fund was used by a state business agent, a certain Abbamu, and contributors to it were presumably reimbursed in proportion to their contributions. Another record for this same agent has entries on behalf of a cook and a royal carpenter.[24] In a similar record a cadaster officer and a food officer contributed dates, priced in silver, to an unnamed fund that was probably a merchant's fund of this same type.[25] Many texts which record deposits of silver or other valuables with others may in fact be records of investments with an agent rather than deposits for safe-keeping.[26]

Other state officers were very active in business on their own behalf, and even kept the records in their offices rather than at their homes. An example of this is the activity of a certain Zu-zu, a cadaster official at Gasur. He appears in various loans and debts of fats, barley, livestock, and silver, records of which were found with other records that appear to be of an official nature.[27]

The sources of these people's capital must in each case have been their own resources, which they built up through buying and selling, emoluments, and speculation. While many isolated records of this kind of activity occur, they are difficult to interpret as they normally give no hint as to the nature of the transaction they record.

The professional business agent was called dam-gàr.[28] There is no reason to

[17] *MAD* 4 149 (summary of holdings), 65 (purchase of house), 134 (list of copper implements), 21 (disbursement of barley).

[18] *MAD* 4 41.

[19] *MAD* 4 73. Compare *ITT* V 9314, gold given to the wives of various officials.

[20] *MAD* 4 17. See Appendix for a treatment of this text.

[21] In *MAD* 4 128 (year x + 23) her name appears in place of her husband's in a routine delivery of skins (cf. e.g. *MAD* 4 127, year 4).

[22] Cf. *CT* 50 79, Eli, a dam-gàr ([*È-l*]*i*, cf. *CT* 50 80) pays silver to various women, who had probably invested with him in assignments similar to those of *MAD* 4 17. Eli himself probably wrote the tablet, as the script, though fairly neat, is uncommonly large in relation to the tablet and often intersects the rulings both above and below the line (collated).

[23] ki níg-kas$_x$ (šid)-ak; *CT* 50 63. This and other funds are discussed in *Umma in the Sargonic Period*, Chapter II Part 3.

[24] Serota (formerly Pinches) Collection 8 (unpub.). The Sargonic texts in the Serota Collection will be published jointly by the writer and I. J. Gelb.

[25] *BIN* 8 213.

[26] Contrast *BIN* 8 169, where silver and grain entrusted to another (an-da-tuku) are returned (ba-da-gur).

[27] *HSS* 10 59, 66, 87, 88, 110, 120, 160, 175, 205.

[28] For philological discussions of this word and its Semitic cognate, *tamkāru*, see W. F. Leemans, *SD* III, 4 note 24.

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assert that the dam-gàr was solely a state agent. Dam-gàr's do not appear in the types of ration lists that enumerate the domestic or executive staff of Sargonic state households.[29] Some of these men did work for the state, and occasionally received grain and animals from the state household, perhaps for food or personal use.[30] As with other professions, their personal status varied widely; thus being a trading agent was no guarantee of social position. Some agents had one or more servants or slaves, and had school training.[31] On the other hand they or their sons could be state dependents,[32] or at least liable for menial labour service.[33] Some made gifts and offerings of metal and animals that suggest they were wealthy.[34] That there was some sort of organization for dam-gàr's is suggested by the occasional mention of a "chief trading agent" (dam-gàr-gal).[35]

The outside sources of the dam-gàr's capital included the fund of goods put at his disposal by private parties or the state. At Umma this fund was called the "Fund of the Balanced Account." The largest contributor to this fund was the state household, through the agency of the šabra, or household intendant.[36] This fund consisted mostly of grain, silver, or foodstuffs, all of which were widely used in commerce. Some of the cash in this fund seems to have come from rentals of land. Two texts from Umma suggest that cash rentals from lands leased by the state to individuals were payable in silver, grain, and livestock.[37] Some of the proceeds from these rentals were put directly into this fund of the balanced account. Barley put into the fund was recorded by entering the field from which it came and the name of the lessee of the field, while silver was recorded by entering the name of the officer apparently responsible for collecting it from the lessee. The advantage of this arrangement was that if the lessees deposited silver or grain on their own accounts their deposits could not be confused with what they had paid the state as rent.

Another type of commercial agent was the ga-raš or gaeš.[38] He is mentioned in deliveries of commodities to the state.[39] On this basis it may be proposed he was a purchasing agent who acquired commodities the state needed, while the dam-gàr was a business agent who sought profits in cash or commodities for his clients. In one

[29] *MCS* 9 233; *Nik* II 35, 83; Frank, *SKT* 43; *MVN* 3 40; M. Lambert, *OrAn* 13 (1974), 4; *MDP* 14 6, 24, 25 and many others.

[30] *ITT* II 3072 (to son); 4460 (sheep, goats); *ITT* I 1431 (donkeys); *HSS* 10 139 (grain). Cf. *MAD* 1 334, where a dam-gàr receives grain for rations of slaves from Agade, and note in *MAD* 5 42: PN sagi dam-gàr ensí. In *MDP* 14 73 a dam-gàr is assigned guruš.

[31] *CT* 50 106, 107; *ITT* I 1300.

[32] *ITT* I 1363; for the text type, see *Umma in the Sargonic Period*, Chapter II Part 2, Group 4.

[33] *RTC* 96. iv. 9′ (dam-gàr's son on labour service); *ITT* II 4621 (dam-gàr's son a fugitive); contrast *ITT* II 4705, where a dam-gàr's son is a nar-gal, "chief singer".

[34] *ITT* I 1370 (delivery of a bronze object); *ITT* II 4399 (goats); *CT* 50 133 (turtles); *HSS* 10 42, "gift" of grain received by two dam-gàr. See also below, note 56. For dam-gàr seals, see R. Boehmer, *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit* (Berlin, 1965), Nr. 584, and Abb. 383.

[35] *Nik* II 19. ii. 4, 10; *Nik* II 47. 8.

[36] *Umma in the Sargonic Period*, Chapter II Part 3.

[37] *Nik* II 78, summary of rental income in grain, silver, and livestock; *MCS* 9 244, account of grain from holders of fields and a withdrawal of silver from the fund of the balanced account. These texts are discussed in *Umma in the Sargonic Period*, Chapter II Part 3.

[38] Akkadian *muštamkiru*. For discussion of this word, with literature, see A. L. Oppenheim, *Studies Presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock* (Istanbul, 1973), 237; Klein, *JCS* 23 (1970), 120; *CAD* s.v. *kaešu*.

[39] *ITT* II 4461, delivery of spices; *ITT* II 4380, delivery of a máš-[ ], gold, and alkali by two garaš; *RTC* 91. ii. 3 (etc.), receives an allowance (ki) of unskilled labor.

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case the ga-raš' capital was copper provided by the ensi, or head of the local state administration.[40] The garaš, unlike the dam-gàr, may have been a regular member of the household staff.[41]

Besides using the services of business agents, the great state households conducted business on their own account. The archive of a Sargonic state establishment that was located somewhere near Umma, perhaps at the city or to the south of it, provides evidence for this sort of activity.[42] This establishment was not very large, perhaps about 0·4 square miles of arable land, with a work force of less than a hundred,[43] but one of its members, a certain Me-ság, undertook a great variety of commercial missions to Agade, A.HA, Lagaš, and other cities.[44] He was certainly a member of the state establishment, as he held allotments within the household, but was never given a title.[45] The records of his activity are of the usual official types, but are written for the most part in Akkadian, in contrast to the state records of Umma, which are in Sumerian.

Many commodities changed hands in this commerce, but the two basic commodities of exchange were silver and grain. The two could be used interchangeably, and silver may be considered money in the usual sense of that word. Silver served as a unit of value; therefore commodities were often priced in silver for the purposes of commercial record-keeping.[46] Silver also served as a medium of exchange.[47] When an official household for example needed to buy commodities, silver could be used.[48] Silver could also be bought and sold like any other commodity,[49] and appears in inventories of goods that were probably commercial in nature.[50] Silver was widely used in personal loans,[51] and was often to be found in the possession of both private citizens and officials.[52] A businessman might have silver on deposit at various places; for example a man at Ešnunna had silver on account at Uruk and a place called ŠUBUR.[53] Silver could also be used by individuals or the state in pur-

[40] *ITT* I 1422, a quantity of copper delivered to the é-gal nam ga-raš-ak [x?] Má-gan.

[41] *OIP* 14 150, disbursement of foods to the staff of a Sargonic state houshold at Adab, including a garaš; *Nik* II 41, issue of flour to a garaš (line 2 = Šeš-tur ga-raš [coll. M. Powell]).

[42] Many texts in *BIN* 8, others unpublished. I hope to treat this archive in detail elsewhere.

[43] Calculated from its monthly summary rosters, e.g., *BIN* 8 122, 123.

[44] *BIN* 8 129, 137, 146, 165, 263.

[45] *BIN* 8 188, 192, 194, 196, 203.

[46] E.g. *BIN* 8 213, 392; *OIP* 14 160. Note that wool could be measured by the "silver weight", (NA$_4$ KÙ.BABBAR), *OAIC* 36.

[47] *BIN* 8 168, 175 (account of silver mentioning dam-gàr's); *MAD* 1 43 (purchase of animals, slaves, etc.).

[48] *BIN* 8 180, official disbursements (kù zi-ga) of silver for slaves, dates, etc.; cf. *MAD* 1 25 (purchase?); *MAD* 5 17 (grain sold for silver to dam-gàr); *MAD* 1 328 (oil and barley for silver).

[49] *BIN* 8 174; *MAD* 1 208.

[50] E.g. *MAD* 1 171 (list of wool, grain, livestock, garments, silver); *MAD* 1 302, 303, 304 (aromatics, eggs, silver). For possible purposes of such inventories, see below.

[51] *HSS* 10 110; *MAD* 5 30, 86, and many others.

[52] *MAD* 1 34, 125, 208, 302, 303; *MAD* 4 124; *MAD* 5 84, 88, 102, 108; *MVN* 3 81, 98; *BIN* 8 168; *OAIC* 35–37. Note for example *MAD* 5 102, where a group of people is described as *bēlū* KÙ.BABBAR, "owners of (the) silver"; and *BIN* 8 167, where silver changes hands at the conclusion of a case at law. It was also customary to give silver to the judge and the maškim of court proceedings, perhaps as "court costs", cf. *MAD* 1 228, 242. For silver in hands of officials, cf. *Nik* II 56; *OIP* 14 197; *ITT* I 1070. For silver going from an official to a private person, see *MDP* 14 19, in which the ensi of Umma pays a woman silver in lieu of her income from a land allotment. *MAD* 5 9 seems to be a payment in grain or silver to soldiers on a campaign (?) in Gutium (?).

[53] *MAD* 1 32, 166; cf. the archive of Quradum, above, notes 4–7.

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chasing real estate [54] or in paying rentals.[55] Silver was sometimes offered to the gods or to the royal family either to meet obligations or as a free-will offering.[56]

Grain appears as an item of commerce in many of the transactions noted above in connection with silver. Like silver, grain could be used for buying and selling,[57] renting,[58] could be loaned at interest or interest free,[59] and could be exchanged for other commodities.[60] As grain was the staple of the Mesopotamian economy, commercial transactions with grain are often hard to distinguish from the many other types of records that deal with it. Was certain grain shipped from Girsu to Agade for example a commercial venture, payment of taxes, or for some other purpose? [61] Other foods like dates or flour appear in commercial records as media of exchange.[62] Many city dwellers, if they did not own, rent, or hold allotments of agricultural land, presumably had to purchase some of these foods on the open market (sila).[63] Oils and fats were important items of commerce,[64] as well as aromatics and extracts of various trees,[65] different kinds of wood,[66] garments, and textiles.[67]

Livestock was another important commodity. Donkeys and asses of various kinds were bought and sold,[68] and perhaps used by merchants for transporting goods overland.[69] Cows, oxen, and pigs were also bought and sold.[70] There are records of large herds of livestock, especially sheep and goats, being moved from city to city. Many of these may have been for commercial enterprises. For example cattle and sheep were shipped through Agade,[71] over 3,500 sheep and goats were sent from Umma to Girsu,[72] and other sheep and goats were sent from Umma to Uruk.[73] It is difficult to see any other reason for this transport of animals than a commercial one, and one text indeed indicates sheep that were sold in Nippur.[74] Records were kept

[54] Private treaties: *MAD* 5 82; *MDP* 14 4 (sales of houses); *MAD* 1 168 (sale of a field); official transactions: Obelisk of Maništusu (Scheil, *MDP* 2, 1 ff.); Sippar Stone (Gelb, *RSO* 32 (1957), 83 ff.).

[55] *BIN* 8 282 (rental of a garden); *OIP* 14 78, 114 (rentals of fields); cf. *ITT* I 1042, below, note 68.

[56] *OIP* 14 111, 159: máš-da-ri-a offerings of silver by a dam-gàr. This silver must have been his own, as he could hardly have offered state property to a deity in his own name.

[57] *MVN* 3 60 (barley to dam-gàr's); cf. *MVN* 3 25; *MVN* 3 80 (grain used to buy silver to purchase a slave); *MVN* 3 81; *MAD* 5 88.

[58] See above, note 55.

[59] *MAD* 1 17, 105 (?), 110, 148 (records of interest); 275, 321; *MAD* 5 74, 77, 78; *OAIC* 32 (with loan of a lamb).

[60] *MAD* 5 88, barley and silver; *MAD* 5 3, silver and barley used to buy a house. For silver valued in grain (še-bi), cf. *OIP* 14 168.

[61] *ITT* I 1075, 1076; cf. *MAD* 1 18 (barley to a dam-gàr).

[62] *MVN* 3 62; *BIN* 8 175.

[63] For the market, see below. The Leningrad "Larsa Project" has concluded that the city dwellers in the OB period purchased some food for cash, I. M. Diakonoff, *Drevnij Vostok, Goroda i Torgovlja* (Yerevan, 1973), 47 f.

[64] *MAD* 1 279, 300, 328.

[65] *MAD* 1 291 (loan), 304 (?); 37 and 300 (sales of aromatics).

[66] *MAD* 1 318; *OAIC* 4 (sale of a log); cf. *OAIC* 33, a shipment of logs valued in gold.

[67] Cf. *ITT* V 6748, importation of textiles from Ebla (possibly Ur III); *ITT* II 5804, capital and loss of garments valued in silver.

[68] *MVN* 3 100; *Nik* II 54. *ITT* I 1042 may be a record of field rents received in silver and donkeys.

[69] *ITT* I 1452 (asses to a dam-gàr). Perhaps the over 700(?) asses returned to Lagaš from Gutium (*ITT* II 5790) were a military pack train.

[70] *BIN* 8 180, 181; *MVN* 3 77. Note especially *MAD* 1 269, an account of barley and silver used to buy cattle in Gutium; *ITT* II 4443 where a dam-gàr receives various animals; *ITT* I 2926, account of oxen níg-šám-bi nu-ak (not sold, of no commercial value?). For sale of pigs, *HSS* 10 105, 106, 107.

[71] *ITT* II 5845.

[72] *ITT* V 6691; cf. *ITT* II 4563.

[73] *ITT* I 1047.

[74] *MVN* 3 93; cf. *MVN* 3 57 (sale of a sheep in Agade); *ITT* I 1413, delivery of sheep by a dam-gàr; *MDP* 14 16.

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of animals that were removed from city limits, just like other goods.[75] Of course not all movements of animals were for commerce. Some were taken for slaughter,[76] for example, or for delivery to cult sites.[77]

The slave trade seems to have been a particularly profitable undertaking in Sargonic Mesopotamia. While Diakonoff,[78] Gelb,[79] and Tyumenev[80] have emphasized that chattel slaves were not a significant productive labour force in third-millennium Mesopotamia, it is clear they were a luxury for which there was a ready market. Slaves appear in many merchants' accounts along with other commodities, or in separate transactions, with or without witnesses.[81] The great majority of them have Mesopotamian names and even patronymics, so there is no reason to believe they were mostly imported from abroad as in later periods.

While some business agents may have specialized in one or another commodity, inventories of merchants' stocks usually contain a variety of goods. For example the balanced account of goods put at the disposal of a certain Sikkur by the intendant of the state household at Umma included silver, garments, wool, and oil, the whole worth nearly 12 minas of silver.[82]

It is suggestive to consider what commodities are not found in commercial texts as well as those that are. Strikingly absent are the very products one might most expect to find there if one believed that the role of the trading agent was to acquire goods not available locally in Mesopotamia. One searches in vain for accounts of steatite, chlorite, lapis, or other precious and semi-precious stones and their imitations. There seem to be no records of bulk acquisition of copper or silver, but only records of transactions and stocks on hand, sometimes very large and often in the hands of private people.[83] While shipments of wood do occur in the records, these are in small quantities and seem to be private enterprise on a modest scale.[84] There is in short no evidence in the available records that the Sargonic dam-gàr played any significant role in the acquisition of products foreign to Mesopotamia, or was anyone other than a businessman who sought profits for clients, including the state, in Mesopotamian markets with mostly Mesopotamian goods. If the majority of foreign imports such as precious stones were acquired in a way that has left no record in the official and private archives of Mesopotamian urban centres, one must assume they were either not accountable property, or became accountable property at a

[75] *OIP* 14 124; *ITT* 2978 (animals uru-ta è-a). Cf. below, note 120.

[76] *ITT* II 4396.

[77] *ITT* I 1156 (shipment of fatted sheep to Nippur).

[78] *VDI* 1968 No. 4, 7; *VDI* 1973 No. 4, 14, 17 and elsewhere.

[79] *CRRAI* 18 (1972), 84 and elsewhere.

[80] *Gosudarstvennoe hozjajstvo drevnego Šumera* (Moscow–Leningrad, 1956), 276 f. and elsewhere.

[81] *BIN* 8 173, 177, 178(?); *CT* 50 78; *ITT* I 1040, 1041; *ITT* II 2917, 4516, 4518, 4576, 4578, 4588, 5772, 5798 (valuation of slaves); *RTC* 79, 80 (an entire family), 81; *MAD* 1 33, 43 (with other goods); 140, 225; *MAD* 5 101?; *MVN* 3 81, 102; *Nik* II 68 and many others. Witnessed sale contracts of the Sargonic period have been edited by D. O. Edzard, *ABAW* NF 67; and J. Krecher, *ZA* 63 (1974), 145 ff. A particularly interesting example from Gasur is purchase by a dam-gàr of a Lullubi slave for grain measured by the Agade gur, *HSS* 10 99.

[82] *BIN* 8 286; for balanced accounts, see C. Fossey, *JSOR* 14 (1930), 51 ff.

[83] Cf. *Nik* II 57, inventory of 8470 minas of state-owned copper uru-a "in the city (account)". For private dealings in metals, cf. *MAD* 4 65, 73, 134; *BIN* 8 310; *OAIC* 7. Some Sargonic texts having to do with metal-working have been discussed by H. Limet, *JESHO* 15 (1972), 3 ff. For further discussion and additional literature, see *Umma in the Sargonic Period*, Chapter II Part 2 Group 6c.

[84] See above, note 66.

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point beyond the horizon of these archives.[85] Gems and rare metals may not have been for the most part accountable property of the state, but private property of the king or other wealthy individuals. This property would appear in records only if it was entrusted to craftsmen for working, and such records are known, especially from later periods.[86] These goods represent foreign gifts, tribute, or booty accessible to the ruling establishment but not found in state inventories.[87] As for commodities such as copper that were accountable but were not produced locally, and for which no records of acquisition are available, one can conclude only that they were acquired by the state by means or agents as yet unknown.[88] One seeks in vain among the thousands of preserved Sargonic records for an example of agents acquiring such goods for the state.

The comings and goings of commercial parties within Mesopotamia are well documented. An early Sargonic ship manifest consists of a list of men with hired attendants called "hired men of the dam-gàr's".[89] Hired men are seldom encountered in Sargonic texts, so it is not straining the evidence to see in this manifest the embarkation of a commercial party. As water travel was the most important means of transportation, at least in southern Mesopotamia, one would expect the majority of commercial goods to go by boat. There are in fact ship manifests that contain such a varied cargo that here too commercial enterprise seems the best explanation for them. A single such shipment includes jars of oil, animal hides, brewing ingredients, legumes, spices, sea fish, fatted animals, barley, and flour, under the charge of a slave or a servant of an untitled person.[90] The grain and flour are measured with the standard metrology one often finds in commercial texts.[91]

There is not yet sufficient evidence to reconstruct the patterns of commercial connections between the various Mesopotamian cities. One may suggest that both geographical position and regional specialities have to be considered. Gasur was perhaps a centre for swine-herding and lard production;[92] Lagaš was certainly a centre for fishing, both fresh and salt water;[93] Umma may have been a centre for

[85] A post-Sargonic text edited by H. Sauren, *AIPHOS* 20 (1968), 388 f., under the title "Une Caravane sumérienne" contributes nothing in this respect. Sauren's interpretation of it depends on an antiquity dealer's unreliable assertion that the tablet was found in Luristan, and an emendation of the document (p. 392) to include a non-existent lugal kaskal(a). Kaskal is a category of personnel; cf. *Nik* II 14 iii.1.

[86] See for example *ECTJ* 51; for later periods *UET* III 757, 761, 768, 776, 1498 (Ur III); *Sumer* 9 (1953), 21 ff. (Kassite period); *ITT* V 9276, which mentions rare stones, is unfortunately badly broken.

[87] This way of acquiring foreign goods is well documented in the Amarna letters (D. O. Edzard, *JESHO* 3 (1960), 38 ff.) and is still found in the records of the Neo-Assyrian kings, who distinguish between tribute (*biltu, mandattu*) and "gifts" to the king (*namurātu, kadrû*); cf. *OIP* 2 33.iii.36 (Sennacherib); and for *namurātu*, Golovleva, *VDI* 1975 No. 3, 3 ff.

[88] Importation of building stone, for example, was a royal undertaking impracticable commercially. Thus Maništusu caused stone to be brought from Iran, but one finds no archival records of such stone (H. Hirsch, *AfO* 20 (1963), 69 f.). Gold is exchanged for silver in *ITT* V 9277; for a merchant's account of copper and bronze, cf. *RTC* 100.

[89] *Nik* II 19, cf. ii. 12: lú-hun-gá dam-gàr-ne; cf. *ITT* II 2915, another passenger list.

[90] *BIN* 8 267, 276, 280; cf. *RTC* 102; *ITT* V 9296(?).

[91] For the metrology of commercial texts, see below.

[92] *HSS* 10 177, 181 (accounts of swine); *HSS* 10 168, 169, large shipments of ì-šah to Assur, Agade.

[93] There are over a hundred published Lagaš texts recording fish, often in enormous quantities (e.g., *RTC* 129, nearly 60,000). For drying and salting of fish at Sargonic Lagaš and Uruk, see Crawford, "Invisible Exports", 233 f.

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production of aromatic oils,[94] and appears to have exported large numbers of sheep and goats.[95] Apparent commercial contacts between Uruk and Ešnunna,[96] Uruk and Umma,[97] Girsu and Umma,[98] and Ešnunna and Gutium [99] can be documented, both of a private and commercial nature. Quradum, a private business man apparently residing in Sippar, had business as far off as Mari and Tutul on the Euphrates.[100]

Commercial contacts of Mesopotamian cities with points outside of Mesopotamia are best documented at Umma. Gasur and especially Umma had good connections with Susa and southern Iran for most of the Sargonic period, the latter via its port at Zabala and both via an outpost at Sabum.[101] Documents from Susa suggest people from Umma were residing there.[102] Later in the Sargonic period these connections were cut off, first perhaps when the Sargonic ensi's were expelled from Susa and Elam,[103] and later when Umma itself was attacked and perhaps destroyed in the time of trouble following the death of Šar-kali-šarri.[104] Her position as Mesopotamia's entrepot with southern Iran was thereafter to be assumed by Lagaš, her perennial rival. Umma also appears to have had direct connections with Dilmun (= Bahrein),[105] Magan (= Makran?),[106] and Meluhha (= Indus Valley?), as an Indus seal impression is said to have been found at the site and a ship's agent from Meluhha received oil rations at the city.[107] Sargon's well-known assertion that ships from Magan and Meluhha docked at Agade,[108] as well as Naram-Sin's conquest of Magan,[109] suggest that the interconnections between Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley were both direct and frequent in this period.[110] As for the North, it is known Ebla exported textiles to Mesopotamia.[111]

[94] *Umma in the Sargonic Period*, Chapter II Part 2 Group 3g. For oil from Umma found at other cities, cf. Nakahara, *Sumerian Tablets Kyoto* 1 (KI.AN); *BIN* 8 333 (Zabala); *Nik* II 48 (Der, Bad-Rabilum); *BIN* 8 298 (Kar-sig$_4$).

[95] Above, notes 72, 73.

[96] Above, note 53.

[97] Above, note 73.

[98] Cf. *RTC* 84, a letter found at Girsu concerning the property of Ur-nu, a dam-gàr, brought from Umma; above, note 72.

[99] *MAD* 1 269.

[100] *CT* 50 72.

[101] For connections between Umma, Sabum, and Susa, see *Umma in the Sargonic Period*, Chapter III. For Sabum and Gasur, see *HSS* 10 201. Sabum was the site of a fortress constructed by the ensi of Umma on behalf of Rimuš; for discussion, see *Umma in the Sargonic Period*, Chapter III.

[102] *MDP* 14 19. Note *MDP* 14 13, a business record from the Susa region of silver received in Surgul; *MDP* 14 22, a duplicate record (gaba-ru) of quantities of grain on hand in various cities in Umma province and to the east of it.

[103] Evidence is collected in *Umma in the Sargonic Period*, Chapter IV notes 140, 141.

[104] For Umma in the "Gutian Period" see Hallo, *RlA* s.v. "Gutium", although the "mu-iti" texts do not belong to the Gutian period.

[105] Two men from Dilmun appear in NBC 11447 (unpub.); *CT* 50 55; Serota 18 (unpub.).

[106] A messenger (ra-gaba) from Magan draws beer at Umma in *MCS* 9 245. Copper from Magan is mentioned in *ITT* II 2864, and above, n. 40.

[107] V. Scheil, *RA* 22 (1925), 55 f.; *BIN* 8 298. In *CT* 50 76 a man from Meluhha receives an advance of silver. A Sargonic seal belonging to a Meluhha interpreter has survived; Boehmer, *Glyptik*, Abb. 557.

[108] H. Hirsch, *AfO* 20 (1963), 37 f.

[109] Ibid., 18.

[110] The abundant literature on this problem has been collected by G. Komoróczy, "Himi o torgovle Til'muna" (*Drevnij Vostok* 2 (Yerevan, 1976), esp. notes 43, 44, and 76).

[111] *ITT* V 6748 (date uncertain); recent discovery of thousands of commercial records at Ebla (= Tell Mardikh in Syria) shows an extensive trade was carried on between North Syria and Mesopotamia (G. Pettinato).

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Sargonic administrative and private texts provide evidence for a rich vocabulary of commercial terms, including for example ki, "fund",[112] kù-bi, "price",[113] ganba, "equivalent",[114] sag-níg-ga-ra, "capital",[115] níg-(ga), "property, asset",[116] and many others. Space permits discussion of only two terms here: sila-a gál/sig$_7$, and è-a.

The term sila-a gál/sig$_7$ (lit. "on the street") might, especially if one did not believe in the existence of a market place in ancient Mesopotamia,[117] be taken to mean "in transit", but this meaning does not fit all instances.[118] A good example is *CT* 50 80, edited below, Appendix. The most probable explanation of this document is that it is a record of three investments, one in a calf, and the other two in slaves or in the form of deposits with individuals, with the total described as "on the market" (that is, invested with the hope of a profit). The explicit subscription suggests the silver was probably state property confided to a certain Eli the dam-gàr in hopes of a return.[119] In form and content it is similar to the list of investments recorded by Quradum in *CT* 50 74. That there was a commodity market, however primitive the modern economist might dub it, seems undeniable. That there were actual market places is more difficult to prove, but the expression "on the market" implies that such existed.

Another accounting term found in commercial texts is uru-ta è-a, "going out of the city".[120] This belongs to a class of terms that denote where, and on what fund, property was accounted. "In the city" (uru-a), a counterpart, is a well-attested category of goods within the city limits of the place where the accountable office was located. Umma for example was a regional capital and seat of accountability, so goods in the city itself were so described (uru-a), whereas goods in outlying installations or towns were so specified, and changes in their locations noted.[121] Goods uru-ta è-a were goods leaving the place where their accountable office was located, in many cases no doubt for commercial purposes.

Private records of a commercial nature are the most difficult to interpret, as often they lack the formulary of contracts or the entries of disposition of administrative texts. Records such as *PUL* Plate VI No. 20, a list of livestock, 1½ jars of

[112] *MAD* 4 42 (private); *CT* 50 60; *Nik* II 69; *Nik* II 45 (royal); *CT* 50 63 (commercial, with unpublished parallels).

[113] Cf. W. W. Hallo, *HUCA* 30 (1959), 105 with note 6; *CAD K*, 247a. For a brief list of Sargonic prices, see H. Limet, *JESHO* 15 (1972), 31 ff.

[114] *MDP* 14 41 [KI].LAM; cf. B. Landsberger, *MSL* 1, 26, 124 f.

[115] Cf. *ITT* II 5804, capital (sag-níg-ga) and loss (l-bí-za) of garments valued in silver; *RTC* 176 (wool).

[116] *BIN* 8 282; *MAD* 5 85 (níg-é). For níg-gál-la, "property on hand," see *Nik* II 82, *ITT* I 1183, 1395; *BIN* 8 229; *MSL* 13, 116.

[117] K. Polanyi, *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economics in History and Theory* (Glencoe, Illinois, 1957), 14.

[118] For discussion, see T. Jacobsen, "On the Textile Industry at Ur under Ibbi-Sin" (in W. L. Moran, ed., *Towards the Image of Tammuz* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), note 7); *CAD* s.v. *babtum*. Lexical equivalents can be found in *MSL* 13, 182. Note in *BIN* 3 500 (Ur III, Drehem) cattle are disbursed (zi-ga) or "in transit(?)" (sila-a sig$_7$-a). For a different interpretation, see Hallo, *BIN* 3, 11.

[119] Comparable texts are *BIN* 8 221 (investment of four quantities of grain); *HSS* 10 106.

[120] uru-ta: *OIP* 14 124; cf. é-ta è-a: *ITT* II 5884; *BIN* 8 124, 165, 206 (grain? to a dam-gàr), 271 (gá-nun-na ba-sar, "entered on the storehouse account").

[121] For documentation, *Umma in the Sargonic Period*, Chapter III notes 466 and 467.

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butterfat, and one mina of silver, may in some cases be accounts of purely personal property, such as might be acquired from a sale of real estate or grain, or might in other instances be private commercial records the significance of which remains to be discovered.

One helpful criterion for distinguishing commercial texts and contracts from routine administrative records is the use of metrology. In a land where many standards were used side by side, even in the same locality, the possibility of fraud, receiving by one standard and paying back by another, was a real one. The most commonly used standard in commercial texts is the gur-sag-gál-si-sá, "standard gursaggal", composed of 240 sila.[122] In administrative texts the standard is often presupposed, or specified only when doubt might arise. On the other hand, commercial texts generally specify the standard used, in this case the gur-sag-gál, and further define it as the gur-sag-gál-si-sá, "standard gursaggal". This was presumably a regular absolute capacity, as the absolute capacity of the gur-sag-gál probably varied from place to place. Survey of the contexts in which this standard is used suggests that most documents that specify the si-sá measure are commercial transactions.[123]

The day-to-day life of the Sargonic business man is best revealed in his correspondence, as letters sometimes give a clearer picture of his dealings than do records. To quote one example, a business agent from the imperial capital, perhaps sent to Girsu, was prevented from doing any business in the following letter (*MCS* 9 252).

Ur-^{d}Utu-ke$_4$	Thus says Ur-Utu
na-bé-a	
Šeš-šeš-mu	Say to Šeš-šeš:
ù-na-dug$_4$	
[^{I}A]-ga-dè^{ki}-lugal-àm	Agade-lugal-am,
lú A-ga-dè^{ki}	a man of Agade,
na-bí-šám-e	must not make purchases!
ki Ìr-gi$_4$-gi$_4$-šè	Let him return to Irgigi.
lú hé-gi$_4$-gi$_4$	

Study of this and similar documents must of course consider not only the situation but the principals. Was this same Šeš-šeš the one who received silver in *ITT* II 4401 and bitumen in *CT* 50 68, not to mention the gold, precious stones, tin, and other valuables in *ITT* V 9276? Was the sender of this letter also the sender of *ITT* V 9309, and perhaps the ensi himself, as in *ITT* V 6689 (account of gold), *RTC* 83 and 132? Both names are common at Girsu, and the other two elude identification, so such questions must be left open at present for lack of evidence. Many other letters dealing with commercial activity are available, such as *BIN* 8 156; *JCS* 10

[122] Documentation will be found in *Umma in the Sargonic Period*, Chapter III Part 3.

[123] *MVN* 3 19 (shipment of flour to Nippur); *BIN* 8 143, 165, 208, 233 (with gur-mah), 236, 244, 245, 255; note for example the unusual use of this unit at Gasur, in a text in which a dam-gàr appears: *HSS* 10 125 line 4 rev.: [dam-g]àr; cf. *BIN* 8 124. For interesting uses of this unit within administrative contexts, see for example *BIN* 8 230; *ITT* II 4529 (3 different gur in one text); *ITT* II 4560. Note also the use of a standard weight (na$_4$ si-sá) in *ITT* II 5799.

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(1956), 13 ff.; *MAD* 1 282 and 290 (part of a large commercial archive, see Appendix).

This preliminary survey of commercial texts from the Sargonic period should conclude by stressing that trade, either institutional or inter-city, may be seen as but one facet of a vital and profitable business activity that flourished throughout the empire of the Sargonic kings and beyond. Individuals, alone or in partnership, the state, on its own behalf or through agents, the king himself, participated in this business activity. Taking a broad view, one may say that the purpose of this business was to keep up the circulation of commodities that were essential to the economy and civilization of the land. From the point of view of the individual businessman, the goal was surely more modest: the good life, neatly summed up perhaps in an otherwise cryptic document that lists a donkey, a garden, and a house in Agade.[124]

Appendix

This appendix contains editions of three selected Sargonic commercial texts, two documents and one letter, in support and illustration of the foregoing discussion.

Text 1: *MAD* 4 17

1) 20 síg ma-na
2) Ama-é-e
3) Barag-nita-ra
4) $ša_6$-ma ì-na-dug_4
5) 15 síg ma-na
6) Ama-é-e
7) Barag-nita-ra
8) ì-na-sum
9) 20 lá 2 síg ma-na
10) Ama-é-e
11) Barag-nita-ra
12) Zabala^{ki}-šè
13) gin-né ì-na-sum
14) 8 síg ma-na
15) Ama-é-e
16) Barag-nita-da u_4-bi-ta
17) ì-da-tuk-àm
18) šu.nigín 1 síg gú 1 ma-na

(Translation)

20 minas of wool: Ama-é said to Barag-nita: "buy."
15 minas of wool: Ama-é sold it to Barag-nita.
18 minas of wool: Ama-é sold it to Barag-nita when he went to Zabala.
8 minas of wool: Ama-é has on deposit with Barag-nita from that time.
Total: 1 talent, 1 mina of wool.

(Notes)

For $ša_6$ as a writing for sa_{10}, "buy", see the literature collected by Falkenstein, *NG I*, 121 note 1.

(Interpretation)

In this record Ama-é orders an agent to buy wool, notes the sale of two lots, one when he went to Zabala, the main port and commercial centre of Umma province, and a fourth quantity she entrusted to him when he went to Zabala. This last he was probably supposed to trade with on her behalf.

[124] *OAIC* 31.

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Text 2: *CT* 50 80.

1) 1 amar gud	1 calf
2) kù-bi 6 gín	price: 6 shekels
3) Kur-ra	Kurra.
4) 6 gín kù-babbar	6 shekels of silver:
5) *Šu-bi-kum* (?)	Šubikum.
6) 1 gín igi 4-gál	1 ¼ shekels
7) Bar-ra-an	Barran.
8) šu.nigín 13 gín igi 4-gál	Total: 13¼ shekels
9) sila-a gál-la-àm	" on the market "
10) *È-li* dam-[gàr]	Eli, trading agent.

(Notes)
Line 5: The reading and interpretation of this name are unclear to me.
Line 7: For the full form of this name, cf. *ITT* I 1438: Bar-ra-ni-šè.

(Interpretation)

Eli, a trading agent, here records his investments of three quantities of silver.

Text 3: *MAD* 1 290. Letter of Šu-ma-ma to Egia. Both of these men were active in commercial undertakings in the Diyala region and beyond. The obverse is lost except for the salutation, which includes the " whole of the É-gemé ". The reverse includes the following:

x + 1) *ù a-na Iš-nun*^{ki}
2) [*l*]*i-it-ru-ù-nim*
3) [*ù*] *śu-lum* É *kà-lí-su*
4) [*i*]*n* DUB *li-iš-ṭú-ru-nim*
5) 2 (PI) NÍG.HAR.RA
6) *ù e-tim-da-su*
7) *ni-se*$_{11}$*-bí-lam*
8) 4 (PI) DABIN 2 (PI) ZÍD.GU
9) 2? SÌLA Ì.DU$_{10}$.GA 2 SÌLA Ì
10) *a-dum mi-nim*
11) *la è-e-śa-ru-ni*

(Translation)

. . . and let them take to Ešnunna and write in a letter how the whole household is faring. We are sending 2 PI of *mundu*-flour and its . . . (As for) the 4 PI of *tappinu*-flour, the 2 PI of ZÍD.GU-*flour*, the 2? sila of perfumed oil and the 2 sila of (sesame?) oil, why won't they take care of me? . . .

(Notes)
Line 11: cf. *a-lu-um ù be-lí e-śa-ru-ni* (*BIN* 6 199 12 f., Old Assyrian letter).

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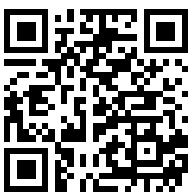

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CRYPTO-JEWS UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH:

A Paper

READ BEFORE THE JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ENGLAND
ON
RE-SETTLEMENT DAY, FEBRUARY 4TH, 1894.

BY

LUCIEN WOLF,

President of the Society.

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CRYPTO-JEWS UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ENGLAND ON RESETTLEMENT DAY.

BY LUCIEN WOLF.

I.—THE SECRET SYNAGOGUE.

In the year which brought Menasseh ben Israel to England, on his memorable mission to Oliver Cromwell, there stood in Cree Church Lane, Leadenhall Street, a large and mysterious-looking gabled house, which differed from its fellows chiefly in the respect that the local gossips could make neither head nor tail of it. Its tenant and owner, one Moses Athias, was understood to be a clerk employed by a rich Spanish merchant and ship-owner, Don Antonio Fernandez de Carvajal, whose mansion almost faced the top of the lane; but his dignified bearing and the marked respect paid to him by many of the foreign merchants, including Carvajal himself, seemed hardly consistent with this theory. Over a glass of canary in the Jeames Tavern hard by, garrulous busybodies would ask one another what use old Athias could have for so large a house, with its basement so strongly barred and its upper windows so impenetrably curtained; and strange tales would sometimes be told of papistical mysteries enacted within its walls by the swarthy strangers and their mincing and bejewelled spouses who flocked thither at frequent but regular intervals. Muffled melodies and nasal recitatives were heard in the still morning air proceeding from the upper stories, and occasionally a newly arrived Dutchman or Italian—for the parish of St. Catherine was a foreign colony—would stop and listen to them, wondering where those uncanny sounds had saluted his ears before. Sometimes a gleam of angry intelligence would light up the listener's eyes, and hurriedly making a sign of the cross or growling out a malediction on the "accursed spawn of Jews," he would hasten on his way.

As a rule, however, the residents tempered their curiosity with a large infusion of tolerance. In any other district of London, Moses Athias's house would probably have been indicted under the Bloody Statute or some other of the pious enactments for putting down seditious sectaries with which the constitution had been thoughtfully armed; but the parish of St. Catherine had been from time immemorial a sanctuary for aliens and heretics, and a place of privilege for unfrocked priests, apostates from Christianity and even converts to Judaism. (1) Consequently, however much the residents may have been

1. Strype's Stow, Book II., p. 8.

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scandalised by the mysterious heresy which Moses Athias was supposed to countenance, it was not in their interest to give audible expression to their indignation. Moreover, there was an impression in the locality that it was not quite safe to molest the strangers who frequented the Cree Church Lane Conventicle. Don Antonio Carvajal was known to be hand in glove with the Secretary of State, and once when Will Sherman thought to turn an honest penny by denouncing him and his friends as recusants he—the pious Will—was summoned before the House of Lords and roundly upbraided for his pains. (2) Some, too, kept their opinions to themselves from motives of personal prudence. Carvajal, for all his grizzled beard, had a fiery temper, and was no 'prentice hand with the rapier. (3) His servant, Manuel da Fonseca, could double his fist with any Englishman, (4) while Simon de Caceres—Carvajal's great friend—made no more ado of avowing that he was not a Christian than of recounting how he had fought the Inquisition dogs by sea and land. (5) And so nobody interfered with the mysterious house, although its character was so nearly guessed that in 1653 James Howell wrote to his friend Lewis, in Amsterdam, that "touching Judaism, some corners of our city smell as rank of it as doth yours there." (6)

The house, indeed, was a secret Synagogue, and it is probable that it was not the only one of its kind in London at this period. A baptised Jew, one Paul Isaiah, who published a conversionist brochure early in 1655, states, as a fact, within his knowledge, that the Jews at that time resident in England, "have their synagogues and there exercise Judaism." (7) A MS. in the collection of the late Emanuel Mendez da Costa mentions, side by side with the Cree Church Lane Synagogue, another Jewish house of worship in St. Helen's, of which one David Mier was "Priest." (8) Although this record cannot be earlier than 1658, it is not unlikely that the St. Helen's Synagogue was established before that year, and was one of the Jewish houses of prayer indicated by Isaiah. With regard to the date of the establishment of the Cree Church Lane Synagogue, we have no precise information. We know, however, that a Jewish marriage was solemnised in London in 1654 (9); that many of the members of the Marrano community had been settled in the parish of St. Catherine Cree for periods varying from three to twenty years, and that the Crypto-Jews in Spain and Portugal had learnt to regard London as a place of refuge where they could observe the rites and ceremonies of Judaism without being molested, provided they did not invite public attention to their heresy. (10). From the year 1492, when the great expulsion from Spain took place, there seems to have always been a small number of Marranos in this country. Amador de los Rios states in his history of the Jews of Spain that they formed settlements in London, Dover and York. (11) The trade with Hamburg, where Jews were

2. Hist. MSS Com. Reports vi. 42 b.
3. State Papers Domestic (1658), vol clxxxii (Whiting Case); Cal. S.P. Dom. 1650, p. 248.
4. S P. Dom (1658) vol clxxxii (Whiting Case).
5. See deposition of Caceres in Robles Denunciation Case. S. P. Dom. Inter. vol. cxxvii No. 21, Robles Case; Thurloe S, P., vol. iv., pp. 62-63.
6. James Howel "Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ" (Edit. Jacobs) Bk. iv., Letter 35.
7. Paul Isaiah "The Messiah of the Christians and the Jews" (Lond. 1655) p. xiii.
8. B. M. Add. MSS. 29, 868, fol. 16.
9. Evidence in Robles Case, *supra* note 5.
10. *Ibid.*
11. "Historia de los Judios de Espana," vol. iii., p. 377.

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established in 1583, and the foundation in London of the Society of Merchants of England trading with Spain and Portugal in 1605, must have brought a good many Marranos into relations with this country, seeing that the commerce of the Peninsula was largely in their hands. We have indeed something more than merely conjectural evidence that their relations did extend to this country, for in 1493 Jewish fugitives sued a Spanish merchant in London for a sum of 428,000 maravedis owing on bills of exchange. (12). In 1605 the Anglo-Spanish Trading Company in London petitioned the King to obtain protection for their agents in Spain against the Inquisition. (13) The necessity for such protection is significantly illustrated by the curious fact that the MS. copy of the Company's Charter and list of Freemen, which is to be found in the Harleian collection, has its pages numbered with Hebrew letters. (14) All the lists of aliens and merchant strangers in London drawn up after the beginning of the sixteenth century contain Spanish and Portuguese names, not a few of which—such as Alvarez, Casseres, Da Costa, Lopez and Marchena (15) —are repeated in the earliest lists of the Sephardi Congregations of Amsterdam and London.

These facts would seem to indicate that a Marrano colony existed in London early in the sixteenth century; and if this be the case we may take it for granted that they had some sort of provision for holding divine worship according to the Jewish ritual. The fugitive Marranos in Amsterdam, Hamburg, Antwerp and the South of France established secret synagogues for themselves long before they obtained a toleration as Jews. To men who had been accustomed to organise such services under the very nose of the Inquisition, an enterprise of this kind in London was simplicity itself, for, although Jews were still proscribed in England, no active measures were taken to keep them out of the country, or to identify and prosecute them while they were in it. So long as they did nothing to bring upon themselves the attention of the authorities by offending the common law, or parading their religious views, they were safe. Although a goodly number of unbaptised Jews have been identified as living in England during the Middle Period, there is not one case on record of a Jew being prosecuted by the authorities *qud* Jew. Under these circumstances, we may rely upon it that a secret synagogue was no novelty in England when Menasseh ben Israel arrived here, and it is probable that the mysterious house in Cree Church Lane, which then fulfilled this purpose, had a long history behind it.

We have no contemporary account of this synagogue prior to the Resettlement; and under the circumstances, it is scarcely reasonable to expect one. My identification of it as a Marrano Meeting House is largely circumstantial, and rests on the following grounds :—

1. The strong probability that the Marrano colony, which was certainly in existence before 1640, would have equipped itself with a synagogue.

2. The positive statement of Paul Isaiah that Jewish Synagogues were in existence before 1655.

12. Cal. S. P. Spanish, vol. i. p. 51.
13. Harl. MSS., cod. 137, No. 3; cod. 295, No. 96; cod. 299, No. 4.
14. *Ibid.* cod. 1855, Nos. 1-5.
15. W. D. Cooper: "Lists of Foreign Protestants" 1862; "Acts of the Privy Council," vol. iii. (see Index).

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3. The fact, attested by the synagogue archives, that the first Sephardi Synagogue was in Cree Church Lane ([16]).

4. The fact that Moses Athias, who is known to have been Rabbi of the Sephardim in 1658 was a cousin of Carvajal, ([17]) the leading member of the Marrano community, and lived in Cree Church Lane ([18]).

5. The description of this synagogue, given in 1662 by a Christian visitor, one John Greenhalgh, whose letter on the subject is preserved in the Lansdowne Collection of manuscripts ([19]).

Of these points only the last calls for special observation. Greenhalgh's letter shows conclusively that the synagogue which he visited had originally been arranged to suit the requirements of a secret congregation. It was held on the first floor of a private house, and its entrance was protected by three double-locked doors. Although, in 1662, it was still desirable to hold Jewish services with some degree of privacy, it was no longer necessary to observe defensive precautions. These double-locked doors must consequently have been a relic of the secret worship in and prior to 1655, and may be regarded as evidence of the Pre-Resettlement age of the synagogue.

The internal arrangements of the synagogue were, of course, rather primitive. Two rooms were reserved for prayer, the smaller being appropriated to the women and separated from the larger by a partition fitted with a long and narrow latticed window. In the larger room four long forms—two on each side—were provided for the male worshippers. The *banco*, or Wardens box consisted of a seat and desk raised high above the other seats, and occupying the west end of the room. Six feet in front of the *banco*, and on a slightly lower level, was the Reading Desk, with two steps on each side, and brass candlesticks at each corner. The Ark was little more than a plain cupboard flanked by huge brass candlesticks. Two perpetual lamps of "christal glass" hung before it. The walls were fitted with drawers, or "drawboxes," as Mr. Greenhalgh calls them, in which the worshippers kept their books and *Talithim*. Such was the Cree Church Lane Synagogue in 1662, and such doubtless it was seven years before, when as yet it was only a sanctuary of crypto-Judaism.

II.—THE DENUNCIATION.

The circumstances under which the existence of Crypto-Jews in London was made public have fortunately been preserved to us. At the beginning of the year 1656 the little congregation of Marranos found itself beset with serious anxieties. On the one hand, the war with Spain had rendered it dangerous for them to continue to assert their Spanish nationality; on the other hand, the inconclusive result of the Whitehall Conferences on the Jewish Question had offered no satisfactory inducement to them to make public acknowledgment of their Judaism. It had been laid down by the Judges that Jews were free to settle in the country, but under what conditions had not been

16. Agreement dated 1674, to enlarge, alter, and improve the Synagogue in Cree Church Lane, &c. (Godwin: "History of the Commonwealth," vol. ix., p. 251.)
17. Carvajal's Will, Prob. Off Pell fol. 531.
18. B.M. Add. MSS. 29, 868, fols. 15-16.
19. Ellis: "Original Letters, &c." vol. iv., pp. 3-21

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stated. A verbal permission to continue to celebrate Divine worship in private had been given them by the Protector (20), but nothing had been said with regard to their civil rights. Only one thing was clear to them—their security as ordinary Merchant Strangers was gone. Thenceforward they had to choose between being persecuted as Spaniards, or subjected to exceptional legislation as Jews. It is not surprising that they should have hesitated as to which of these courses to pursue, for, although the lesser of the two evils before them was palpable enough, no measures had yet been taken to molest Spanish merchants, and there was just a chance that the war might collapse before it had been well begun. Early in March an event occurred which forced them to a decision.

In Doctor's Commons there dwelt at this period a scrivener and notary, named Frances Knevett, who, through his knowledge of Spanish, had obtained a considerable practice among the members of the Marrano community. Mr. Knevett was a man of discretion and resource. He had won the confidence of his perilously-situated clients, not only by the shrewdness of his counsel, but also by his being able to obtain for them—through certain connections of his in the Government Offices—early information of Privy Council Orders affecting foreign traders. When it was determined to issue a proclamation declaring all Spanish monies, merchandise and shipping to be lawful prize, Mr. Knevett was the first to hear of it. His action, on receiving the information, was, however, unwontedly mysterious. Sending for a creature of his, one Philip del Hoyo, he posted him behind a screen in his private office, and then sallied forth to see whether he could run across one of his Spanish clients. In this, he was not successful. He managed, however, to meet with Mr. John Baptista Dunnington, factor to the rich Spanish merchant, Don Antonio Rodrigues de Robles, and he at once invited him to accompany him to Doctor's Commons, in order that he might impart to him some information of the utmost gravity. Mr. Dunnington required no persuasion where the interests of his employers were concerned, and within a few minutes found himself in the scrivener's office, reading the warning note relating to the projected proclamation.

In the conversation which ensued, Mr. Dunnington took no pains to conceal the dismay with which the information had inspired him, and his agitation unloosed his tongue to a perilous extent. It was true, he said, that the cargoes in the two ships belonging to Robles—the "Two Brothers," and the "Tobias"—then in the Thames, were entered in his (Dunnington's) name; but who could guarantee that this would not be found out, especially if Robles' papers were seized? And then there were other ships which he had undertaken to clear for certain Spanish merchants whom Mr. Knevett knew very well, and on these he would lose his commission. Robles's house was crammed with merchandise, and there could not be less than 40 000 ducats in gold in his strong boxes. The loss of all this meant ruin, irretrievable ruin. Moreover, if the Spanish merchants were ruined, he, Dunnington, would also be ruined, seeing that all his business lay with them. And so the panic-stricken factor rambled on, at each step making some fresh disclosure, while Mr. Knevett wrung his hands in sympathetic silence, and Philip del Hoyo behind the screen took copious notes in his pocket-book. Two days later, the house of Don Antonio de Robles in Duke's Place was invaded by bailiffs armed with a Privy Council warrant, empowering them to "seize, secure and keep under

20. S. P. Dom. Commonwealth, vol. cxxv., No. 58.

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safe custody all the goods and papers therein found," and, at the same time, the Commissioners of Customs, acting under a similar warrant, took possession of the two ships, the "Two Brothers," and the "Tobias." The warrants were based on a "paper of discovery," filed by an informer, giving the name of Philip del Hoyo, with an address in Newton Street (21).

Robles's first idea was to protest against the proposed confiscation of his goods on the ground that he was not a Spaniard but a Portuguese. The petition he forthwith addressed to the Protector, only incidentally mentioned that he was of the "Hebrew nation," being chiefly devoted to claiming the privileges of a Merchant Stranger by reason of his having been born in Portugal, and having resided in London many years and "paved many thousand pounds for Customes." While collecting evidence on this head he experienced some difficulty with a youth in his employ who had accompanied him from Spain to England. According to Mr. del Hoyo, who professed to have overheard Dunnington relate the story, Robles sent for the boy and peremptorily ordered him to say, if he were asked, that his master was a Portuguese. "I cannot lie," answered the youth with an unexpected access of scrupulousness, "for I know you to be a Spaniard." Robles was thunderstruck. "Sirrah!" he exclaimed with angry irrelevancy "I am married to a woman of Portugal." "But that makes you no Portugal" rejoined the smart boy.

Although it seems clear that Robles's account of his nationality was true, he must have soon found that to rest his case on this allegation alone would not be prudent. It was known that he had lived in Spain, that he had passed as a Spanish Catholic and that he had even spent some years of his life in the service of the Spanish Government. Seeing that according to his own account he had flown from Portugal to Spain it is not improbable that he was one of the New Christians who so strangely conspired in 1641 to re-establish the Spanish domination in Portugal (22), and hence his claim to Portuguese nationality would scarcely bear a close scrutiny. One at least of the London Marranos seems to have figured in this conspiracy (23).

In this dilemma Robles took counsel with his coreligionists. Their almost unanimous opinion was that, in view of the Protector's friendly attitude on the Jewish Question, the plea that should be chiefly accentuated was that Robles was a Jew and in this they consented—no doubt for their own protection—to support him. It says much for the strong Jewish spirit of the chief of the Marrano community, Antonio Fernandez Carvajal, that he agreed to throw in his lot with his brethren in this matter, although he was already amply protected by a patent of denization (24) granted to him seven months before, and by special orders of the Privy Council exempting the consignments of his Spanish correspondents from seizure (25). In accordance with this advice Robles, now describing himself as "of the Jewish nation" and omitting all reference to his

21. The documents in this case will be found in the Domestic State Papers (Commonwealth), vol. cxxv., No. 88; vol. cxxvi, No. 105, with eleven annexes; vol. cxxvii., No. 21; I. lxxvii., Nos. 18 and 19, and vol. cxxvii., No. 40.
22. Kayserling: "Geschichte des Juden in Portugal," p. 307.
23. Simon de Souza (see Kayserling).
24. Patent Roll, 1655. Part iv.
25. Cal. S. P. Dom. 1650., p. 558; 1655-56., p. 60; Rawl. MSS., A. 12, fol. 75.

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alleged Portuguese nationality, addressed another petition to the Protector in which he recited how he and his family had been persecuted by the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal because they were Jews and how he had come to England "intending, therein, to shelter himselfe from those tiranicall proseedings and injoy those beneffitts and kindnesses which this Commonwealth ever aforded to aflicted strangers." Nor did he omit a special appeal to Cromwell's Judeophil sympathies. He had hoped, he said, to continue to enjoy a secure domicile in England "more specially at such tyme when it hath pleased the Lord to place on ye Governement of this nation a Prince soe Benigne and soe much a Protector of afflicted ones as it appeereth your Highnesse hath him pleased to shew your selfe on behalfe of our nation the Jews." Cromwell sent both petitions to the Council, who immediately instructed two of their body, General Disbrowe and Colonel Philip Jones, to make due inquiry into the case, empowering them to take evidence on oath. At the same time, in order to protect themselves against all possible consequence of the discovery of their Jewish identity six of the chief Marranos with Manasseh ben Israel at their head petitioned the Protector for a confirmation in writing of his verbal permission to celebrrte divine worship according to Jewish rites in their Secret Synagogue ([26]).

On the very day, the 25th March, that this petition was referred to the Council ([27]) Disbrowe and Jones opened the Robles enquiry. It lasted until the 14th May. A number of witnesses were examined and cross-examined, including no fewer than ten members of the Marrano community, three of whom frankly avowed themselves to be Jews. Antonio Fernandez Carvajal and Simon de Souza deposed that Robles was born at Fundao in Portugal and that they had been acquainted with his father and mother and other of his kindred. Duarte Henriques Alvarez, uncle to Robles, gave similar evidence, and added that his nephew was a Jew by birth and conviction. Five of the witnesses, Domingo Roiz Francia, Diego Roiz Aries, Simon de Caceres, Domingo Vaez de Brito, and Manuel Martinez Dormido, swore positively that Robles was a Jew, that he was married to a Jewess, and that he had suffered at the hands of the Inquisition. De Caceres, who described himself as "of the Jewish nation and of the tribe of Judah," mentioned in his evidence that when Robles first came to England some years before he had confided to him (the deponent) that he was a Jew. Another witness, Domingo de la Cerda, book-keeper to the accused, testified to the Portuguese birth and Jewish religion of his master, and Antonio de Porto also expressed his strong belief that Robles was a Jew. It is curious to notice that De Porto was the only Jewish witness who still adhered to his Marrano disguise, declaring that he was a Spaniard and Roman Catholic.

Robles himself was examined and cross-examined at considerable length and told a curious story of the shifts to which he had been driven in his efforts to disguise his Judaism. His avowal that he had been in the habit of attending mass even in London, and that he was still uncircumcised, produced an unfavourable impression on the minds of the Commissioners who, of course, had no knowledge of the devious ways of the Crypto-Jews. A similar confession could, however, have been elicited from almost all the other Crypto-Jews had

26. S. S. Dom. Commonwealth, vol. cxxv., No. 58.

27. For some unexplained reason it does not seem to have been delivered to the Council until the 26th June (*vide* endorsement).

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they been examined on these points. (28) Several non-Jewish witnesses likewise gave evidence, among them being the factor Dunnington and the notary Knevett. In a supplementary deposition made by Dunnington on April 24th, he created something of a sensation by unmasking the secret designs of Knevett in setting the enquiry in motion. It seems that the intriguing notary had been quite unprepared for the line of defence adopted by his intended victim, and when he found that the Jewish plea was likely to carry the day, he attempted to bribe Dunnington to perjure himself. He confided to the factor that it was his intention to petition for a clerkship in the Committee of Discoveries, where his knowledge of the private affairs of the Marranos would, of course, stand him in good stead, and he promised to reward Dunnington if he would give evidence in the sense he required. Furthermore he endeavoured to smooth away Dunnington's scruples of conscience by assuring him that it was no sin to swear anything against "a Jew dog." Dunnington was neither a Christian nor a Jew—in fact he boasted that he professed no religion (29)—but he seems to have possessed his full share of natural honesty, for he not only rejected Knevett's proposals, but he marched straight down to Whitehall and informed the Commissioners of them. When Knevett's turn to be examined arrived the wily notary, seeing that the game was up, attempted to regain the favour of his betrayed client by countenancing the contention that he was a Jew and not a Spaniard.

Nevertheless, the report of the Commissioners was not wholly satisfactory. They declared themselves unable to arrive at a positive opinion with regard to "either the nation or religion" of Robles. The evidence seemed to them conflicting, but they pointed out that the balance of testimony was in favour of the theory that the petitioner was "a Jew borne at Fundao in Portugall." The Council showed less hesitancy in arriving at a conclusion. They ordered the immediate discharge of the warrants issued against Robles, and the restoration to him of his ships and merchandise.

This case was the turning point in the history of the London Congregation of Marranos. It brought them for the first time into the light of day as a Jewish community. Thenceforth they were compelled to rely for whatever privileges they might claim in this country not upon their foreign birth, but upon their quality as Jews.

III.—THE CONGREGATION.

The members of the secret congregation revealed by the Robles case have a more important claim to be remembered by the Anglo-Jewish historian than that which arises from the romantic circumstances of their disguise and discovery. It is, of course, of considerable interest to find that the ramifications of Spanish and Portuguese Marranism—traced as they have been to so many countries—also extended to England; but to us the importance of these Crypto-Jews consists, less in their connection with the extraordinary subterranean movement by which the mediæval Sephardim of all countries contrived to baffle the Inquisition, than in the fact that they were the Founders of our Anglo-Jewish community in the form in which it exists to-day. There may be, and perhaps

28. Violet: "Petition against the Jews," p. 4.
29. S. P. Dom. vol. cxxvii., No. 21 (Dunnington's Deposition).

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always will be, differences of opinion as to the precise value of the services rendered to the Resettlement cause by the several Jews who took part in the negotiations with Cromwell; but that the men who formed the congregation which preceded and survived those negotiations have a right to be honoured as the Founders of our community, none can doubt. For this reason I have been at considerable pains to draw up a list of this congregation, and I have succeeded in identifying no fewer than twenty-six of its male members, all of whom can be proved to have been Jews, and to have resided in London before the Resettlement negotiations were set on foot.

My principal authorities for this list are three documents, copies of which I have much pleasure in offering to this Society. Two of them have not hitherto been printed. The first is the Jewish petition of March, 1656, to which I have already referred ([30]); the second is the *dossier* in the Robles case, and the third is the will of Antonio Carvajal. These supply me with nineteen names; the remaining seven have been obtained from miscellaneous sources.

The petition of March, 1656, is the most important of these documents—the most important, perhaps, of all the documents connected with the Resettlement, since it is the only definite proof we possess that the negotiations with the Protector resulted in a specific concession to the Marranos. It is further of value as indicating who among the Crypto-Jewish Congregation took an active part in these negotiations, thus signalising to us the men to whom the gratitude of the Anglo-Jewish community is in this respect pre-eminently due. The following is the list of its signatories :—

Menasseh ben Israel,
David Abarbanel,
Abraham Israel Carvajal,
Abraham Coen Gonsales,
Jahacob de Caceres,
Abraham Israel de Brito,
Isak Lopes Chillon.

Deducting Menasseh ben Israel, who was only a bird of passage, this gives us the names of six of the leading Jewish residents in London at this period. That they were residents, and not companions of Menasseh in his embassy, I have already shown in an examination of the document to which their signatures are attached, contributed to the *Jewish Chronicle* four years ago.([31]) The result of my investigations, resting largely on a comparison of signatures, was to prove beyond doubt that David Abarbanel was identical with Manuel Martinez Dormido, Abraham Israel Carvajal with Antonio Fernandez Carvajal, Jahacob de Caceres with Simon de Caceres, and Abraham Israel de Brito with Domingo Vaez de Brito, all Jewish merchants settled and trafficking in London long prior to the arrival of Menasseh. The other two signatories do not appear to have used secular aliases, but one of them, Gonsales, has been shown to have been a permanent resident ([32]) while Chillon is scarcely likely to have figured in this company unless his interests in the question at issue were equal to those of his companions.

30. *Supra* 26.
31. *Jewish Chronicle*, September 6, 1889.
32. His name appears in the "finta" of Bevis Marks as late as 1667

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The documents in the Robles case, (33) contain the names of eleven Marranos. Four of them—Dormido, Carvajal, de Caceres and de Brito—already figure on the Petition of March, 1656 ; consequently we have a net contribution from this source of seven names to our list. These are :

Antonio Rodrigues Robles,
Simon de Souza,
Duarte Henriques Alvares,
Domingo Rodrigues Francia,
Diego Rodrigues Aries,
Domingo de la Cerda,
Antonio de Porto.

Robles, Alvares and Cerda described themselves as Jews in the evidence they gave before the Commissioners, and also stated that they had been resident for a considerable period in London. That Simon de Souza was a Jew is rendered all but certain by the fact that he is mentioned in Carvajal's will as the latter's brother-in-law. Domingo Francia was founder of a Jewish family which for several generations figured prominently in the politics of Bevis Marks. The probate of his will (34) shows that he died early in 1688, and thus enables us to identify him with Israel Roiz Francia, whose death is entered on the Beth Holim Burial Register, under the date of Adar 1st, 5448. The name of Diego Rodrigues Aries appears on one of the lists of "Jews resident in London about 1658 or 1660," which were given by Dr. Chauncey to Emanuel Mendez da Costa, and are preserved among the MSS. of the latter (35). Antonio de Porto was the last of the Marranos to throw off his disguise. In the Robles case, he protested that he was a Spaniard and Roman Catholic, but in 1690 his remains received Jewish burial under the name of Abraham de Porto (36).

The third document, the will of Antonio Fernandez Carvajal, (37) supplies us with the following six further names :—

Alonzo Jorge Carvajal,
Joseph Ferdinando Carvajal,
Manuel Rodrigues Nunez,
Manuel da Fonseca Meza,
Moses Israel Athias,
Abraham de Touar.

Alonzo and Joseph Carvajal were sons of Antonio. As they were not yet of age in 1659, and as their father had then been settled in London for nearly thirty years (38), it is probable that they were born in England. That they were resident here before the Resettlement negotiations is shown by the patent of denization granted to their father in 1655, in which they are mentioned (39). Manuel Rodrigues Nunez is described as a brother-in-law of the testator, and

33. *Supra* 21.
34. Probate Office: Exton, fol. 92.
35. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 29, 868, fol. 15.
36. Beth Holim Burial Register.
37. Prob. Off. Pell, fol. 531.
38. Patent Roll, 1655. Part IV.
39. *Ibid.*

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the remaining three legatees as his cousins. Nunez and Athias are mentioned as Jews in the Mendez da Costa lists, Athias being described in one of them as "Sin. Moses Atias, Chrechurch Laine, a Jewish Ribay," (40) and in the other as "Sin. Moses, ye prist at ye Sinagoge." (41) It is chiefly on the evidence afforded by these entries, and also by Athias's connection with Carvajal that I have proposed to identify "Sin. Moses" as the Chacham of the Secret Synagogue of the Marranos. Manuel da Fonseca Meza is also specifically referred to as "a Jew" in some litigation in which he and Carvajal became involved in 1658 (42). In his patent of denization (43) he is described as Jacob da Fonseca Meza.

The remaining seven names in my list are the following :—

Solomon Abarbanel Dormido,
Aron Abarbanel Dormido,
Alonzo da Fonseca Meza,
Augustine Coronel Chacon,
David da Costa,
Bento de la Costa,
Henrique Jorge Mendes.

Solomon and Aron Dormido were sons of David Abarbanel *alias* Manuel Martinez Dormido. Their names appear in a letter from Oliver Cromwell to the King of Portugal, dated 1654 (44), and in their father's petition for denization in 1661 (45), in which it is stated that they had been resident in London seven years. Alonzo da Fonseca Meza was brother to Manuel (46) who is mentioned in Carvajal's will. That he was resident in London while the Jews were still a secret congregation, is shown by a pass issued to him in March, 1655, to proceed to Antwerp (47). In this document he is described as "servant to Antonio Fernandez Carvajal." By his denization, granted in 1661 (48) it is shown that he returned to England and resided here permanently. Augustine Coronel Chacon first appears in the State Papers in 1652 (49). He is mentioned as "the littell Jue" in the accounts of an insurance broker for the same year, preserved in the Bodleian (50). His name is also found—half erased—on one of the Mendez da Costa lists (51), the erasure being due to the fact that on the Restoration he allowed himself to be baptised. David da Costa was a well-known member of the Da Costa family, which played an important part in the English Jewry during the early days after the Re-settlement. An undated petition from him appears in the State Papers, and is assigned by the editors as "clearly belonging to the reign of Charles I." (52).

40. *Supra* 35.
41. B.M. Add. MSS., 29, 868, fol. 16.
42. S.P. Dom. Interreg. 1658. Vol. CLXXXII.
43. S.P. Dom. Chas. II., Vol. XLVIII., fol. 3.
44. Rawl. MSS. A. CCLX., fol. 57.
45. Cal. S. P. Dom. 1661-62, p. 214.
46. *Supra* 43.
47. Cal. S. P. Dom. 1655, p. 580.
48. *Supra* 43.
49. Cal. S. P. Dom. 1654. p. 448.
50. Martin: "History of Lloyds," p. 54.
51. *Supra* 41.
52. Cal. S. P. Dom. Chas. I. 1648-49 p.

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Bento de la Costa is mentioned in the State Papers as arriving in England with his family in 1655 (53). I fancy the name is a mistake or an alias for Alvaro da Costa, one of the leading Jewish merchants of the Restoration. That he was a Jew, is demonstrated by a very curious piece of circumstantial evidence. In the Thurloe Papers (54), under date of November, 1656, appears a reference to "a Jew named da Costa, a great merchant in London, who hath and is presently to receive the sum of £4,000 for the use of Charles Stuart." In the bankruptcy of Augustine Coronel Chacon in 1665, the banker Backwell proved for £4,000, which he stated he had advanced to Coronel "on behalf of the King" (55). Now Coronel and Bento de la Costa were friends, for when the latter, on his arrival from Dunkirk in 1655, was stopped at Margate under a restraint of alien immigration, Coronel became his surety that he would appear before the Council if he were allowed to proceed to London (56). A connection between the two men being thus established, it seems highly probable that the £4,000 lent by Backwell to Coronel "on behalf of the King" was the same £4,000 that, according to the Thurloe Papers, the "Jew named Da Costa" received "for the use of Charles Stuart," and that consequently this "Jew, named Da Costa" was identical with Coronel's friend, Bento de la Costa. My last name, Henrique Jorge Mendes, is that of a merchant whose large transactions are frequently referred to in the State Papers as far back as 1651. In none of these documents, however, is he spoken of as a Jew, and as he left London in May, 1655 (57), the papers relating to the Resettlement negotiations do not mention him. There is, however, abundant evidence that he belonged to the Carvajal and Caceres set, and, as he afterwards settled in Antwerp, I have hypothetically identified him with one Henrique Mendes da Costa, who is referred to in the family papers of Emanuel Mendez da Costa as an early member of his family resident in that city and who had visited England (58). Henrique Mendes da Costa, who was a brother of David da Costa, was also partner in business of another brother named Jorge. Hence it is reasonable to suppose that "Henrique Jorge Mendes" was a trade alias intended to represent this partnership. Such aliases were of common occurrence among the Marranos.

This exhausts my list of adult male members of the Jewish Congregation which Menasseh ben Israel found in London when he arrived on his memorable mission, and to which probably he was referring when, five years earlier, he had publicly thanked the British Parliament—no doubt much to the astonishment of that body—for the practical favour shown to his coreligionists by the government of the Commonwealth (59). This list, however, does not exhaust my census of the Marrano community. It will be remembered that in Greenhalgh's description of the synagogue which I have ventured to claim as the house of prayer of the Crypto-Jews, a chamber is mentioned as having been partitioned off by means of a latticed window from the main room, and reserved for female worshippers (60). We have evidence that this room was not un-tenanted,

53. Cal. S. P. Dom. 1655, p. 47.
54. Vol. V., p. 572.
55. Cal. S. P. Dom. 1656-66. p. 137.
56. *Supra* 53.
57. Cal. S. P. Dom. 1655, p. 586.
58. B. M. Add. MSS 29, 867, fol. 20.
59. Dedication of "The Hope of Israel." (1650).
60. *Supra* 19.

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since a goodly number of the male congregants were married. The names of their wives are known, as, for example, Mary (Esther) Carvajal ([61]), the wife of Antonio; Sarah Athias, the wife of the Rabbi; Deborah, wife of Manuel Rodrigues Nunes; Sarah, wife of Manuel Dormido; Leonora, wife of Antonio Robles; Rebecca, wife of Domingo Francia ([62]), and Sarah, wife of Abraham de Porto ([63]). The wills of many of the Marranos disclose the fact that their marriages were not unfruitful and that, indeed, many native-born sons and daughters were reared to gladden their perilous existences.

Of the internal condition of our secret community not a few interesting glimpses are afforded by the documents I have succeeded in unearthing. The congregation itself does not seem to have possessed a very complex organisation for until long after it had ceased to be held in secret, it had no written constitution ([64]). Its spiritual direction was in the hands of Moses Athias, who was probably a connection of the distinguished Marrano family of that name, which, in the seventeenth century, produced at least one martyr in Spain and supplied Hamburg, Amsterdam and Leghorn with several learned Chachamim Antonio Carvajal and Simon de Caceres seem to have been the Parnassim, since it was they who signed the lease of the first cemetery at Mile End, acquired by the congregation in 1657 ([65]). De Caceres was an enthusiastic Jew, very proud of his Hebrew descent, and he made it his business to go among the Spanish and Portuguese merchants and obtain from them confidential avowals of their Judaism ([66]). The social condition of the community appears to have been excellent. All its members were respected merchants, and some of them were exceedingly wealthy. They owned a considerable amount of shipping, and their transactions extended to the Netherlands, France, Spain, Portugal, the Canary Islands, Italy. Syria, Brazil and the East and West Indies. Carvajal possessed large estates in the Canaries; Dormido had considerable property in Pernambuco, and branches of Caceres's business were established at Hamburg, Barbadoes and Martinique. They dealt in bullion, cloth, wool, wine, hides, sugar, corn, logwood, precious stones, gunpowder, cordage, timber, cochineal, silks, plate, horses, carriages, harness, &c. Coronel Chacon was financial agent to the Portuguese Government ([67]). It is interesting to notice that throughout the recorded transactions of these early Jews there is not a trace of money-lending. Many of them deposited their spare cash with Gentile goldsmiths, but more for security than for interest. Six of them—Augustine Coronel Chacon, David da Costa, Domingo de la Cerda, Abraham de Porto, Domingo Francia and Antonio Robles—banked with the famous Alderman Backwell, and their accounts are still to be seen in the old ledgers preserved at Childs' Bank. Almost all dwelt in substantial houses within easy walking distance of the synagogue. Manuel Nunes lived in Cree Church Lane itself; Coronel and Francia in Leadenhall Street; Diego Aries in Fenchurch

61. *Supra* 37, and Beth Holim Register.

62. All these names are recorded in the Beth Holim Burial Register.

63. Prob. Off. Admon. De Porto, July 1690.

64. The first Ascamot were adopted in Ellul, 5423. (Minute Book, Bevis Marks, 1663. Fol. 1.

65. Israel Davis: "The Resettlement of the Jews by Oliver Cromwell." *Jewish Chronicle*, Nov. 26, 1880.

66. Depositions of Robles and Caceres in Robles case.

67. See entries under the several names in the Calendars of Domestic State Papers, 1650-60.

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Street; Dormido in Great St. Helens, and De Porto in St. Mary Axe. Three others—Coronel Chacon, Duarte Alvares and Antonio Robles—formed the nucleus of the New Jewry in Dukes Place ([68]). The personal bearing of the Marranos stamped them as men of spirit, culture and experience. Carvajal rode a horse and carried sidearms ([69]). His temper was somewhat choleric, and he once settled a dispute with the Excise authorities by organising a raid on the Customs warehouses and imprisoning the officials in one of his own ships ([70]). De Caceres had pronounced military tastes, besides being a Chauvinist Jew. He drew up a plan for the conquest of Chili, and offered Cromwell to organise the expedition and command it himself ([71]). He was a relative of Spinoza, ([72]) and had known, and was personally esteemed by, Queen Christina of Sweden ([73]). Duarte Alvarez had filled the post of Royal Treasurer in the Canary Islands ([74]), and Dormido had held a similar appointment for the province of Andalusia ([75]). They had all travelled in many countries, some only in the old world but others in the New, and the experience and mercantile connections they had thus acquired were of no little use to Cromwell in his colonial policy and the conduct of his foreign wars ([76]). Augustine Coronel Chacon beguiled his leisure with poetry. He was an intimate friend of Antonio Enriquez Gomez, the distinguished Marrano soldier of fortune and lyrical poet, and he contributed a sonnet to one of Gomez's works ([77]). In politics the community took a lively interest, and Cromwell's philo-Jewish attitude did not prevent some of its members from espousing the cause of the Cavaliers. Indeed, Coronel's services to the Stuarts earned him the honour of knighthood after the Restoration ([78]).

Such was the community of Crypto-Jews which in the middle of the seventeenth century constructed the foundations on which the imposing edifice of English Jewdom has since been reared.

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68. These addresses are given in the Da Costa lists (*supra* 35 and 41), and in the little London Directory entitled "A Collection of the Names of the Merchants living in and about the City of London." (1677).
69. Cal. S. P. Dom. 1650 p. 248.
70. *Supra* 42.
71. Thurloe Papers IV., pp. 62-63.
72. Misc. Heb. Lit. II., p. 74, note 32.
73. Rawl. MSS, A. xxvi, fol. 388.
74. Deposition in Robles case.
75. Brit. Mus. MSS. Eg. 1049, fol. 6.
76. Wolf: "Cromwell's Jewish Intelligencers" (1891) reprinted from the *Jewish Chronicle*.
77. Kayserling: "Biblioteca Espanola-Portugueza-Judaica p. 49.
78. Le Neve: "Pedigrees of Knights." Harl. Soc. Pub. (1869).

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Early Examples of Marine Insurance

I

THE problem of the origins of marine insurance is one of the most complicated and controversial questions in the history of business institutions. One cause of this confusion is the fact that the earliest documentary sources are often ambiguous and lend themselves to widely varying interpretations. The legal writers, who have done most of the research on the early history of insurance, have focused their attention upon certain documents of the late thirteenth and the early fourteenth centuries.[1] As these sources unfortunately give incomplete information, the results of all this research have been rather disappointing. The minute scrutiny with which the legal writers have examined the early documents has produced subtle and brilliant examples of textual criticism but has also given rise to conflicting theories which have confused the issues instead of clarifying them.

It is not the purpose of this study to resolve the subtle points of law on which the lawyers differ. On the contrary, in giving a general survey of the work that has been done on the early history of marine insurance, it will be

[1] English writers have been little interested in the history of insurance. The pioneering work on the subject, *Il Contratto di assicurazione nel medio evo*, was written in 1884 by the Genoese lawyer, Enrico Bensa. It is still the basic work, although more for the documents than for their interpretation. In his later book, *Francesco di Marco da Prato, notizie e documenti sulla mercatura italiana del secolo XIV* (Milan, 1928), Bensa gave additional examples of insurance contracts, but there are no new forms. The German professor of law, Levin Goldschmidt, in his *Universalgeschichte des Handelsrechts* (Stuttgart, 1891), made important contributions to the subject by using source material unknown to Bensa, such as the records of a Marseilles notary published by Louis Blancard, *Documents inédits sur le commerce de Marseille au moyen âge, contrats commerciaux du XIIIe siècle* (2 vols., Marseilles, 1884–85). The conclusions of these first writers were challenged by the more critical German scholar, Adolf Schaube, in his three brilliant studies: (1) "Die wahre Beschaffenheit der Versicherung in der Entstehungszeit des Versicherungswesens," *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, LX (1893), 40–56, 473–509; (2) "Der Uebergang vom Versicherungsdarlehn zur reinen Versicherung," *ibid.*, LXI (1893), 481–515; (3) "Der Versicherungsgedanke in den Verträgen des Seeverkehrs vor der Entstehung des Versicherungswesens. Eine Studie zur Vorgeschichte der Seeversicherung," *Zeitschrift für Social- und Wirthschaftsgeschichte*, II (1894), 149–223. Although his interpretation of the sources—those previously used and some he presented for the first time—sometimes shows an excess of ingenuity, Schaube is usually clear and convincing. His grasp of all the available material relating to the subject and his masterly analysis make his studies of permanent value. After him, interest in the subject declined. Discussion has flared up anew in recent years with the publication of a series of articles in legal journals by the Italians, Alessandro Lattes, Giuseppe Valeri, Riniero Zeno, and the Frenchmen, André E. Sayous and Jules Valéry. In his article "I Primordi dell'assicurazione attraverso il documento del 1329," *Rivista del diritto commerciale*, XXVI, Part 1 (1928), 600–41, G. Valeri gives a full bibliography on the early history of marine insurance and summarizes the views of the different writers. Only a few articles and one book (by Zeno) have appeared since Valeri wrote. These will be referred to in the course of this study.

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frankly stated when the available evidence seems to a layman inconclusive. The business purposes for which the various forms of contracts could be used are my central interest. The significance of recently discovered material will be emphasized from the point of view of how marine insurance could be used in the affairs of medieval merchants. This new material includes notarial contracts of Palermo, dating from the first half of the fourteenth century, which shed additional light on some of the most debated points. To this Sicilian material will be added new information on insurance rates taken from a fifteenth-century ledger of a Florentine merchant.

II

Most authorities on the subject agree that marine insurance was unknown to Greek and Roman antiquity.[2] The first insurance contracts were made by Italian merchants of the Middle Ages to whom we apparently owe the invention of the bill of exchange, of double-entry bookkeeping, and of commercial banking, as well as other innovations in business procedure. The date of the earliest example of premium insurance is one of those moot questions on which the legal writers have failed to agree. Some of them consider certain ambiguous texts as sufficient evidence of the existence of premium insurance, but others are more cautious and question the value of anything that is not clear and explicit. At any rate, there is no doubt that genuine insurance was a product of the commercial revolution which occurred during the period from 1275 to 1325 or thereabouts.[3]

This period saw the decline of the traveling or caravan trade which centered in the fairs of Champagne, and the rise of a new type of business organization in which the "sedentary" or resident merchant was the central

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[2] In addition to the works mentioned in note 1, see Wilhelm Silberschmidt, "Das Seedarlehen als Ausgangspunkt der Versicherung gegen Prämie," *Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Vereins für Versicherungs-Wissenschaft,* Heft XXXVIII (May 1926), 9–16; Raffaele Cafiero, "Origine delle assicurazioni marittime," Convegno internazionale di studi storici del diritto marittimo medioevale, Amalfi, 1934, *Mostra bibliografica e Convegno internazionale di studi storici del diritto marittimo medioevale, Atti,* I (Naples, 1934), 73–79; Aldo Checchini, "I Precedenti e lo sviluppo storico del contratto di assicurazione," *Atti dell'Istituto Nazionale delle Assicurazioni* (Rome, 1931), III, 58–68. The only work that attempts to prove the existence of marine insurance in the ancient world is C. E. Trennery, *The Origin and Early History of Insurance* ("Studies in Economics and Political Science of the London School of Economics," LXXXVII, London, 1926). Trennery devotes less than half a page to medieval Italy, where marine insurance really developed. He ignores completely the works of Bensa, Goldschmidt, and Schaube on the subject.

[3] Raymond de Roover, "The Commercial Revolution of the Thirteenth Century," a discussion of "Capitalism—Concepts and History" by N. S. B. Gras, *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society,* XVI, No. 2 (1942), 34–38.

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figure.[4] This new type of businessman tried to direct all his affairs from the countinghouse; he used partners, factors, or correspondents to represent him in foreign parts.[5]

The traveling merchant had felt little need for insurance. On land, he sought safety in concerted action with other traveling merchants. They journeyed to the fairs in armed caravans and banded together in hanses and universities for the protection of their rights in foreign lands. On sea, the traveling merchant accompanied his goods. He tried to protect himself against pirates and privateers by traveling in convoy. While he could thus "insure" (or protect) himself to a certain extent against the *risicum gentium*, there was not much he could do against the *risicum maris* or the perils of the sea. If the ship that carried him foundered or was smashed on the rocks, the traveling merchant often lost his life as well as his possessions. Since ships were frequently lost, any overseas venture involved great risks.

The traveling merchant did not always operate with his own capital. This was often supplied in whole or in part by a partner who stayed ashore. The partner also ran the risk of losing his investment in case of mishap, but he could avoid heavy losses by entrusting his money to different merchants traveling on different ships. In the Genoese notarial records of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there are many examples to show that such a policy of dividing the risk was actually followed by the capitalists who financed the trade with the Levant.

Partnerships between an investing partner who stayed at home and a managing partner who went abroad were generally formed for a round-trip voyage from Italy to the Levant. Usually the investing partner supplied all or most of the capital for the venture. If the goods were lost but the traveling merchant was saved, the latter had no residual obligations toward the partner who had supplied the funds. Both partners shared in the profits and in all the risks of the venture. The ownership of vessels was usually divided so that the burden of the risk was assumed by several individuals.[6] Partner-

[4] I use the word "sedentary" in the meaning attached to it by N. S. B. Gras. Some writers do not like this term but they have not been able to suggest a better one. See N. S. B. Gras, *Business and Capitalism; An Introduction to Business History* (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1939), chap. iii.

[5] The words "partners" and "correspondents" need no definition, but the word "factors" had a special meaning in the Middle Ages. It was used chiefly for salaried employees who served a merchant as agents abroad.

[6] Eugene H. Byrne, *Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1930), pp. 12–19; Raffaele di Tucci, *Studi sull'economia genovese del secolo decimosecondo, La nave e i contratti marittimi* (Turin, 1933), pp. 24–49; Frederic C. Lane, *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1934), pp. 115 f.

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ship contracts thus permitted a division of risk, but they did not provide for a transfer of risk. In order to shift risks, various forms of loan, exchange, and sales contracts were devised which in practice afforded some kind of protection akin to insurance.

One of these contracts originating in the business communities of the seaports was the sea loan or *foenus nauticum* by which an investor lent a given sum of money to a traveling merchant with the understanding that the loan would have to be repaid only if the ship returned safely to port (*sana eunte nave*).[7] Such a loan could have afforded complete protection only if the borrower had refrained from investing the amount received in a mercantile venture and had kept the specie locked up on land. In actual practice the proceeds of sea loans were usually invested in overseas ventures by the borrowers. If the ship did not return, the borrower or his heirs had no contractual obligations toward the lender. While the sea risk was transferred to the lender, he assumed no responsibility for poor business management. In other words, he did not share in the profits of the venture; his return was limited by the difference between the amount of the advance and the amount repayable upon safe arrival of the ship.

Sea loans were not made *gratis et amore,* even when the contract so stipulated, but the lender received interest and a compensation for the risk, probably by withholding part of the sum named in the contract. For this reason, the sea loan fell under the suspicion of usury and was condemned in 1236 by Pope Gregory IX in his decretal *Naviganti.* Whether or not this decretal produced a decline in the number of sea loans is a disputed point.[8]

Either because of the opposition of the church or, more likely, because of changes in business methods, the popularity of the sea loan declined in the thirteenth century in favor of the *cambium nauticum* or maritime exchange contract, which differed from the ordinary exchange contract (*cambium*) in one important respect: in the case of the *cambium nauticum,* the fulfill-

[7] On the sea loan, see Goldschmidt, *Universalgeschichte,* pp. 345–54, and Calvin B. Hoover, "The Sea Loan in Genoa in the Twelfth Century," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics,* XL (1925–26), 495–529. This article is not entirely reliable. The medieval sea loan should not be confused with the "bottomry loan," which is, strictly speaking, a loan made by a shipmaster for repairs to his ship in a foreign port. Such a loan is contracted by the master but is repayable by the owners, if the ship reaches its destination.

[8] Hoover ("The Sea Loan," pp. 499 f., 529, n. 1) questions whether the decree *Naviganti* had any appreciable effect on the decline of the sea loan, but Riniero Zeno believes that Gregory IX's decretal was responsible for the popularity of the *cambium nauticum,* which did not fall under the usury prohibition since such a contract could not be classed as a *mutuum.*—Riniero Zeno, *Storia del diritto marittimo nel Mediterraneo* (Catania, 1915), pp. 160 f. This is also the opinion of Adolf Schaube, "Der Versicherungsgedanke in den Verträgen des Seeverkehrs," *op. cit.,* pp. 176 f.

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ment of the contract, instead of being unconditional, was contingent upon the safe arrival of the goods pledged in security. The *cambium nauticum*, like any other exchange contract, involved a permutation of monies, since the sum advanced by the lender in local currency was repayable abroad in a different kind of specie. The permutation was made at a rate which included both interest and compensation for risk. Interest in the Middle Ages was always included in the price or rate of exchange, so that the lender or buyer of foreign exchange was bound to gain in most cases.[9] The effect of the *cambium nauticum*, like that of the sea loan, was to shift the sea risk from the borrower to the lender. In general, the terms of the contract placed such a low valuation on the foreign monies that the charges to the borrower were not infrequently greater than the profits which he could make from the sale of the goods pledged as security.

As a means of insurance against risk, the *cambium nauticum* or maritime exchange contract had serious drawbacks. It forced the exporting merchant to "take up" money whether or not he was short of funds and to pay high for its use.[10] The *cambium nauticum* shared this disadvantage with the *foenus nauticum* or sea loan. In addition, the *cambium nauticum* was repayable abroad in a foreign currency whereas the sea loan was repayable at the termination of a round-trip venture. Therefore, the *cambium nauticum* presupposes a more complicated organization of international trade, since the lender had to have a representative abroad who would collect the amount promised in the contract. Usually the borrower paid the representative or agent of the lender out of the proceeds from the sale of the wares brought overseas. Such a repayment limited the amount that was available for reinvestment in goods for the return voyage. Perhaps the merchant had an opportunity to borrow again by entering into another exchange contract providing for repayment in his home port, either conditionally (*cambium nauticum*) or unconditionally (*salvo in terra*).

The existence of such possibilities is evidence of the gradual emergence of an organized money market. This development was completed in western Europe by the middle of the fourteenth century. By this time, the transition

[9] As Mr. de Roover has shown, the exchange contract always involved a credit transaction as well as an exchange transaction. Because of the usury prohibition, bills were not discounted, but interest was buried in the rates of exchange. Consequently, the banker's profit, instead of being certain, was uncertain because it was determined by the unpredictable swing of the exchange rates. See Raymond de Roover, "What Is Dry Exchange? A Contribution to the Study of English Mercantilism," *The Journal of Political Economy*, LII (1944), 250–66.

[10] Schaube, "Der Uebergang vom Versicherungsdarlehn zur reinen Versicherung," *op. cit.*, p. 483.

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from the traveling merchant to the sedentary merchant had taken place. The handbook of Pegolotti, written in the mid-fourteenth century, gives regular quotations of foreign exchange and the rates of brokerage charges on exchange contracts. Such charges were higher in the case of maritime exchange than in the case of ordinary exchange.

In the course of the fourteenth century, the ordinary *cambium* contract became much more popular than the *cambium nauticum*. The lending of money by the purchase of bills of exchange was almost exclusively in the hands of Italian merchant-bankers who were well provided with capital and who had representatives in the most important commercial centers. These merchant-bankers were not specialized. They combined trade, banking, and underwriting. They also bought and sold bills of exchange for others on a commission basis. To divide risk was the keynote of the business policy followed by the international merchant-bankers. The same policy was followed by the lesser merchants. The business risk was split by buying goods in joint account with other firms. The turnover of capital and, consequently, the profits were increased by borrowing additional funds, usually by selling bills of exchange. In most cases the merchant-bankers were lenders and the lesser merchants were borrowers. Since ordinary bills of exchange were payable in any event, some means had to be devised for shifting the sea risk, otherwise an unlucky borrower might find himself in dire straits with his bills reaching maturity and his goods at the bottom of the sea.

The increased use of bills of exchange for the financing of foreign trade thus created the need for a new type of contract. The merchant-bankers, who themselves operated with borrowed funds, were not willing to run any sea risk, and the borrowers whose commitments were unconditional had to find someone who would take over this risk. There is a close connection between the development of terminal partnerships, of the bill of exchange, and of premium insurance. They are all the result of the transition from the traveling trade to that which centered around the sedentary merchant.

The merchants, in their search for a new type of contract, did not immediately hit upon the idea of premium insurance. They experimented first with a form of contract, the so-called "insurance loan," which contained already several of the elements present in real marine insurance but proved to be unsatisfactory for the full coverage of risk. The expression "insurance loan," in accordance with the practice of the German and Italian writers, is used here for lack of a better term.[11]

[11] The Germans use *Versicherungsdarlehn;* the Italians, *prestito a scopo assicurativo.*

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The following three elements characteristic of real marine insurance are found also in the insurance loan: (1) the insured or borrower remained on land; (2) the goods insured were sent unaccompanied; (3) the loan was repayable not upon safe arrival of the ship (*sana eunte nave*) but upon the safe arrival of the borrower's goods (*mutuum ad risicum maris et gentium*). Naturally, this latter provision offered better protection to the borrower, since it could happen that his goods were missing even if the ship and most of its cargo made port.[13] For example, it sometimes occurred that part of the cargo was taken from a ship by pirates or assailing thieves and that the rest was left untouched.[13]

This provision regarding the safe arrival of the goods had already appeared in the maritime exchange contracts. It is also found in some late examples of sea loans.[14] The insurance loan differs from these other contracts in that the lender was always a shipowner, and the borrower, a shipper.

The earliest known examples of insurance loans are found in some Palermo documents dating back to the end of the thirteenth century. As has been stated, these insurance loans were repayable only upon safe arrival of the goods shipped overseas and were granted by shipowners to merchants who remained ashore instead of accompanying their merchandise. If the goods did not arrive at destination, the shipowner would receive neither the freight nor the money advanced to the shipper before sailing. There has been much speculation among historians about the motives that prompted owners to increase their risk by granting loans, the repayment of which depended upon the safe arrival of the ship. Possibly shippers distrusted shipmasters and required additional guarantees when the goods were not accompanied. By making a loan to the shipper, the shipowner acquired an interest in the cargo entrusted to his care.

It appears from the surviving examples that insurance loans rarely covered the full value of the cargo, but only 25 or 30 per cent.[15] The shipper

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[12] This point is emphasized by Jules Valéry, "Les Contrats d'assurance au moyen âge," *Revue générale du droit, de la législation et de la jurisprudence*, XXXIX (1915), 472 f.

[13] The case would be different if part of the cargo was sacrificed as a ransom in order to dissuade pirates from attacking and destroying the ship. In such a case there would be general average and the loss would have to be shared by all those concerned in the venture.

[14] Some sea loans of Palermo, dating from 1287 to 1338, contain this clause. Riniero Zeno, *Documenti per la storia del diritto marittimo nei secoli XIII e XIV* (Turin, 1936), documents Nos. 10, 96, 97, 101, 103, 104, and 175. Examples as early as 1248 appear in the records of the Marseilles notary Almaric, first published by Louis Blancard, *Documents inédits sur le commerce de Marseille au moyen âge*. Valéry ("Les Contrats d'assurance," p. 477) gives the Latin text with a French translation of one of these Marseilles sea loans.

[15] Zeno, *Documenti*, p. lxxxvi.

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remained his own insurer for the remainder. Insurance loans were thus not satisfactory for the purpose of covering the risk completely. They were usually granted under the form of a *mutuum gratis et amore,* although there can be no doubt that the shipowner usually advanced less to the shipper than the latter was expected to repay. This premium could also be concealed by raising the freight charges or by adding something to them for "insurance," as in a Palermo document of 1340 cited by Adolf Schaube.[16]

One of the earliest known examples of an insurance loan granted by a shipowner to the charterer of his ship is found in two deeds drafted by a notary in Palermo on May 12, 1287.[17] On this day, two merchants of Barcelona sold to a Florentine named Vanni Chiandono a certain quantity of wine which was already loaded aboard a ship ready to sail from Palermo to Tunis. The parties agreed that the seller would assume one third, and the buyer, two thirds, of the risk of transportation to the seaport of Tunis or Aquilata.[18] From then onward all risks were taken over by the buyer. On the same date another agreement was concluded between the buyer and Leonus de Vinders, owner of the vessel carrying the wine. According to this agreement, the freight charges, amounting to 300 units of gold (*miri doppi d'oro*), were payable at destination upon safe arrival of the ship. In addition the shipper confessed to having received from the shipowner or master a sum of 320 units of gold *ex causa mutui ad risicum maris et gentium,* that is, as a *mutuum* subject to the risks of the sea and of men of war. This loan together with the freight charges was due ten days after the vessel's safe arrival at the seaport of Tunis. Since the shipper did not accompany his goods, he must have had a representative in Tunis who could pay the charges. As security for the loan and the freight charges, the borrower pledged the cargo of wine, which apparently was to be released by the shipowner only if the contract was fulfilled.

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[16] Schaube, "Die wahre Beschaffenheit der Versicherung," *op. cit.*, pp. 479–81. According to a contract dated 1340, the shipowner, upon safe arrival of the goods, was entitled to repayment of the loan made *gratis et amore* and to a certain sum *pro naulo et securitate* ("for freight and insurance"). Schaube believed that the term *securitate* in this context refers not to "insurance" but to an "assurance" given by the captain that specially good care would be taken of the cargo of grain. But according to the sea laws the captain was already bound to take proper care of the cargo. It seems logical to believe that the word *securitate* refers to the risk assumed by the shipowner in lending money to the shippers and in making its repayment contingent upon the safe arrival of the ship. Apparently a distinction was made between charges for transportation and charges for the assumption of risk. Cf. Zeno, *Documenti,* p. lxxxvii.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7, viii f.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. lxxi f.

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Until recently no examples of insurance loans prior to 1317 were known.[19] The whole series of contracts, covering the period from 1287 to 1337, published by Riniero Zeno, from the Palermo notarial records, pushes this date back to 1287 and shows that insurance loans were far from being uncommon.[20]

These Palermo contracts are interesting examples of that type of covenant which paved the way to real insurance (that is, risk assumed by third parties) but cannot be considered as such. The purpose of all agreements of that type was to shift the burden of the sea risk in whole or in part from one party to another: for example, from the buyer to the seller, from the shipper to the shipowner, or from the borrower to the lender, but not yet from the owner to third parties, later called underwriters.

III

Nobody knows exactly how or when real premium insurance came into existence. It is very doubtful that it developed directly out of any of the earlier contracts which shifted the risk from one party to another. The most plausible explanation is that, early in the fourteenth century, the rising sedentary merchants invented a new type of contract, when they discovered that none of the existing forms were quite satisfactory as a means of transferring and dividing sea risk. The merchants could hardly fail to learn from experience that goods arrived safely in most instances and that only a small percentage of all cargoes was lost. It was, therefore, possible to measure the risk with a fair degree of accuracy. Elaborate statistical information was not necessary, and it is not surprising that the underwriting of marine insurance became a sound business long before actuarial science gave the same standing to life insurance.

There are references to *securitas* or insurance in a number of documents of the early fourteenth century. The trouble is that the significance of the word *securitas* is not clear from the context. In the Middle Ages, this word

[19] This contract of 1317 was an isolated example found by Schaube in the Pisan archives. It is described in his third article, "Der Versicherungsgedanke in den Verträgen des Seeverkehrs vor der Entstehung des Versicherungswesens," *op. cit.*, pp. 155 f. Before the discovery of this Pisan document, the only known examples of insurance loans made by shipowners were found in some later Sicilian documents published by Ferdinando Lionti, "Le Società dei Bardi, dei Peruzzi e degli Acciaiuoli in Sicilia," *Archivio storico siciliano*, XIV (1889), 189–230. They were discussed by Schaube in the first of his three well-known articles on the origins of marine insurance, "Die wahre Beschaffenheit," *op. cit.*, pp. 475–79.

[20] Zeno, *Documenti*, Nos. 44, 46, 57, 74, 111, 133, 140, 148, 150, 161, 162, 167, 168, 171, 173, and 183.

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had not yet acquired a precise technical meaning but referred to all kinds of "assurances," safe conducts, or sureties. For instance, bribes would be paid for someone's "assurance" that a ship would not be attacked by privateers with whom this person had influential connections. Of course, payments for "assurances" of this kind are very different from insurance premiums.[21] The ambiguity of the words *securitas, risicum,* and other similar expressions in early texts has given rise to a great deal of rather fruitless discussion.

One of the controversial texts is a passage in a statute, promulgated in 1318, regarding the port of Cagliari on the island of Sardinia. According to this statute, brokers were restrained from meeting ships in the outer harbor in order "to charter or to insure them" (*per naulegare u sigurare*).[22] It has been argued that the word *sigurare* as found in this contract does not mean "to insure," but *may* mean "to secure." What "to secure" may refer to has not been clarified, however. Perhaps the purpose of the statute of Cagliari was to prevent ship brokers from forestalling competitors by racing to incoming ships in order to "secure" their business. Today, a ship broker still earns a living by representing shipowners in a port of call and by securing freight for their ships. The statute of Cagliari was probably a municipal ordinance that was designed to promote standards of fair competition among the ship brokers. Such an interpretation would at least make sense. It seems to me that the other interpretations which have been given are rather far-fetched and improbable.[23]

Another discussion has raged around some entries in the account books of the Del Bene firm of Florence (1319–1320).[24] One of these entries relates to a shipment of Flemish and French cloth which was bought at the fairs of Champagne by the famous Bardi Company, acting as commission merchants for the Del Bene firm. According to an agreement, the Bardi undertook to deliver the cloth in Pisa at their own risk but at the buyer's expense. For assuming this risk, the Bardi charged 8.75 per cent extra on the total cost of the goods delivered in Pisa. As some of the cloth had been water-soaked, the Bardi agreed to a deduction for the damage. The extra charge of 8.75 per cent is called *rischio* in the accounts of the Del Bene firm. While

[21] Schaube, "Die wahre Beschaffenheit," *op. cit.*, pp. 47–55; Alessandro Lattes, "L'Assicurazione e la voce 'securare' in documenti genovesi del 1191 e 1192," *Rivista del diritto commerciale,* XXV, Part 1 (1927), 64–73; *idem,* "Note per la storia del diritto commerciale," *ibid.,* XXXIII, Part 1 (1935), 185–91; *idem, Il Diritto marittimo privato nelle carte liguri dei secoli XII e XIII* (Vatican City, 1939), pp. 143–47.

[22] Bensa, *Il Contratto,* p. 55.

[23] *Ibid.,* pp. 55–57; Schaube, "Die wahre Beschaffenheit," *op. cit.*, pp. 50–55; Checchini, "I Precedenti e lo sviluppo storico del contratto di assicurazione," *op. cit.*, pp. 71 f.

[24] The text of these entries was first published by Bensa, *Il Contratto,* pp. 183–89.

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the word *rischio* had admittedly several meanings, it clearly refers in that context to a special charge or *premium* for the assumption of a risk.[25]

There is a document which has created even a greater stir than either the statute of Cagliari or the Del Bene account books. This is the much discussed Grosseto document of 1329.[26] It is a receipt in notarial form given by a Genoese shipowner, Ottobono de Marini, to the representative of the Acciaiuoli Company, a Florentine firm of merchant-bankers, for (1) 1,450 florins representing freight charges from Tunis to Grosseto, a former port north of Civitavecchia, (2) 2,450 florins representing "insurance and risk" (*pro securitate et risico*), and (3) 272½ florins in the name of Gaspar de' Grimaldi, knight. There is no discussion about the first of these three items. And regarding the third item, there seems to be general agreement that it is the price of a safe-conduct obtained through Grimaldi from some Ghibelline privateers who were combing the Tyrrhenian Sea for Guelf shipping. Since the shippers were Florentine Guelfs, their cargo was in danger of being seized, if intercepted by the Ghibellines. All the discussion centers around the second item of fl. 2,450 for *securitate et risico*. Some believe that this amount is really an insurance premium. The fact that this supposed premium is so high is explained by the state of war and the presence of the Ghibelline fleet.[27] Others reject this theory and contend that the sum of 2,450 florins refers to the repayment of an insurance loan made by Ottoboni de Marini, shipowner, to the Acciaiuoli Company, shippers.[28] They point out that insurance premiums are always payable in advance and not after safe arrival of the insured cargo at the port of destination. Another argument is that a premium of 2,450 florins is improbably large, even if one considers the danger from privateers and the high value of the cargo, which was composed of leather, wool, and lamb fells. Both of these conflicting theories are plausible on the basis of what is known. I believe that it is impossible to disprove either theory without more information than is now available.

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[25] Schaube dissents even from this interpretation ("Die wahre Beschaffenheit," *op. cit.*, pp. 494–501), but I am inclined to believe that in this instance he is hypercritical.

[26] This document was first published by Bensa, *Il Contratto*, pp. 190 f.

[27] This is the opinion of Giuseppe Valeri, "I Primordi dell'assicurazione attraverso il documento del 1329," *op. cit.*, pp. 600–41. He dissents from everyone else in believing that the third item refers to reinsurance rather than to some kind of safe-conduct secured through the offices of Grimaldi. Checchini agrees with Valeri concerning the meaning of the second item but with Schaube and others concerning the third item.—"I Precedenti," *op. cit.*, pp. 73–79.

[28] This opinion is represented by Schaube, "Die wahre Beschaffenheit," *op. cit.*, pp. 40–47, 504–9. André E. Sayous criticizes Schaube for displaying too much ingenuity and for being overcritical.—"L'Histoire universelle du droit commercial de Levin Goldschmidt et les méthodes commerciales des pays chrétiens de la Méditerranée aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles," *Annales de droit commercial français, étranger et international*, XL (1931), 314–16.

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Until recently no insurance policies in undisguised form earlier than 1384 were known to be extant. The publication by Zeno of several premium-insurance contracts drawn up in Palermo in 1350 by the notary Stefano de Amato shows that marine insurance had already reached the stage of maturity at a much earlier date than was hitherto believed. Since Palermo was one of the less important commercial centers, it is possible that marine insurance was practiced before 1350 in more important centers, such as Pisa, Florence, and perhaps Venice.

The first of the Palermo insurance policies is dated March 15, 1350. From its contents it appears that a Genoese merchant, Leonardo Cattaneo, underwrote or insured (*assecuravit*) a shipload of wheat, belonging to one Benedict de Protonotaro of Messina, up to the amount of fl. 300 for a voyage from Sciacca, on the island of Sicily, to Tunis. Leonardo Cataneo declared that, from the time of the ship's sailing from Sicily until its safe arrival in Tunis, he would assume all risks arising from an act of God or of men and from the perils of the sea (*omni risicum, periculum et fortunam Dei, maris et gentium*). The sum of fl. 300 was due one month after receiving "certain" news of the cargo's loss. If the loss was only partial, the insurer's responsibility would be commensurate with the extent of the damage. The premium was 54 florins or 18 per cent. It was clearly stated that the contract was concluded for purposes of insurance (*ex causa assicurationis*) and that the underwriter had received from the insured the 54 florins "for that insurance" (*pro qua securitate*).[29]

The second insurance policy published by Zeno is of the same date as the first and also concerns a shipment of grain from Sicily to Tunis, but on another ship. In addition to covering this risk on the outbound voyage, the insurers were answerable in case of disaster to the return cargo which was to be bought with the proceeds from the grain. The premium for the round-trip voyage was 4½ ounces of gold on an insurance of 30 ounces of gold or 15 per cent. It is not clear why the premium was lower for the round trip than for the single voyage from Sicily to Tunis; perhaps one vessel was more seaworthy than the other.[30]

A third insurance policy resembles the second and also relates to a round-trip voyage between Sicily and Tunis. The premium this time is 20 per cent. The third contract stipulates that the destination of the insured cargo may not be changed except for reasons of emergency.[31]

[29] Zeno, *Documenti*, pp. 229–30, No. 190.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 230–31, No. 191.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 242–43, No. 202 (*viagio non mutato absque justo impedimento Dei, maris et gentium*).

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A fourth contract published by Zeno does not concern the insurance of a cargo but that of the ship itself with all its tackle and apparel (*eius guarnimentis et corredo*). This contract also covers the freight charges which were usually payable at destination and which the shipowner would not be able to collect if the loss of his ship prevented the delivery of the cargo to the consignees. The premium stipulated in the policy is 14 per cent for a voyage from Palermo to Tunis via Sciacca and back to Palermo with calls at Mazzara and Trapani. No deviations were allowed except in case of emergency.[82]

The Palermo insurance contracts are significant because the nature of the agreement is stated in plain and straightforward language. Such is not the case in some contemporaneous Genoese contracts where the real purpose of the contract is cloaked in the disguise of a *mutuum gratis et amore*, that is, a loan without interest. For example, in one contract dated October 23, 1347, the insurer named Giorgio Leccavello acknowledged having received a sum of £107 Genoese from one Bartolomeo Basso *in mutuo gratis et amore* and promised to repay this amount unless a cog named Santa Clara, ready to sail from Genoa, reached safely the island of Majorca. In other words, if the vessel arrived safely at its destination the contract would be null and void. It was also agreed between the parties that the contract would be voided if the Santa Clara did not sail from Genoa or if it accomplished another voyage and was found within six months to be safe in any other part of the world.[83] The contract is deceptive in that the insurer, it is evident, never borrowed any money. It was, therefore, necessary to stipulate that he would not avail himself of the exception *non numerate pecuniae*, which allowed the borrower to repudiate any obligation by taking an oath that he had not received the full amount specified in a loan contract, in other words, that the contract was usurious. In contrast to the Palermo contracts, the amount of the premium is not stated.

The contract concerning the cog Santa Clara is not the only one of its kind. It was a common practice in Genoa to disguise an insurance contract under the form of a loan contract. In the case of a shipment of alum from Genoa to Sluys, the seaport of Bruges, the insurer was a merchant named Niccolò Cattaneo. By a notarial act dated March 9, 1350, he acknowledged having received from Matteo Ardimento an amount of £250 Genoese *in mutuo gratis et amore* and promised to repay this amount with the reservation that this obligation would be canceled if the shipment of alum was safely unloaded in the seaport of Sluys. It was further provided that, if the alum was

[82] Zeno, *Documenti*, pp. 233–34, No. 194.

[83] The text of this contract was published by Bensa, *Il Contratto*, pp. 192–93, Doc. No. III.

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transshipped in Lisbon, the insurer would bear all risks.[34] This provision alone shows clearly that the whole purpose of the contract was the assumption of certain risks and not the acknowledgment of a debt, as superficial reading might suggest.

The form of these early Genoese insurance contracts naturally reminds the reader of the sea loan, also disguised as a *mutuum gratis et amore*. In both cases, it was stated that the loan was made without interest and that the borrower had actually received the full amount stipulated in the contract, although neither statement was true. In both cases, the loan was to be repaid only under certain conditions. But here the similarity ends. In the sea loan, it was the *insured* who promised to repay, if a certain ship arrived safely, a sum of money of which he had actually received the greater part. In the Genoese insurance contract, the situation was reversed. It was the *insurer* who promised to repay a sum of money, which he had *not* actually received, if a certain ship did *not* arrive safely. Thus the Genoese contract represents a complete reversal of the earlier relations between insurer and insured: instead of the insured repaying to the insurer a real loan, the insurer promised to pay the insured a certain sum of money in case of sea disaster. Here we have real insurance, however much disguised under the form of a loan. The omission of any reference to a premium was unimportant. The premium was probably handed over by the insured to the insurer before the contract was drawn up by the notary. The insured needed no receipt because nothing in the contract would permit the insurer to claim the premium anew. The insurer had the premium in his pocket, hence he needed no written evidence of its payment.

Historians have asked themselves why the Genoese notaries persisted in cloaking new forms in an old garb. Some have suggested that the Genoese notaries and merchants were more subservient to the teachings of the church with regard to usury than those of other commercial centers.[35] But I should hesitate to give the Genoese a certificate of piety and subservience to the church. It is much more likely that the insurance contract was developed independently in several Italian seaports at about the same time, but that there was at first no uniformity in business procedure and legal forms.[36] This

[34] Published by Bensa, *Il Contratto*, pp. 196–97, Doc. No. VI. For other examples, see Docs. Nos. IV, V.

[35] See Schaube, "Der Uebergang vom Versicherungsdarlehn," *op. cit.*, p. 497, and the comments of Valeri, "I Primordi," *op. cit.*, pp. 629–30.

[36] Valeri ("I Primordi," *op. cit.*, p. 629) credits the Florentines with the invention of insurance, but this is an assertion difficult to prove, since the earliest Florentine insurance policies are later than the Genoese and Palermo insurance contracts in notarial form. Moreover, in the Palermo contracts of premium insurance published by Zeno, the insurers are in all four cases Genoese.

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explanation is the more plausible in that local differences existed also in fields other than insurance. For example, the Genoese continued to use Latin much longer than either the Venetians or the Florentines, not only in drafting contracts but also in bookkeeping and in writing business letters of an informal character.

After 1365 the *mutuum* or pseudo-loan form of insurance contract became less and less popular in Genoa, but still insurance was not treated as a contract *sui generis*. Instead insurance was dressed up as a contract of purchase and sale (*emptio venditio*) in which the insurer appeared as the buyer and the insured as the seller. The purchase was not unconditional since the insurer promised to buy the insured goods *only in case they did not arrive safely* at a certain port.[37] This type of contract had the advantage of giving the insurer after payment an unquestionable title to the insured goods if they were salvaged after having been lost.[38]

There is perhaps another reason for the shift from the *mutuum* (pseudo-loan) to the *emptio venditio* (pseudo-sale) form of contract. A *mutuum* was always a contract that laid itself open to the suspicion of usury. It is possible that some Genoese insurers sought to evade their obligations by pleading in ecclesiastical courts the exception *non numerate pecuniae* in spite of the fact that they were bound by contract not to avail themselves of this exception.[39] At any rate, the Genoese Doge Gabriel Adorno, by a decree promulgated in 1369, tried to put an end to the evasion of contractual obligations by frivolous litigation in ecclesiastical or other courts. The Doge's decree applied especially to matters of insurance and exchange. Merchants who refused to carry out the terms of their contracts were threatened with a fine of 10*s*. for every pound the payment of which was called into dispute.[40] Whether or not the Doge's decree was effective is a matter of conjecture.[41] Insurance contracts in the form of a *mutuum* did not disappear entirely after 1369.[42] But the Genoese jurisconsult Bartolomeo Bosco defined the

[37] For examples, see Bensa, *Il Contratto*, p. 200, Doc. No. VIII (contract of July 12, 1370) and p. 225, Doc. No. XVII (November 16, 1426).

[38] W. S. Holdsworth, *A History of English Law* (London, n.d.), VIII, 277, n. 7.

[39] Enrico Bensa, "Ancora sopra una singolare formola negli atti notarili genovesi nel medio evo," *Rivista del diritto commerciale*, XXV, Part 1 (1927), 142–44.

[40] The text of this decree was first published by Bensa, *Il Contratto*, pp. 149–51, Statutes, No. I, and republished by Placido Civiletti, "Origini dell'assicurazione," Convegno internationale di studi storici del diritto marittimo medioevale, Amalfi, 1934, *Mostra bibliografica e Convegno internazionale di studi storici del diritto marittimo medioevale, Atti*, I (1934), 127, n. 7.

[41] Schaube believes that the Doge's decree was instrumental in bringing about the shift from the *mutuum* to the *emptio venditio* form of contract.—"Uebergang vom Versicherungsdarlehn," *op. cit.*, p. 494.

[42] Caficro, "Origine delle assicurazioni marittime," *op. cit.*, p. 105.

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insurance contract as an *emptio venditio* subject to the resolutive condition of safe arrival.[43] Even for life insurance the Genoese used a form of contract resembling a sale; examples appear as late as the fifteenth century.[44] There can be no doubt that this form was preferable to the *mutuum* as long as insurance was not recognized by the jurists as a contract *sui generis*.[45]

IV

After premium insurance was well established in business practice, there were sharp differences in the way the contracts were drawn. In Genoa, as we have seen, it was customary to have notaries prepare insurance contracts. At first this practice made it necessary to draw up a separate contract for each underwriter who agreed to take a share in a given risk.[46] Later on, this cumbersome practice was simplified by the notary's making only one contract which included and listed all the underwriters who had a share in the risk.[47]

The Genoese and Sicilian practice—still found in Antwerp in the sixteenth century—of having notaries draw up insurance contracts was not followed in other seaports like Pisa and in interior cities like Florence. In those two commercial centers, insurance policies were made out by brokers who passed them around to merchants willing to underwrite part of the risk. Thus, a Florentine insurance policy, dated July 10, 1397, found in the Datini Archives, bears the names of eleven underwriters who, together, were answerable for 2,100 florins. The size of individual subscriptions in this policy ranged from 100 to 300 florins.[48] It was not always easy to collect subscriptions. According to another Florentine insurance policy taken out by Francesco Datini, it took the broker almost a month (April 26

[43] Bensa, *Il Contratto*, p. 73; Schaube, "Uebergang vom Versicherungsdarlehn," *op. cit.*, p. 495.

[44] For examples, see Bensa, *Il Contratto*, pp. 228–29, Doc. No. XIX (April 10, 1427); pp. 232–33, Doc. No. XXII (January 5, 1428); pp. 234–35, Doc. No. XXIII (November 15, 1430).

[45] The jurists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries considered the insurance contract as a *contractus innomatus*, that is, a special contract not named in Roman law. Zeno, *Storia del diritto marittimo*, pp. 169 f.

[46] This observation applies both to the four Palermo contracts published by Zeno and the early Genoese contracts published by Bensa.

[47] See Bensa, *Il Contratto*, pp. 228, 232–35, 236.

[48] This policy for insurance on six bales and one fardel of silk veils, shipped from Motrone to Aigues Mortes, was published in Bensa, *Il Contratto*, pp. 217–20, Doc. No. XIV, and reprinted in Florence Edler [de Roover], *Glossary of Mediaeval Terms of Business, Italian Series, 1200–1600* (Cambridge: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1934), pp. 34–35. Bensa misread the florin sign as that of the scudo, an error I discovered only in 1938, while photographing the original document in the Datini Archives. Throughout the contract "scudi" should read "florins." Other errors in Bensa's transcription are less serious.

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to May 20) to find underwriters for a risk of 1,250 florins on wool and leather shipped from Majorca to Venice in 1396. Seven merchants signed up and then canceled their subscriptions with the result that the broker had to approach other merchants. Finally the risk was covered by fourteen different underwriters with subscriptions ranging from 50 to 200 florins.[49] When the amount of the risk was small, policies were underwritten by one to four merchants. Individual underwriters rarely answered for more than 200 florins.

Among the many insurance policies in the Datini Archives, which contain the business records of Francesco Datini (*ca.* 1335–1410),[50] there are two different forms of policy: one popular in Florence and the other in Pisa. There is no essential difference between the two types, but they vary somewhat in wording and arrangement. For instance, in the Pisan policies, the names of the insurers are mentioned twice: once at the beginning and again at the end of the contract, where the subscriptions appear. The Florentine policies, on the contrary, do not begin with the list of the underwriters. Their names are mentioned only once—in the subscriptions at the bottom of the instrument.

The Florentine and Pisan brokers wrote the policies in Italian, whereas the Genoese and Palermo policies are in Latin, the language used by notaries. The Florentines usually state first the date of the contract, the name of the insured, the sum insured, the nature of the insured goods (or the name of the insured vessel), the name of the vessel on which they are loaded, the name of the master, the port of shipment or of sailing, and the port of destination.[51] Sometimes there is an additional statement to the effect that the insurers are entitled to keep one half of one per cent of the sum insured, if the vessel should sail without having on board the goods described in the policy.[52] The contract usually stipulates that the insurers agree to assume the risks which "are of God, of the sea, of men of war, of fire, of jettison, of detainment by princes, by cities, or by any other person, of reprisals, of arrest, of whatever loss, peril, misfortune, impediment or sinister that might

[49] Prato (Tuscany), Archivio Datini, No. 1159, Assicurazioni marittime.

[50] Bensa, *Francesco di Marco da Prato,* is a biography of Datini, a native of Prato (Tuscany), who was one of the most prominent merchant-bankers of his time. The only study in English is Robert Brun, "A Fourteenth-Century Merchant of Italy: Francesco Datini of Prato," *Journal of Economic and Business History,* II (1930), 451–66.

[51] For the text of such a contract, see the references in note 48.

[52] This clause is found, e.g., in a policy of May 16, 1396, relating to a shipment from Venice to Majorca: "E se lla detta roba non si charichase in sulla detta nave, che gli asichuratori ebino s. 10 a oro per cento [fiorini], si veramentte che lla detta nave facia il detto viaggio."—Archivio Datini, No. 1159, Assicurazioni marittime. Cf. a similar clause in the Pisan contract of 1384, Bensa, *Il Contratto,* p. 211.

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occur, with the exception of packing (*stiva*) and customs," until the insured goods are safely unloaded at destination.[53]

The contract goes on to state that the sum insured is due two months after receiving certain news of any mishap or disaster. If no tidings at all are received, the cargo or the ship is presumed lost after six or more months (depending upon the length of the voyage) from the date of the contract.[54] Should the cargo arrive safely after payment of the insurance in default of news, then the sum paid would have to be refunded by the insured to the insurers.[55] The safe arrival of the insured goods frees the insurers from all obligation. In some contracts, but not in all, barratry of the master is explicitly mentioned among the risks assumed by the insurers. From the enumeration given above, it is evident that defects in packing and confiscation by customs officials for faulty declaration or nonpayment of duties are not covered by medieval insurance policies. As today, thefts committed by the master or the crew were not covered by insurance, either, but gave rise to claims against the owners of the vessel or to a refund on freight charges.[56] In the Middle Ages more ships were lost through seizure by pirates or privateers than through storm, bad weather, collision, or other accidents. Since the high seas were unsafe because of latent warfare and piracy, insurance policies always covered the *risicum gentium* as well as the *risicum maris*. Today, according to the York-Antwerp Rules, the risk of war is not covered by marine insurance unless expressly specified.

Because medieval policies covered losses due to war as well as those due to other accidents, and because shipwrecks in the Middle Ages were comparatively more frequent than today, it is not surprising that insurance premiums were much higher then than they are now. The rate of the premium varied not only according to distance but also according to the seasons of the year (whether summer or winter), the state of war or peace, the reported presence or absence of pirates along the sea lanes, the type of

[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 217–18; Edler, *Glossary*, p. 34.

[54] Six months for a voyage from Motrone, the seaport of Lucca, to Aigues Mortes (Bensa, *Il Contratto*, p. 218) but ten months for a voyage from Porto Pisano to Barcelona or from Venice to Valencia (Archivio Datini, No. 1159, Assicurazioni marittime).

[55] Today, the insurers, having acquired title to the insured goods, would simply sell them and recover what they paid from the proceeds of the sale.

[56] Large navigation companies today have a special claims department which handles the claims of shippers for shortages. If a bill of lading mentions ten boxes but only nine are unloaded at destination, the carrier is responsible, unless he can prove that the missing box was lost by the perils of the sea. Gerard de Malynes observes in connection with theft on shipboard by members of the crew that "the master of the ship is to answer for that and to make it good so that the assurances are not to be charged with any such losse which is sometimes not observed."—*Lex mercatoria* (1st ed.; London, 1622), Part I, chap. xxv, p. 151.

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vessel (whether a galley or a cog), and other circumstances.[57] As indicated by entries in a memorandum book kept by Francesco Datini's branch office in Pisa, the rate was 8 per cent for a voyage from Cadiz to Sluys or Southampton (*Antona*), 3 or 4 per cent for voyages from Peñiscola (a small port between Barcelona and Valencia) to Porto Pisano, 4 per cent for voyages from Porto Pisano to Naples or to Tunis, and 4 or 5 per cent for voyages from Porto Pisano to Barcelona or to Palermo. All these rates applied to marine insurance contracted in August and September 1384.[58] By the terms of a policy dated May 10, 1396, the rate was only 3 per cent, instead of the higher rates in 1384, on a shipment from Porto Pisano to Barcelona. In December 1399, 7 per cent was charged for insuring nine bales of "grain" (a red dyestuff) shipped from Valencia to Venice.[59] Uzzano, the author of a famous manual for merchants written in 1442, states that the premium from London to Pisa varied between 12 and 15 per cent, and "occasionally even higher when there were rumors about dangerous corsairs."[60] According to the account book of Jacomo Badoer, a Venetian merchant residing in Constantinople in the 1430's, insurance rates were 6 per cent for a voyage from Constantinople to Venice and from 8 to 10 per cent for the shorter trip from Constantinople to Ancona.[61] Distance, therefore, was by no means the only factor that determined the rate of an insurance premium.

The private account books of Bernardo Cambi, a Florentine merchant of the fifteenth century, contain a large number of entries relating to marine insurance.[62] Cambi resided in Bruges from 1435 until 1450, when he returned to Florence. Both before and after his return to his native city, he was active as an underwriter. A glance at Table 1, based on entries in his account books, shows that insurance rates were definitely lower on shipments sent by the

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[57] Malynes, *Lex mercatoria*, Part I, chap. xxiv, p. 150.

[58] Bensa, *Francesco di Marco da Prato*, pp. 397–99.

[59] Archivio Datini, No. 1159.

[60] Giovanni da Uzzano, *La Pratica della mercatura*, Vol. IV of Giovanni Francesco Pagnini, *Della Decima e di varie altre gravezze imposte dal comune di Firenze, della moneta e della mercatura de' Fiorentini fino al secolo XVI* (Lisbon-Lucca, 1765–66), p. 119: "E per sicurtà di mare da Londra a Pisa sempre è da fiorini 12 in 15 per 100 di valuta, e quando più, secondo i pericoli che sentono o di corsali o d'altro."

[61] Vittorio Alfieri, *La Partita doppia applicata alle scritture delle antiche aziende mercantili veneziane* (Turin, 1891), p. 97.

[62] The author had the privilege of examining the Cambi account books in 1938. At that time, these records were in the possession of Mr. Otto Lange of Florence. Later they became the property of Prince Piero Ginori Conti. The Cambi records include two ledgers of Bernardo Cambi, one for the years 1435–59 and the other for 1470–90. An interesting comparison is that between the rates in Cambi's records and those listed by Malynes in his *Lex mercatoria* (1622), Part I, chap. xxiv, p. 150.

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galleys than on those moved by other vessels.[63] The most important galleys, about 1470, were the Venetian, the Genoese, and the Florentine galleys of the Levant and of the Ponent, but the account books of Cambi also refer to insurance taken out on the Catalan, the Burgundian, and the Ferrandine galleys.[64] Underwriters did not consider these galleys as safe as those of Florence or Venice and charged slightly higher rates, but still less than when goods were shipped in a nef (*nave*), a carrack, a caravel, or other craft.[65] The reason why underwriters discriminated in favor of the galleys was apparently that they were larger, swifter, better manned, usually sailed in consort, and were less likely to be attacked by pirates or privateers than ordinary medieval trading vessels.[66] While insurance rates were lower, freight charges were higher on the galleys than on other vessels.[67] The same is true today: a shipper pays less for freight and more for insurance on an old tramp steamer than on an up-to-date motor vessel operated by a regular line.

Besides the galleys, the account books of Bernardo Cambi mention other vessels which made regular trips, for example, "the Portuguese nef which brings malmsey to Flanders."[68] But the rate was rather high on this ship: 11 per cent for the voyage from Madeira to Sluys, the seaport of Bruges.

Insurance rates were sensitive to bad news, as is shown by an excellent example in the Cambi records. The two Burgundian galleys enjoyed good standing with the underwriters, who charged only 4 per cent for the trip from Zeeland to Porto Pisano, according to an entry dated April 26, 1473.[69] Unfortunately, while crossing the North Sea from Flanders to England, one of the two galleys was seized on this very trip by the Danzig privateer, Paul Beneke.[70] The other galley escaped and called at Southampton to load addi-

[63] The list given in Table 1 is selective and is far from including all the Cambi entries relating to insurance.

[64] The Burgundian galleys were two galleys built for the duke of Burgundy and operated by the Medici under the Burgundian flag, that is, the flag of the Low Countries bearing at that time a St. Andrew's cross raguly. The Ferrandine galleys belonged to, and flew the flag of, King Ferrando of Naples.

[65] Lane, *Venetian Ships*, p. 25.

[66] Andrea Barbarigo, a fifteenth-century Venetian merchant, learned to his cost about the dangers of sending wares by cog instead of by galley.—Frederic C. Lane, *Andrea Barbarigo, Merchant of Venice, 1418–1449* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1944), p. 56.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 56; Lane, *Venetian Ships*, p. 25; Aloys Schulte, *Geschichte der grossen Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft, 1380–1530* (Stuttgart, 1923), II, 65–72.

[68] Cambi Ledger, 1470–90, fol. 58^{r}: "Sichurtà deon avere. . . . . E dì 12 d'ottobre fl. 5 *s.*10 auto dal bancho per sichurtà di fl. 50 sulla nave portoghallese che porta le malvagie in Fiandra, ... "

[69] *Ibid.*, fol. 66^{r}. The text specifies "sulle *due* ghalee di Borghongna."

[70] The captured galley carried Hans Memling's "Last Judgment," a famous painting in the Marienkirche in Danzig. See my article, "A Prize of War: A Painting of Fifteenth Century Merchants," *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*, XIX, No. 1 (February 1945), 3–12.

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TABLE 1

MARINE INSURANCE RATES IN PERCENTAGE OF AMOUNT INSURED ACCORDING TO THE ACCOUNT BOOKS OF THE FLORENTINE MERCHANT BERNARDO CAMBI

Kind of Vessel	From	To	Rate in Per Cent	Date of Entry in Cambi's Ledger	
French galleys	Alexandria	Porto Pisano	4.0	December 17	1472
Ferrandine galleys	Alexandria	Porto Pisano	5.0	October 12	1475
Baleniera of the duke of Burgundy	Barcelona	Sluys (Bruges)	14.5	April 15	1454
No record	Cadiz	Genoa	4.5	January 16	1454
French galleys	Chios	Porto Pisano	5.0	April 30	1470
Nef carrying alum	Civita Vecchia	Flanders	12.0	May 10	1473
French galleys	Collioure	Naples	3.0	November 21	1472
Florentine galleys	Collioure	Porto Pisano	1.5	April 11	1470
French galleys	Collioure	Porto Pisano	2.0	October 15	1472
Florentine galleys	Constantinople	Porto Pisano	3.0	March 9	1472
Ferrandine galleys	Constantinople	Porto Pisano	7.0	June 20	1470
Nef of the king of England	England	Porto Pisano	8.0	January 18	1477
French (?) nef	Gascony	Sluys	10.0	April 15	1454
Genoese nef	Genoa	Downs of England	10.0	January 16	1454
Nef (nationality unknown)	Genoa	Downs of England	9.0	June 18	1470
Genoese *baleniera*	Genoa	The Thames	10.0	April 11	1472
No record	Iviza	Porto Pisano	5.0	August 11	1473
Flemish nef carrying wine	La Rochelle	Sluys	14.0	December 31	1454
Flemish nef	La Rochelle	Sluys	14.0	January 14	1455
Baleniere di San Regnere	La Rochelle	Sluys	14.0	February 4	1455
Biscayan (?) nef	La Rochelle	Sluys or Zeeland	10.0	February 4	1455
Genoese nef	Lisbon	Porto Pisano	8.0	March 9	1472
Portuguese nef	Lisbon	Porto Pisano	8.0	June 17	1472
Portuguese nef	Lisbon	Sluys	10.0	January 10	1472
Five Zeeland nefs	London	Zeeland	3.0	February 4	1455
Portuguese nef carrying malmsey*	Madeira	Flanders	11.0	October 12	1472
Nef named San Cristofano	Oporto	Porto Pisano	9.0	June 29	1470
Small vessel (*navilio*) of Pessaro	Pessaro	Constantinople	10.0	May 13	1472
French galleys	Porto Pisano	Aigues Mortes	2.0	February 20	1472
Ferrandine galleys	Porto Pisano	Constantinople	5.0	July 3	1472
Burgundian galleys	Porto Pisano	Constantinople	6.0	August 21	1471

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TABLE 1 (Continued)

Kind of Vessel	From	To	Rate in Per Cent	Date of Entry in Cambi's Ledger	
Florentine galleys	Porto Pisano	Naples	1.0	November 6	1472
Genoese galleys	Porto Pisano	Chios	5.0	January 11	1471
Venetian galleys	Sandwich	Venice	3.0	December 31	1454
Fishing boat	Seville	Sluys	9.0	June 1	1470
Genoese or Spanish nef	Sluys	Sanlucar	6.0	April 15	1454
Genoese carrack	Sluys	Cadiz	9.5	July 8	1454
Portuguese nef	Sluys	Lisbon	8.0	September 28	1454
Catalan galleys	Sluys	Barcelona	5.0	August 8	1442
Venetian galleys	Sluys	Palermo	4.0	May 2	1473
Venetian galleys	Sluys	Palermo	4.5	October 23	1475
Burgundian galleys	Sluys	Porto Pisano	5.0	May 4	1470
Four English and/or Flemish nefs	Sluys	La Rochelle	10.0	October 30	1454
Flemish nef	Sluys	La Rochelle	10.0	January 14	1455
Venetian galleys	Southampton	Majorca	4.0	September 22	1470
Genoese nef	Southampton	Porto Pisano	10.0	April 15	1454
Genoese nef	Southampton	Porto Pisano	9.0	June 1	1470
The Burgundian galley†	Southampton	Porto Pisano	6.0	July 10	1473
Genoese nef	Southampton	Porto Pisano	7.0	June 18	1473
Spanish nef	Tortosa	Porto Pisano	7.0	May 9	1472
Venetian galleys	Valencia	Porto Pisano	2.0	September 1	1472
Catalan nef	Venice	Sluys	11.0	December 31	1454
English nef	Zeeland	London	4.0	October 18	1454
Flemish nefs	Zeeland	London	4.0	September 1	1454
Genoese nef	Zeeland	Barbery coast	8.0	January 16	1454
Burgundian galleys	Zeeland	Porto Pisano	4.0	April 26	1473
Biscayan caravel	Zeeland	Valencia	11.0	June 1	1470

* The entry in the Cambi ledger relating to this item reads as follows: "1472, Sichurtà deon avere..... E dì 12 d'ottobre fl. 5 s.10 auto dal bancho per sichurtà di fl. 50 sulla nave portoghallese che porta le malvagie in Fiandra, c. 50..... fl. 5 s.10."

† The second Burgundian galley had been captured by a Danzig privateer while crossing from Zeeland to England.

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tional cargo for Italy. As the confidence in the Burgundian galleys was badly shaken, the insurance rate for goods carried by the uncaptured galley from Southampton to Porto Pisano jumped from 4 to 6 per cent.[71] Incidentally, the Cambi ledger also records the payment of the insurance on the captured galley. No further references are found to the second galley, which was shipwrecked the following year (1474).

Bernardo Cambi, as his account books clearly show, was not specialized as an underwriter. He combined this activity with foreign banking and investments in mercantile ventures. Even after his return to Florence in 1450, most of the underwriting was done by his representatives in Bruges.[72] In the 1470's his insurance business in Florence apparently became more important. Collected premiums were credited to an account "Insurance" (*Sicurtà*). Indemnities paid out were charged to the same account. Its balance was transferred from time to time to "Profit and Loss." The Venetian merchant Jacomo Badoer followed the same system for keeping a record of his transactions as an underwriter. Expenses for the recovery of pillaged goods incurred by the insurer, after payment of the insured's claim, were also charged to the debit of the Insurance Account.[73] The proceeds from the sale of goods salvaged were probably placed to the credit of the same account. This would be the logical procedure, although no actual example was found in extant records.

Despite the high premiums that were charged by underwriters, the insurance business was not always profitable. According to the accounts of Cambi, he paid out more in claims than he received in premiums. Perhaps he had bad luck. At any rate there is no ground for the opinion that premiums in the Middle Ages were excessively high, considering the risk. The insurance business was probably very competitive and the brokers strove to secure for their clients the cheapest rate possible.

Although insurance rates were not excessive, they seemed high to the insured. From his point of view, they represented an appreciable addition to cost and might wipe out his entire profit if selling prices were low. Merchants, therefore, were greatly tempted to take a chance rather than to cover their shipments by insurance.[74] Some Venetian merchants deemed it unnec-

[71] Cambi Ledger, 1470–90, fol. 66r: "E dì 10 di luglio fl. 6 da' Medici per sichurtà di fl. 100 larghi sulla ghalea di Borghongna d'Antona a Pisa, portò Francesco Tedaldi, c. 67 . . . . fl. 6." Note that the entry uses the singular: "la ghalea."

[72] Cambi Ledger, 1435–59.

[73] Alfieri, *La Partita doppia*, pp. 96 f.

[74] Lane, *Andrea Barbarigo*, p. 116.

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essary to take out insurance on goods carried by the state galleys. They were considered so safe that the only precaution that the merchants took was to limit the sum which they would "adventure" in one galley. Shipments were divided as much as possible among all the galleys that made up a fleet. This policy of reducing expenses by cutting down on insurance was not followed by all merchants. Francesco Datini, for example, gave instructions to his agents abroad that they should not ship anything overseas that was not properly insured.[75] According to the terms of a partnership agreement concluded in 1455, the branch manager and junior partner of the Medici bank in Bruges was bound by contract to insure all shipments overseas for their full value. However, when sending goods with the Venetian or Florentine galleys, he was permitted to adventure in one bottom £60 groat but not more.[76]

In connection with marine insurance, there are several references in medieval records to overland insurance. One such contract of 1405 provides for the coverage of all risks both by sea and by land from the time that the bale is loaded in Florence "on mules or other beasts of burden" up to the time that it is safely unloaded from a galley or galliot in the port of Genoa. In addition to the acts of God, the perils of the sea, and the danger from men of war and pirates, the policy mentions also certain specific risks of overland transportation—robbery, and damage by rain, river, or lake water. Defective packing, customs, and tolls (*passagi*) are excepted from the risk covered by the insurance.[77] Another reference to land insurance occurs in the text of a Genoese partnership agreement dated August 16, 1424.[78] This agreement empowered one of the partners to underwrite all kinds of insurance "as well by sea as by land" (*tam in mari quam in terra*). The earlier of the two Cambi ledgers contains several references to overland insurance. In 1453, Bernardo Cambi insured several loads of merchandise sent from Bologna to Geneva in charge of Primo and his brother Jacopo, common carriers (*vetturali*). The premium was 3 per cent each time. In January 1454, Cambi's agents in Bruges received a premium of 2.5 per cent for insuring

[75] Bensa, *Francesco di Marco da Prato*, pp. 183 f. In 1401, a Venetian merchant wrote to Datini with reference to the galleys: ". . . . e niuno pensiero faremo di farvici assicurare" ("and we have no thought of insuring ourselves").—*Ibid.*, p. 184, n. 1.

[76] Armand Grunzweig, *Correspondance de la filiale de Bruges des Medici*, Part I (Brussels, 1931), pp. 60 f.

[77] This contract is published by Livio Piattoli, "L'Assicurazione contro i danni dei transporti terrestri nel medio evo," *Rivista del diritto commerciale*, XXXII, Part 1 (1934), 422–38.

[78] Bensa, *Il Contratto*, p. 221, Doc. No. XV.

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merchandise that was sent overland from Lille, in French Flanders, to Geneva.[79]

Cambi himself even insured goods that he bought on commission. For example, he insured a shipment of four pieces of velvet from Florence to Geneva which he had purchased on behalf of Francesco Fanucci of Paris. The goods were consigned to Jacopo di Pozzi and Company in Geneva to be sold at the Easter Fair there. Cambi charged 1 per cent for commission and 3 per cent for insurance from Florence to Geneva, so that he earned 4 per cent on the transaction, as the goods reached Geneva safely.[80]

Life insurance was not entirely unknown in the Middle Ages, but it was still in its infancy and was not clearly distinguished from pure gambling.[81] Entries in Bernardo Cambi's account books refer to "insurance" on the life of the pope (Nicholas V), of the doge of Venice (Francesco Foscari), and of the king of Aragon (Alfonso V).[83] Cambi gambled not only on the life of popes and kings, but also made bets on the winning horses of the Florentine *Palio,* and on the duration of a conclave and the election of a new pope (1455).[83] In Antwerp during the sixteenth century, wagers became a source of scandal and fraud.[84] As late as the seventeenth century, gambling on the death of rulers, the election of a pope, and the sex of expected children was common among merchants. The subject is even discussed by Malynes who devotes a chapter of his *Lex mercatoria* to merchants' wagers.[85]

The confusion between genuine insurance and wagers had an adverse effect on the development of marine insurance, which came to be considered as a game of chance. Insurance was taken out by people who had no interest in a given bottom and became a wagering device through the insertion of a

[79] Cambi Ledger, 1437–59, fol. 56[r]: "E dì 16 di gennaio [1454] fl. cinque per valuta di £1 di grossi che i nostri di Brugia me metterono in chonto, per sichurtà di £40 di grossi fatta per me a Bonora Oliviera da Lilla a Ginevra per terra a 2½ per cento, c. 107 . . . . fl. 5."

[80] *Ibid.,* fols. 56[r], 112[v]–113[r].

[81] Since there were no mortality tables, there was no way of computing probabilities. In Genoa masters sometimes insured pregnant slaves; and husbands insured pregnant wives. Bensa, *Il Contratto,* pp. 228, 237, Docs. XIX, XXV, dated 1427 and 1467. Insurance of pregnant slaves was also common in Barcelona. Premiums were often paid by the person responsible for the pregnancy. Robert Sydney Smith, "Life Insurance in Fifteenth-Century Barcelona," *The Journal of Economic History,* I (1941), 57–59.

[82] The wager was usually that the ruler would die within six months. Cambi received premiums varying from 3 to 8 per cent.

[83] Pope Nicholas V died on March 24, 1455. The new pope, Calixtus III, was elected on April 8. The entry in Cambi's account book is dated April 1. The bet was that the pope would be elected the same day. As he was not, Cambi kept the 6 per cent premium.

[84] J. A. Goris, *Etude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales à Anvers* (Louvain, 1925), pp. 385–92, 425–28. Cf. Richard Ehrenberg, *Das Zeitalter der Fugger* (Jena, 1922), II, 19–21.

[85] Malynes, *Lex mercatoria,* Part I, chap. xxxvii, pp. 197–99.

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P.P.I. (policy proof of interest) clause.[86] This abuse led to the enactment of statutes for the purpose of curbing wagers first in Italy and later in the Low Countries.[87]

Another evil was that insurance was sometimes underwritten by persons who were not regular underwriters and who were not able to pay large indemnities, if they were called upon to carry out a contract. The case of Guiglielmo Barberi, an Italian merchant resident in Bruges, is a good illustration. Because of lack of ability or for other reasons, he was not very successful in business and had difficulties in meeting his obligations. In an effort to allay his troubles, he made the unfortunate decision to underwrite insurance in the hope of making an easy profit. Alas, things did not turn out as well as Barberi expected. He had insured a bale of cloth and a barrel of furs aboard a Catalan vessel bound for Barcelona. Before the ship reached its destination, it was attacked and plundered by pirates. In despair Barberi wrote to his correspondents in Catalonia begging them to search for the missing goods in all the ports and inlets along the coast from Barcelona to Valencia. He could ill afford to sustain any loss and he hoped that God would permit him to recoup this loss in some other way, "for even though I were to live a thousand years," he wrote, "never again would I underwrite insurance."[88]

Even the merchants who underwrote insurance regularly were sometimes irked by losses, although they must have realized that they could not go on collecting premiums without ever paying indemnities. Francesco Datini, in a letter to his agents in Majorca, stated that he had underwritten more than a thousand policies and never lost as long as he did not stake more than fl. 150 at one time. "Now," he complained, "I am confronted with a loss of fl. 300 on one ship. I do not want any more of these dealings, because I have no luck. Sometime ago I earned fl. 100 in many small bits, then I lost fl. 200 in one stroke . . . . and for several years I did no more of it [under-

[86] In medieval policies, this clause was called *habeat vel non* and meant that insurers promised to pay in case of accident whether the insured suffered a loss or not. Bensa, *Il Contratto*, p. 66.

[87] In Genoa, wagers were forbidden by statute in 1467, 1475, and 1494.—*Ibid.*, pp. 125–27. The Barcelona statutes, as early as the fifteenth century, forbade insurance on the life of princes or of the pope. In the Low Countries, an ordinance of January 20, 1571, was issued against life insurance. Wagers had already been forbidden in 1544.

[88] Archivio Datini, No. 853, Fondaco di Barcellona, Carteggio da Bruggia. Letter dated March 13, 1400: "Sono bene avisato delle bargie presse e qui anche n'è la novella, e pare abiano portato via la roba da ungni uomo . . . . car se io vivessi mille anni, mai più farò sichurtà a persona." The premium was 12 per cent for the voyage from Bruges to Barcelona.

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writing] ; then I started all over again."[89] There is doubtless exaggeration in this statement. It is an outburst of ill humor upon receipt of bad news. Nevertheless, one wonders how well merchants such as Francesco Datini understood that marine insurance was a device for the sharing and the even distribution of sea risks among merchants.

By the fifteenth century marine insurance was established on a secure basis. The wording of the policies had already become stereotyped and changed very little during the next three or four hundred years, as can easily be ascertained by comparing the Florentine policy of 1397 with the forms published by Malynes in his *Lex mercatoria* or by Postlethwayt in his *Universal Dictionary of Commerce*.[90] In the sixteenth century, it was already current practice to use printed forms provided with a few blank spaces for the name of the ship, the name of the master, the amount of the insurance, the premium, and a few other items that were apt to change from one contract to another.[91] But the terms of the instrument varied only in exceptional cases when the parties to the contract decided to introduce modifying clauses or additional provisions.

V

A significant development in the matter of marine insurance was the elaboration through court decisions of a body of law that tended to be the same in all countries. The fact that the Italians dominated international trade was certainly a powerful force in bringing about a considerable degree of uniformity in the legal interpretation of the standard provisions of the insurance contract. Some Bruges court decisions illustrate this process very

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[89] Livio Piattoli, "Le leggi fiorentine sull'assicurazione nel medioevo," *Archivio storico italiano*, Series 7, Vol. XVIII (1932), p. 207, n. 1: "I' òe fatte bene mille sichurtà; e dove tochai da fior. 150 giungnendo salvo in gharigha ed altri, e ora sulla nave Panzana òe perduti fior. 300 chon Domenicho di Chanbio. Non voglo piue di queste derate, chè non ò ventura. Altra volta ne feci guadagnare fior. 100 in mille volte, poi ne perdei a un trato [fior.] 200 cho Nicholò da Uzano e chon Benichasa Alamanni, e stete parechi anni none feci piue, poi pure me si rimesi."

[90] Malynes, *Lex mercatoria*, Part I, chap. xxv, pp. 150–51; Malachy Postlethwayt, "Assurance," *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce* (2d ed.; London, 1757), I, 135–36. The text of the Florentine insurance policy will be found in Bensa, *Il Contratto*, pp. 217–20, and in my *Glossary*, pp. 34–35. Cf. note 51. Goldschmidt (*Universalgeschichte*, p. 375, n. 122) gives a long list of published insurance policies. One may also compare the Florentine policy with the Spanish policy published by Goris, *Etude sur les colonies marchandes*, pp. 633–35.

[91] The Antwerp Municipal Archives have a collection of hundreds of printed insurance policies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.—*Catalogue de l'Exposition de l'histoire économique d'Anvers* (Antwerp, 1930), pp. 7 f.

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well.[92] Whenever an insurance case came up, the judges asked for the opinion of prominent Italian merchants concerning the prevailing mercantile custom. The judges in their decisions were likely to give much weight to this opinion. Thus the Bruges court accepted the principle that the insurer who had paid became the rightful owner of any salvaged goods;[93] that the insurer was not answerable if a ship sank in port before sailing,[94] or if a ship was already lost at the time of the contract;[95] that, in case of default of tidings, the indemnity was not due as long as the insured did not renounce title to the insured goods in favor of the insurer.[96] The court also decided that the insurer was not liable if there were reasons to believe that the insured had received secret intelligence of the shipwreck before taking out the insurance.[97] In still another case, the court ruled against a plaintiff who had insured goods for more than they were worth.[98]

A similar process of establishing a series of precedents went on in other seaports. In some of them the rules were codified at an early date and incorporated in a statute.[99] One of the most comprehensive codifications was that of the customs of Barcelona in 1484.[100] They were printed together with the *Consolato del Mare* and exerted great influence. The Barcelona Code became a model for similar laws in other countries. In England, marine insurance did not gain a firm foothold until the reign of Elizabeth. Even at the end of the seventeenth century little progress had been made toward the

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[92] Trennery (*Origin and Early History of Insurance*, pp. 264 ff.), discusses the Bruges court decisions at considerable length but he assumes that Flanders played a greater role in the development of marine insurance than the country really did. He fails to notice that the insurers were Italians in almost every case. There were only one or two exceptions.

[93] L. Gilliodts-van Severen, *Cartulaire de l'Estaple* (Bruges, 1904), II, 181–82, No. 1123, May 19, 1469, Jeronème Vento *vs.* Jean Baptiste de Laignello.

[94] *Ibid.*, pp. 74–75, No. 993, January 24, 1458 (n.s.), Pierre Noël *vs.* Pierre de Rabata. The defendant was the partner of Bernardo Cambi who, as has been pointed out, underwrote many an insurance policy.

[95] *Ibid.*, pp. 62–63, No. 982, March 7, 1457 (n.s.).

[96] Gilliodts-van Severen, *Cartulaire*, II, 90–91, No. 1013, April 14, 1459, Marco Gentile *vs.* Pol and Francesco Justiniani; *ibid.*, pp. 92–94, Marco Gentile *vs.* Michel Arnolfini, Charles Lommelin, and Angelo Tany.

[97] *Ibid.*, p. 43, No. 967, August 4, 1456, Zegherin Saren *vs.* Gregoire Lommelin.

[98] *Ibid.*, pp. 203–4, No. 1154, July 18, 1470, Jeronème Vento *vs.* Pierre de Perandre and Rolland van der Vlamincpoorte. The latter, judging by the name, was evidently a Fleming.

[99] On Genoese legislation, see Bensa, *Il Contratto*, pp. 82–90. On Venetian statutes, see Adolfi Sacerdoti, "L'Assicurazione a Venezia," *Atti del R. Istituto veneto*, LVI (1897–98), 1082–98. On Florentine laws, there are the studies by Guido Bonolis, "Contributo alla storia delle assicurazioni," *Archivio storico italiano*, Series 5, Vol. XXII (1898), pp. 312–21, and by Piattoli, "Le Leggi fiorentine," *op. cit.*, pp. 205–57.

[100] Bensa, *Il Contratto*, pp. 91–109.

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establishment of ascertained rules of English law.[101] It was not until the eighteenth century "that Lord Mansfield evolved from mercantile custom and foreign precedents the principles of our modern law."[102]

The statutory stage in the development of marine insurance is beyond the scope of this study. Marine insurance was a mature institution before its organization and regulation by law. Like double-entry bookkeeping and the bill of exchange, marine insurance was the creation of an age that saw the rise of the sedentary merchant and the decline of the traveling trader. Marine insurance was the outcome of the merchant's quest for security; in a similar way more modern forms of insurance, such as life insurance, fire insurance, accident insurance, and workmen's compensation, were developed in response to the needs of an industrial and individualistic age.

Oberlin, Ohio FLORENCE EDLER DE ROOVER

[101] Violet Barbour, "Marine Risks and Insurance in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, I (1929), 572, 595 f.

[102] Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, VIII, 293.

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EARLY BRONZE AGE CULTURAL RELATIONSHIPS

IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

WITH SPECIAL CONSIDERATION OF THE CYCLADES

Yon Olaf Hockmann

General Conditions. Conditions in the Ancient Orient

In the 3rd millennium BC, the transition to the practical use of metals, which had previously played only an insignificant role, as raw materials for tools, water, small utensils and art objects took place in large parts of Western Asia and the Mediterranean region. The new material opened up such a wide range of possibilities and gave impetus to such rapid technological development that the impression could be created that the cultural advances taking place at the same time, which culminated in the formation of the advanced civilizations of Mesopotamia, Egypt and the Indus region, were also directly caused by the new technology.

This impression is false. Various peoples of the Levant, Asia Minor and Southeast Europe used native copper from the 4th millennium onwards without becoming highly civilised.
On the other hand, as the foreign word for 'copper' in Sumerian (urudu) confirms, the highly cultured peoples probably learned about the metals from their 'barbarian' neighbors: the fertile alluvial plains of the Nile, Euphrates, Tigris and Indus do not contain any deposits.

Nevertheless, the highly civilized peoples recognized the advantages of metal tools and made extensive use of copper and tin, silver and gold, which they had to obtain through trade, conquest or mining expeditions.

I would like to try to show that such contacts led to the spread of individual elements of advanced civilizations and that the rapid development of Early Bronze Age (in some countries referred to as 'Aeneolithic') cultures in the Mediterranean region can be traced back to direct or indirect contacts with the advanced civilizations of the Ancient Orient, which were initiated by the metal trade. In this indirect sense, metals can also be called a motor of cultural development in the Aegean and western Mediterranean regions.

Let us take a look at the situation in Mesopotamia and Egypt at the beginning of the 3rd century.
Thousands BC Here city or territorial states with differentiated societies emerged.
structure and an efficient administration in the service of human or divine rule, whose boundaries became blurred. The stability of the social structure
tures as a result of regulated ownership structures benefited no less than the sédkulare or

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Priestly administration benefited from a decisive innovation: writing, which gave permanence to thought and word, facilitated the transmission of experiences, regulations and teachings of wisdom and made the emergence of advanced civilizations possible.

1 The abbreviations consisting of the author's name and the year of publication refer to the

thematically structured bibliography p. 109pp. — Edzard 1967, 63.

In the 3rd millennium BC it is first evident that ideas about the nature and extent of the inhabited world arose in Mesopotamia. Sargon I of Akkad (ca. 2350-2295 BC) was able to attempt to conquer this world "to its ends" and reached the "Upper Sea", the Mediterranean, via the "Cedar Mountains" (Amanus or Lebanon)* and the "Silver Mountains" (Taurus)*. Apparently he was not even the first to conceive the ambitious plan of world domination. Moreover, the "Cedar" and "Silver Mountains" had already been visited in mythical times by the hero Gilgames®, and had therefore probably been vaguely known to the Sumerians since time immemorial. Northern Syria and the Lebanon region, although located on the furthest periphery of the Mesopotamian high culture area, may have been under Egyptian rule as early as the end of the 4th millennium BC. BC, contacts were made in another direction, namely with the land on the Nile: The mastabagribers of the pharaohs of the 1st dynasty in Abydos not only show a general similarity with early Sumerian temple complexes, but even correspond in detail with the 'Eye Temple' of the early Sumerian Djemdet Nasr period in Tell Brak in northern Syria. Intensive land-

Connections between Egypt of the 1st Dynasty and North Sinai and South Canaan, which began in the pre-dynastic period, can be proven by means of finds of Egyptian origin in these areas and of Canaanite in Egypt. Long before Sargon, spatial distance was not an insurmountable obstacle, not for contacts by land and certainly not for those by sea (see below p. 57 with note 18). This applies not only to advanced cultures, but also to peripheral cultures without writing: as numerous finds prove, the early Bronze Age city of Arad in the Negev (see map, fig. 8) exploited the copper mines in southern Sinai - probably by means of seasonal worker caravans over 400km of impassable desert paths19.

It is likely that the main motive for long-distance contacts, direct or indirect, was the desire of the highly civilized nations to acquire those goods that their own country did not produce or only produced in insufficient quantities. Even Sargon's campaigns were considered to have been motivated by economic reasons: The (just as unimportant for Egypt)

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The (dispensable) timber from the "Cedar Mountains", building stones and metals were important enough for the raw material-free alluvial land along the Euphrates and Tigris to motivate the conquest of the raw material sources and important transshipment points.

As can be seen in the Sumerian epic of Enmerkar and the Lord of Arattac, a country located in the Iranian mountains,12, these contacts may have involved

* For 'world maps' perhaps already from the time of Sar-

gons L: Unger 1935, 311S; Christian 1940, 347

Taf. 390,4; Schmokel 1961, 187: Gadd 1971, 426.

3ZurLokalisierung:Gadd194725;1Kl,engel1975,208.
1971,91iL.;Oren1973,203f.SeineThese,dieagypti-

4 Gadd 1971, 425f; Drower — Bottéro 1971, 324; Helck 1971, 4. 16.

5 Evidence suggests a military campaign by Lugalzagisi into the »Upper Lands, in which Mari was destroyed (Drower ~Bottéro 1971, 331).

© Klengel 1975, 208.

7 Emery 1963, 177. Against the view of Sumerian influence put forward by various authors:

Helck 1971, 6f.

® Emery 1963, 181. 188, For compounds of the Amuq-

The claim that Egyptian finds of the 1st Dynasty indicate that northern Sinai and southern Canaan belonged to the Egyptian Empire was rejected by Amiran 1974, 10f.; Amiran interpreted the finds as trade goods.

© Amiran ua1973.

1 Drower—Bottéro 1971, 322. On the early connection between Sumer, Syria and Anatolia see also Esin 1982; Kohl 1982; Mellaart 1982.

12 Pettinato 1972, 67. 128 pp. General information on the forms of exchange of goods: ibid. 49 pp.; Foster 1977.

Plain on the one hand with Mesopotamia, on the other hand with Egypt: Drower — Bottéro 1971,
336.

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® Helck 1962, 13f.; ders. 1971, 12S.; de Miroschedji

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The boundaries between voluntary exchange of goods and forced transfer of ownership were fluid: the Sumerian Enmerkar first tries to obtain precious stones and metals from the foreign 'business partner' in exchange for food. When the latter refuses, Enmerkar decides to 'convince' the unwieldy foreigner and takes possession of the desired articles (and the metalworkers of the foreign country at the same time - an important indication of archaeologically intangible 'exports'!) by force of arms. This example shows how diverse forms of contact must be expected for the 3rd millennium BC. In addition to the forms of exchange of goods and robbery attested here, there is a third that is just as important: the establishment of permanent trading posts in foreign countries, a system that is attested by the Assyrian trading posts (karim) in Anatolia *+. In these well-organized settlements, coordinated by the central karim Kani§ (Kiiltepe), Assyrians lived in a kind of symbiosis with the local population, and were thus always informed about the possibilities and potential threats to trade. Although there are still important questions about this exchange of goods, it is clear from the 'business records' in Kani§-Kiiltepe, among others, that metals also played an important, perhaps central, role in these economic connections. Unlike the examples mentioned above, however, here—at least in one documented case 15—

This raw material was not purchased for import to Mesopotamia, but in
significant

Quantities were exported to the foreign country; the sources speak of a caravan with 11 tons of the precious tin, the origin of which is still a mystery. Incidentally, the Assyrian trading posts seem to have had forward 'representatives' in local cities, because the obstruction of Assyrian merchants in the probably south-west Anatolian city of Purugkhanda ¢ was used by Sargon as an excuse for his campaign in the distant north-west.

The examples mentioned should be sufficient to prove our thesis that in the 3rd millennium BC there were extensive and partly well-organized long-distance connections by land that enabled a regulated exchange of goods. It is equally informative to look at the evidence of long-distance connections by sea.

The crossing of long stretches of open sea was possible, as the early Neolithic settlement of Cyprus, Crete or Skyros shows, at the latest in the 6th millennium BC, and the vehicles must already have been sufficient to transport not only settlers and their families but also

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It is therefore not surprising that in the 3rd millennium BC the
Maritime traffic both in the Arabian Gulf — the “Lower Sea” — and on the
Levantine coast was lively enough to be economically important for Sumer and Egypt
have.

13 In this respect, the temporarily disrupted trade in lapis lazuli from Badakhshan (Afghanistan) to Egypt and Mesopotamia is informative (Helck 1971, 25: Import via Sumer to Egypt; Herrmann 1968, esp. 21 f. 29 f. 37, pp. 53f.; Crowfoot Payne 1968, esp. 58; Maxwell-Hyslop 1977, 86). In Egypt, lapis lazuli appears almost only in graves that also contain other foreign goods (Crowfoot Payne 1968, 59):

Port goods are the privilege of the wealthy; cf. J. Crow- foot Payne, Lapis Lazuli in Early Egypt, in: Iraq 30, 1968, 59.

4 Hierzu: Garelli 1963; lesson. 1977; Larsen 1967; lesson. 1976; Orlin 1970; Veenhof 1972; lesson. 1977, 1091f.; Matthiae 1977, 2511., ders., 1977a, 195. 202£. 241. 15 Muhly 1976, 101; Maddin ua 1977, 41.

16 Gadd 1971, 426.

A wealth of source material leaves no doubt that Sumer and Akkad maintained a fairly regular maritime trade with the countries of Dilmun (Bahrain - apparently an international transshipment point, a 'port of trade')1?, Magan (Oman on the Arabian Gulf coast) and above all with Meluhha®, which is seen with good reason as the Indus region. Meluhha is described as Sumer's most important trading partner, although it is about 3000 km away from Mesopotamia!®,

and if the attribution of some ancient Mesopotamian place names to the (unknown)
Language of the Meluhha people20, there may even have been Indian trading posts on the Euphrates and Tigris. Imports from the countries on the "Lower Sea" included gold and silver, tin and copper, precious stones, timber and stone, gypsum and bitumen, as well as agricultural products, animals and textiles2* - an astonishing selection that shows the importance of these connections for the Sumerian economy22. This does not mean that metals, timber and textiles were not also imported from the "Upper Land" (Syria) and from Elam. While metals and precious stones never appear in the records of private trading houses and were therefore probably subject to a monopoly of the state or the king??, other luxury items>*, building materials and textiles were probably available to private trading companies.

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During Sargon's time, the Akkadian Empire reached for the first time as far as the "Upper Sea", the Mediterranean, which was at least touched by Sargon himself on his Anatolian campaign. Tradition even reports - albeit in an ambiguous manner - that he crossed the "Upper Sea". Finds of Akkadian seals in Ugarit could be connected with this, unless, as is considered, they are to be interpreted as an indication of the permanent stationing of Akkadian ships in northern Syrian ports. Even more unusual is the statement in a document from a later period, since the Akkadian Empire also included two countries "beyond the Upper Sea": Kaptaru and An(n)aku. The first of the two is clearly identified: Kaptaru is the Caphthor of the Bible, the island of Crete28.

According to Cretan chronology, Sargon's lifetime falls into the FM 1 stage, which, like the contemporaneous stages FK IT and FHII, is characterized by numerous indications (see below p. 65) as a time of international connections within the Greek region.

The country of An(n)aku is mysterious. Its name clearly refers to 'tin' and may perhaps be generally translated as 'tin country'. Previous localization

17 Polanyi 1963, 301f.

18 Pettinato 1972, 99 pp.; Kramer 1977, 59; Komoréczi 1977, esp. 68, 70. As finds of Mesopotamian pottery on the Arabian Gulf coast show, a relatively lively maritime trade appears to have begun as early as the Ubaid period (5th—4th millennium BC) (Oates et al. 1977). On traces of early copper mining in Oman, ancient Magan: Weisgerber 1977, 1901f.

* Pettinato 1972, 116; During Caspers 1972 passim; Lamberg-Karlovsky 1972, 222 f.

2* Leemans 1977, 5.

21 Combed 1972, 73S.

22 On the practical significance of all imports: Pettinato 1972, 65; — Limet 1977, esp. 58, considered imports to be significant only in the luxury goods sector.

23 Foster 1977, 371.

24 7. B. Chlorite stone: Kohl 1975. — General information on the marketing of luxury goods: ibid. 31; Muhly 1975, 48.

25 Gadd 1971, 425.

26 Culican 1966, 17.

27 Gadd 1971, 429.

28 Ibid. 429f.

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Attempts to use lead instead of tin range from Spain3® via Laurion (Attica)3! to the southern Anatolian region west of the Gulf of Issus32.

Another possibility seems to me to be possible. If the word An(n)aku does not refer to lead but to tin, the distribution of objects made of tin or tin-bronze, which was much rarer at that time than the copper-arsenic alloy, could perhaps provide clues to the location of a 'tin country'. In that case, the Troad with the offshore northeastern islands would be the most likely location for An(n)akum. E., an area that had objects made of pure tin 33 and tin-bronze long before Sargon L.; in a broader sense, the whole of Agis could be considered (see below p. 691f).

Regardless of the location of the tin country, it is certain that Sargon I was dependent on the cooperation of the coastal cities in what later became Phoenicia, primarily of Byblos (see below), in his seafaring ventures and that for this reason alone his 'rule' over Kaptaru and An(n)aku was hardly more than a more or less extortionate collection of tributes. It was probably a short episode, not too momentous for these countries, much more ephemeral than the Meluhha and Dilmun voyages of the Sumerian captains.

The nautical achievements of Egypt in the Old Kingdom were not inferior to those of the Sumerians. In the 13th year of the reign of Pharaoh Sahure (around 2474 BC) a sea voyage to Punt is mentioned for the first time35, a country that is usually located in what is now Somalia?¢. The sailors of Sahure had to sail the entire length of the Red Sea, which was not without danger for sailing ships. An additional difficulty was that the area surrounding the port of departure, which was assumed to be near Kosseir37, was and is a treeless desert, so that all building materials for the ships had to be brought from the Nile Valley through the Eastern Desert to the Red SeaBe3®. Despite these problems, regular voyages to Punt seem to have taken place in the 6th Dynasty. The Eastern annals are silent on this.

about this almost entirely3%; but the grave inscription of Khnembhotep reports that he was in Punt eleven times*®. The reason for these trips was the wealth of the "land of God" in

2 Overviews: ibid. 430; Muhly 1976, 97 pp.; Maddinu. a. 1977, 38{f. —annaku = tin: Muhly 1976, 104.
3 Forrer 1928, 240; — Muhly 1976, 101, pointed to tin bronze in central Anatolia before Sargon L, but left the origin of the tin open. On tin on the Iberian Peninsula: Muhly 1973, 253 pp.; Branigan 1974, 64. It might be thought that tin bars were found in the sea off the Balearic Islands at two places (Mascar6 Pasarius 1968), but their date is unknown, and the rarity of tin bronze on

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the Iberian Peninsula in the 3rd millennium BC speaks against such an early use of Iberian tin (Renfrew 1967, 13). 31 Albright 1925, 193 f.

32 Gadd 1971, 430.

3 Lamb 1936, 171 Fig. 50, 30.24 Plate 25; 215 (analysis by C. Desch); Renfrew 1967, 13; Maddin et al. 1977, 42.

34 Branigan 1974, 72. 74f.; Muhly 1976, 88f. 99. On tin in Sitagroi V (Macedonia): Renfrew 1972, 313. On tin storage sites in Anatolia see also de Jesus 1980; Kaptan 1983.

35 Breasted 1962, 70 § 161. Hennig 1944, 9, reckoned with regular Punt voyages even at this time. Another one during the 5th Dynasty must have taken place under Isesi, whose import of a dwarf from Punt was later reported (Breasted 1962, 160 §351).

36 Hennig 1944, 7.

37 Ibid. 11. — On a port Sewew near today's 'Wadi Gasiis: Breasted 1962, 275 § 604.

38 Helck 1971, 21, assumed that the ships were built in Lebanon and sailed to Egypt to be dismantled on the Nile, taken overland through the desert to the Red Sea and reassembled there. This would really be more rational than transporting unprocessed wood.

39 See Helck 1962, 15. 39. Byblos is also first

first mentioned in the 6th Dynasty (ibid. 21; ibid. 1971, 21; ibid. 1979, 40).

40 Hennig 1944, 9; Breasted 1962, 164 § 361; Helck 1971, 27.

Precious metals and precious spices!, which already made the journey to the time of Sahure a

exceptionally profitable companies

become.

An important question is how the Egyptians learned about the distant land.

thing that from trips in the Red Sea alone in

In connection with Punt, a chance discovery is ruled out. It must

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It can be expected that Sahure's company (or an unnamed first point-
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under one of his predecessors) was conceived as a voyage of discovery from the
transport of timber to the Red Sea. This represents the

Foresight of the client an equally brilliant

Testimony from the seaworthiness of the

boats and teams.

In the Mediterranean, at least from the

1st Dynasty on sea connections between Egypt and the port of Byblos on the Lebanese

Kiiste 42, which at least from the middle of the 3rd millennium BC was a city and the most important

Port of the Levant and apparently also the desirability of Mesopotamian

#3 Since Byblos also had relations with its neighbouring countries, which still had no written

from Canaan in the south to the Amug Plain in the north** in close contact

It is the prototype of an international 'Port of Trade' (see note 17).

Worthy of attention (if the present report

zutriSt)*s also the evidence of a settlement of Palestinian origin in Mansoura

on the eastern branch of the Nile. The fact that the Egyptian Mediterranean coasts only existed in the western delta

It was already suspected that the 6th eastern delta was
Nomadenland.

Should the settlement near Mansoura serve as a trading place or intermediate port on the

Way to Egypt?

Since real trade relations with Byblos

insisted on reciprocity (the Pharaohs did not consider the delivery of goods as

Tribute extorted, but paid), can be

a monopoly position of Egypt in the Eastern Mediterranean

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Byblos and, as it turns out,

now shows that Palestine should not only be a business partner,

but also competitors who did not rely on Egyptian merchants

and SchiSe were dependent on—a point that deserves attention. Some phenomena

in the western Mediterranean (see below p. 87, 98) become more understandable.

Byblos' export goods are always

called building timbers, which were as indispensable for Egypt as they were for Mesopotamia.

At the beginning of the 4th Dynasty, Pharaoh Sneferu had 40 shiploads of cedar wood

fetch a considerable amount#7.The original solar barque of his successor

Cheops is made largely of Syrian wood, but also

Holzer of Asia Minor origin identified

1 Among the products of Punt, eye make-up is mentioned which contained antimony ore (stibnite) (Forbes 1964, Vol. IX, 165; ibid. 1972, 176). From this, Herman 1966, 15, concluded that Punt could only have been located in Southern Rhodesia; the antimony deposits at a short distance from Egypt were unknown in the Old Kingdom. See note 286 below.

42 See: Albright 1964, 44 pp.; Smith 1965, &1f.; Goedicke 1966; Mellaart 1966, 56, 64. 68p.; Tufnell — Ward 1966, 165f.; Hennessy 1967, 72; Jidejian 1968, 161f.; Drower - Bottéro 1971, 348f.; Helck 1971, 25¢.; Klengel 1975, 208f. — The development deserves attention.

According to the investigation by Helck (1971, 6), some sites in Phoenicia which were later confirmed as harbours and trading centres had not already functioned as harbours in the Neolithic period.

4 Sollberger 1959/60; Ward 1964, 129f; Kiengel 1975, 209.

4 Mellaart 1966, 56. 64. 68fL.; de Miroschedji 1971, 95S.

45AW 9H.3,1978,61.

46 Helck 1971, 4. 26.

47 Casson 1971, 17 note 30; Drower — Bottéro 1971, 346; Helck 1971, 26.

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48. The barge is 43.40m long and 5.53m wide, solidly built of planks - proof that lengths of 100 cubits (about 50 m) are not unrealistic for ships of the Old Kingdom. Even a slightly later relief depiction from the mortuary temple of Sahure in Abusir#® 148 leaves no doubt that ocean voyages such as the one to Punt were technically possible. An essential prerequisite for this is the equipment with mast and sail. The additional propulsion power provided by the Nile boats through paddles or oars3® is of no great practical importance under ocean conditions.

But the sailing equipment with (foldable) two-legged mast

and square braced square sail was unwieldy enough and only allowed a sailing

astern wind.

These conditions had to

the possibilities for exit

and return of the Byblos passengers to a serious extent

We must assume that

that such a primitively sailed, deep5! vessel could even withstand strong astern

Wind would have only been 2-3 knots. Under such conditions

Ocean currents also become important factors. Let us consider the

Wind and current conditions in the Mediterranean (Fig. 9a.b)52, it is clear that the exit

the "Byblos Ship" from the Nile Delta along the Palestinian coast in spring

no difficulties

ities. The return home

However, this route may be difficult,

if not impossible. Take

we assume that they - which is probably

is — could only be started in the autumn, so not only the northward

The current is a serious obstacle: The persistent and strong in autumn

northwest winds

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Would it be possible for the unwieldy ships that could not yet sail close to the wind?

made it almost impossible to return directly to the Nile. The danger,

being driven onto the coast would probably be too great

On the other hand, wind

and stream a course that led from Byblos northwest to Cyprus, until
west

the island the northwest winds and currents picked up the skies and directly

back to the Nile. This course is suitable for the journey of Wenamun (around 1076 BC)
tatséchlich

4. It is expressly stated that he came to Cyprus from Byblos.

The Rest of the Be-

48 Zaky Nour u. a. 1960, 45£.; Landstrom 1974, 261f.. Abb. 83-94.

Casson 1971, 19 plate 17; Landström 1974, 64f. fig. 188193,

50 Casson 1971, 17£. Taf. 15.

$1 The draft of the Cheops barque is only about 1.30 m (Landstrom 1974, 30f. Fig. 87-89), but

This was a Nile vessel. For seagoing vessels, a much greater draft is to be expected.

2 Schile 1970, Fig. 1 (land view); Markgraf 1961, maps 13. 20 (wind directions and -
strong); Pilot Chart of the North Atlantic Ocean 1974 (currents, wind directions and -
stéirken). According to these maps our Fig. 9a. b.

53 Landstrom 1974, 51, considered sailing close to the wind to be possible as early as the 6th Dynasty, because the mast was now positioned closer to the middle of the ship than before. However, it was not in the middle of the ship until around 1500 BC (Casson 1971, 19).

4 Wenamun was appointed by Ramses XI (20th Dynasty)

sent to Byblos to procure wood for the construction of a god-ship of Amun. His
report is considered a reliable source. Newer translations: Edel —
Borger 1968, 411f.; Goedicke 1975; Lichtheim 1976, 2241f. On Wenamun's journey also Helck 1971, 493; ibid. 1979, 43.

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5 Edel - Borger 1968, 48; Lichtheim 1976, 229; cf. in this regard also H.-G. Buchholz in this publication, below §. 229f. References in the Odyssey also speak for the importance of these sea routes. Odysseus claims to have sailed from Crete to the mouth of the Nile in five days "before a good north wind" (Od. 14, 254 p.): this presupposes - in this direction - the direct route over the high seas. On the way home from Egypt, however, Menelaus touches the Phoenician city of Sidon (Od. 4, 617: 15, 117: these references seem to me to be more important than the statement in Herodotus I 119, quoted by Helck 1979, 40, that Menelaus "first" went to Libya on his departure). Finally, it is even said that the journey from Phoenicia to Libya took place via Crete (Od. 14, 299f.).

There is no information about this; but it is certain that Wenamun could not have returned to the Levant coast; the Palestinian Turks, insulted by him on his way out, would have arrested him immediately, as they even tried to do in the port of Byblos. Wenamun could only have sailed from Cyprus to Egypt over the high seas. I consider it probable that this was a route whose advantages were known to the Egyptian captains long before Wenamun, and which was regularly followed, regardless of the special conditions that applied to this unfortunate traveller.

If we assume that the Byblos sailors really sailed west past Cyprus on their way home, it is quite likely that they were occasionally carried by wind and current to Crete — or even further west. The Egyptian objects found in Crete and even in Kythera (see below p. 137 f.) are thus explained just as easily as the establishment of regular relations between Egypt and Crete, probably as a result of such chance contacts. From the middle of the 3rd millennium BC onwards, in Egypt, in addition to "Byblos ships", "Keftiu (Crete) ships" are also mentioned56. It is also understandable that wood from Asia Minor was also included in the cargo when transporting wood for the Cheops barque®".

The possible objection that such long journeys over the open sea are not feasible without nautical devices for determining position and course can easily be refuted. On the route along the southern coast of Asia Minor to the west, where CW Bleggen had already seen the 'Royal Bridge' from the Levant to the Aegean from general observation58, in clear weather there is a view of land everywhere (Fig. 9a.b)5, and west of Cyprus the ship was picked up by the wind and current without any help from itself and only needed to stay before the wind to be taken back to Egypt. The compass was

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superfluous. In any case, early sailors would have been able to determine directions using the sun and stars.

The nautical possibilities of the Byblians and the other inhabitants of the Levant coast
cannot be measured on the basis of findings. However, I would like to assume that
hold that they were not inferior to those of the Egyptian visitors. Plank-built ships are likely to be in areas
with suitable long timber - such as Lebanon -
rather than in Egypt, which was originally forced by the nature of the local wood to use a peculiar block construction method
not unlike masonry.

56 Smith 1965, 8; Culican 1966, 19. — Ipuwer's complaint during the turmoil at the end of the Old Kingdom, "Nobody
goes to Byblos anymore," and about the lack of oil from Keftiu (Pritchard 1969, 441; cf. also Helck 1971, 27f.; ibid. 1979, 40)
also suggest that there were frequent trips in earlier times.

57 The Mediterranean expedition of Sahure (Smith 1965, 9£.; Mellaart 1966, 69. 152; Drower —
Bottéro 1971, 351; Spanos 1977, 86) could have served the exploration of the Kicin-Asian coasts, because the sea route to
Syria had been known for long enough to no longer require exploration. The gold sheet with a Sahure cartouche
in the north-west Anatolian 'discovery' of Dorak (Mellaart 1959, the cartouche:

754 Fig. 1; ibid. 1966, esp. 151f. 158S. Pl. 17. 18; for the source value of the 'find' see note 81 below) and the golden
cylinder seal of an official of the 5th dynasty, which belongs to another rich find probably from the western Anatolian Pactolus
region (Vermeule - Vermeule 1970, 25 Fig. 9; Young 1972, 11 Fig. 8); however, it is uncertain whether these objects did
not arrive in Anatolia until long after they were made.

See Helck 1971, 36; ibid. 1979, 16.

58 Blegen 1956, 32S.; Kenna 1968.

3 The material presented by Bardanes in 1967 provides evidence of knowledge of astronomy, even if the
author's explanations are not followed everywhere.
can be.

61

62

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IYIS

It may even be possible that Egyptian naval shipbuilding learned from Byblos.

This touches on a topic that requires further discussion. The artistic, religious and political achievements of the countries on the great rivers could lead to the assumption that Mesopotamia and Egypt had their unwritten (hence 'prehistoric')
Neighbors would also have been technically superior. The findings

do not support such a view: Especially in the field of Mectallurgy

Was Canaan more advanced than Egypt in the 4th millennium BC? In the 3rd millennium, metallurgy in Byblos, Canaan and the Amuq plain was not inferior to that of Egypt and Mesopotamia

— some scholars even localized the invention of tin bronze in the vicinity of the

Lebanon, where

Copper and tin close to each other

anstainden, a statement that, however,

has not remained unchallenged®?

— and finally 148t the kidnapping

local metalworkers from Aratta through Enmerkar (see above p. 54),

daf3 also in Sumer

such specialists as valuable

were considered spoils of war.

In principle it is assumed

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be, since originally metallurgy

cher in Berg- relieve with their own Lagerstitten®®

has emerged than in the

fertile but ore-free alluvial areas, where

the advanced civilizations emerged.

The importance of importing luxury goods such as lapis lazuli

from 'Barbarians-

ländern' was already mentioned in note 13

In this context, import of cedars6l to Egypt4 and perhaps
the import of textiles

is also the

to see, fir

which can hardly be claimed as a purely economic necessity

All this shows that the highly cultured countries are not economically

were self-sufficient and, as can be seen in the Assyrian trading posts in Anatolia and in Byblos on
most obvious after-

wciseP 1dBt, contact with 'barbarians'

did not shy away from it at all.

The overview of the traffic and trade conditions in the

Alleviating the Near

East and the Levant must have made it clear that in the 3rd millennium B.C.

Chr. Land and

Sea voyages over long distances were not uncommon. The motivation

For such long-distance journeys, the search for useful and precious metals is always

recognizable, followed by the procurement of timber and (in Mesopotamia) stone material

and finally the import of pure luxury items. A considerable probability

supports the assumption that metal prospecting in particular was not limited to the Levant

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has restricted.

In addition, it could be clarified

that the nautical conditions

in the Eastern Mediterranean almost inevitably to touch Crete (and perhaps

of the Agiis) by Egyptian Byblos drivers. This is a prerequisite

the two

following explanations

must remain.

0 Casson 1971, 14f. For Syrian shipbuilders in Egypt: Helck 1971, 501.

1 Culican 1966, 16f; de Miroschedji 1971, 18 Anm. 33; 40.

2 Braidwood 1960, 379; Mallowan 1965, 185S; Drower —Bottéro 1971, 341. 344. Skeptical, however: Muhly

1973, 209. 258.

3 Hierzu: Renfrew 1969, 12f.; Bognar-Kutzian 1976, 70f£.; Jovan—vOtita¢way 1976, 1041f.; Muhly 1977 ,

©4 Hennessy 1967, 72; de Miroschedji 1971, 94f; Drower — Bottéro 1971, 350; Klengel 1975, 211.

The Agiis

in the Frithen Bronze Age

In the Aegean Sea, knowledge of metalworking began as early as the late 4th millennium BC, i.e. in the Late Neolithic,6%, but genuine Early Bronze Age cultures - FH, FK, FM; in the Northeastern lead: Troy and Poliochni - can only be spoken of towards the end of the 4th millennium. Their initial stages emerge continuously from the Late Neolithic cultures without any signs of a population change. Only in Crete is immigration from western Anatolia partly assumed for EMI; but even this certainly did not have the character of a new settlement.

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If one takes into account that the late Neolithic cultures of the Agiis already show some similarities, such as the preference for dark-ground, polished ceramics, often with white stripes or patterns, it is not surprising to find general similarities between the Early Bronze Age cultures of the individual regions. They can be explained largely by the similar substrate.

But in addition, already in the Frith Bronze Age, cross-connections can be expected through contacts which linked the Grotta-Pelos culture (FKI)%® of the Cyclades with northwest and western Asia Minor'® and sporadically with Attica'!. As in later times??, the Cycladic culture was the active part here.

This is certainly due to the Cycladic inhabitants' special familiarity with shipping. The Aegean Sea is more conducive to seafaring than any other region in Europe and, with its high, widely visible mainland coasts and islands, which allow long distances to be covered even by rowing ships such as those of the Early Bronze Age - always within sight of land (Fig. 9a.b), offers ideal opportunities for the development of a sea-related way of life. The widespread distribution of obsidian from the island of Melos?, a raw material that was still in great demand in the Bronze Age, as early as the Stone Age?* suggests that the Cycladic inhabitants of the Early Bronze Age had been familiar with the sea and shipping for thousands of years - together with trade and (at least from FK II onwards) piracy. The models (Fig. 10)76 and depictions from the Keros-Syros culture (FK I1)77 attest to a seaworthy vessel propelled by oars or paddles.

65 Coleman 1977, 108.

6 Pendlcbury 1939, 53; Renfrew 1967, 15; Warren 1973.

67 Renfrew 1972, 163. 166. 450; but cf. Coleman

1974, 338. — The rich finds of early Trojan pottery in a house on the Pevkakia-Magoula near Volos in southern Thessaly show how intensive direct contacts across the Aegean must be expected: Chr. Podzuweit, JbBRGZM 26, 1979 (1982), 144S.

72 Renfrew 1967, 3. For the distribution of 'rolled-rim bowls' through trade see Mellaart 1966, 114.

73 Renfrew u. a. 1965.

7 Renfrew 1972, 64. 270. 442f. On Mesolithic finds in the Franchthi Cave: Jacobsen 1969, 355; ibid. 1973, 76f. (with contribution by Dixon—Renfrew, 82 pages). In the Neolithic strata, obsidian gerites reach frequencies of up to 96%.

75 Renfrew 1972, 358.

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68 Renfrew 1972, 1521f,; ders. 1976, 221f.

76 Most recently NH and ZA Gale, BSA 76, 1981, 169 f. 69Bernabo-
Brea1964,702(Poliochni).Other finds- Plate 35a; see already book—
hKaoragleorzghis1971,86:Lamb1936,88;Renfrew1972,162S.
No.1076;Renfrew1973528,Fig.17,7(afterwards our

70 Mellaart 1966, 115; Renfrew 1972, 163; Coleman 1974, 342; Hockmann 1976b, 160.

71 Theochares 1951, 111£ with fig. 25. 26; Renfrew 1972, 163. 206.

Fig. 10). For the use of lead see H.-G. Buchholz, Jd1 87, 1972, LS. (with bibliography).

7 Ibid. 170 pp.; Renfrew 1976, 24 f.

Abb. 10. Bleimodell eines T fracycladischen LangschiSs — . ————————==o—u— |}
ausNaxos,Agiis.L40.5cm. Oxford, Ashmolean Muscum

a longboat type?8, which undoubtedly enabled long journeys. According to initial information?, an early Bronze Age shipwreck off the island of Dokos (south-east coast of the Pelo-ponnes) appears to represent this Cycladic type. It was carrying a cargo of clay vessels, which were perhaps used to transport trade goods such as olive oil or wine8,0. Whether the coastal countries on the Greek and Asia Minor mainland also had comparable ships has not yet been proven by reliable finds; the ship depictions on a dagger blade from the 'King's Tombs of Dorak' in northern

Western Anatolia! are as controversial in their scientific value as the Sahure

Cartouche from the same 'find' (see note 57). In Crete, however, ships are depicted on various seals as early as the Frithminoan period 82 and the probability speaks in favour of the assumption that the other parts of the Aegean Sea were also associated with seafaring and
were familiar with trade.

The technical prerequisites for contact between the Agiislinders not only among themselves but also with other parts of the Mediterranean region were therefore present in the Early Bronze Age, whereby the light Cycladic rowing ships were far less dependent on currents and wind than the much larger byblos sailors of the Levant. That the latter probably reached the Agiis from time to time has already been stated. It is not

It is impossible for Digidic vessels to extend their journeys to the Levant.
The

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The question is whether such contacts had an impact on the cultural development of the Agiis

and what kind they were.

In principle, a distinction must be made between two forms of possible connections with the East.

These can be described as 'general' or 'specific similarities'. General similarities are evident - if we ignore the functional forms of stone or copper tools and implements, which have no significance in this respect - above all in ceramics. For example, the technique of coating clay pots with a bright red coating and polishing them to a shine, at a certain stage of development at the transition from the Chalcolithic to the Early Bronze Age of

78Gray1968,G34Abb.3;Doumas1970,285P.; Reanfrew 1972, 355P. Abb. 17,6.7.

7 Die Zeit, 10. 10. 1975,

80 Renfrew 1972, 285 pp.; Warren 1972, 255£. 316 (contribution by J. Renfrew). On the ceramic trade in early Helladic Greece, see: Attas et al. 1977, 33 pp.

8 The ships (Mellaart 1959, 754 fig. 2; ibid. 1966, 170 fig. 53, 1-3; Gray 1968, G 39 fig. 5) have ramming stems of a form that is only known for the 1st century BC.

secured, rood and rudder flaps, only a few exceptions before the middle of the 1st millennium BC.
Chr. The fact that the dense row of oars was partly separated by wide spaces

is interrupted, is, to my knowledge, unique. Nevertheless, for authenticity: Gray 1968, G 29 to No. 5. G 38f.
— On the mysterious aspects of the Dorak ‘discovery’: Pearson — Connor 1968.

82 Gray 1968, G 40 Abb. 6. 8 Renfrew 1972, 357f.

Palestine to the Lipari Islands (see below p. 90). In the Aegean, vessel handles in the shape of a spool of thread or an hourglass ('trumpet handle') belong to the same stage, which may be pierced narrowly - only to accommodate a cord. Red polished pottery, which should not be confused with Neolithic red-coloured types84, is found in the immediate vicinity of the Mediterranean (usually together with dark polished pottery) for the first time in the area of the northern Levant and Syria, where

it belongs to the 4th millennium BC. From there it spread quickly to the south, where it forms a striking group of finds of the 'proto-urban' culture of Palestine®®, and reached Lower Egypt in the course of the trade links already mentioned?. The design remained
in Palestine also popular in the Early Bronze Age.

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In the Turkish region, bright red polished pottery appeared suddenly at the end of the Neolithic period (corresponding to the Chalcolithic period in Anatolia and the Near East) in Chios and Athens. In FB List it is just as common in south-western Anatolia as in north-eastern Turkey, where it is initially described ('Blue Period' of Poliochni) as a variation of dark, polished ware, perhaps due to the type of kiln used. A little later (Poliochni 'Green' and 'Red', Troy I)2, however, the red colour is undoubtedly used intentionally.

At the same time as Poliochni 'blue', red, polished pottery began to appear on the Greek mainland®? and in Crete®*, and it seems that only the Cyclades in FK1 did not know of such pottery®. Here it is only found in FKIT.

The short time interval between the appearance of the shiny red pottery in the Levant and in the Agiis suggests that there are connections. I consider this assumption to be more likely than the possibility of an auto-

chthonous origin in the Aegean. However, the vessel shapes in the individual areas are too different to suggest that the new pottery technique was spread by wandering potters® or even by migrations of larger groups of people - S. Weinberg explained the emergence of the FM I culture of Crete®" by such a phenomenon. The rapid expansion must have other reasons. I think it is not unlikely that the aim in the east and west was to imitate red-gleaming vessels made of gold or copper®8. In line with this assumption, it would seem that in some places the shapes of the clay vessels (sharp-edged or broadly grooved profiles, strap handles and even rivets) are toreutic.

8 On the foreshores of Amuq B: Braidwood 1960, 70pp.

Connections between the red coloring and the type The tradition breaks off there again.

the pottery kiln is closed.

85 Beginning n Amugq F (chenda 238; Mcllaart 1966, 1966;

92 Bernabd-Brea 1964, 6511, 43£.;alsoByblosB)andstillexistinginPhaseG
93French1961,1;Schacherme1y96r2,1911.;Fossey

(Braidwood 1960, 274f.; Hennessy 1967, 63).

8 Mellaart 1966, 45S.; Amiran 1969, 421f.; of Miro-schedji 1971, 24S. 62 (Stufe 2).

§7 Amiran 1969, 62.

88 Hennessy 1967, 62f. (FB In Palastina und Byblos). Fiir FB II z. B. in Arad: Amiran ua
1973.

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Chios: Renfrew 1972, 75; Atben: Megaw 1967/68, 4 (the vessels are similar to the conical neck vessels of FK I except for the handle shape).

% Lloyd —Mellaart 1962, 116.

21 Bernaho-Brea 1964, 550: The red colour appears in Poliochni 'Blue' predominantly on Large vessels, so that

1969, 55. 60; see also above note 89.

o4 Renfrew 1972, 83f.

95 On a red shard from Paros: French 1961, 111 (»probably FK I«).

96 So Hennessy 1967, 46, on the 'Anatolian'-looking Esdraelon ware of Palestine.

97 Weinberg 1954, 941f.; ibid. 1965 and 1971, 302, 304, 307; Branigan 1970, 199f. considers this rather improbable, but does not rule it out entirely. 98 So Mellaart 1966, 51 on the similarity of the pottery of the turn of the Early Bronze Age in Palestine and Anatolia:
lien. Similar to FM I1 ceramics: Pendlebury 1939, 68.

Original finds of metal vessels from the Late Chalcolithic and the early Frith Bronze Age are among the greatest rarities, but are

available?®. You could display the medium

have prevented the spread of red

shiny ceramics.

In this context, the 'trumpet handles'

the dgidischen FB Iermüht, although it only in connection with the

Aeneolithic of the western Mediterranean region (see below p. 88).

They cannot be derived from the Levant.

ten 190, but seem to be in the spiten Chalcolithic

Western Anatolia 1%,

A little later, the form is then in the Greek

mainland 92, and special varieties103 indicate direct connections

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with Anatolia.

Concrete evidence of occasional contacts

The Danish FBI's relations with the Levant and Egypt are spiritual. Two previous

or early dynastic Egyptian stone vessels were found in a late Neolithic house in
Knossos

found in Crete?4, but it can only be assumed that sporadic visits to the island

(perhaps by Byblos sailors who drifted westward; see above p. 59) also in FM

In the Cyclades, the

spiteren FK1 a type of marble figures

which goes back to Syrian models, and an unusually rich grave find from

Amorgos (grave D) contains further finds of an eastern character. Finally,

for the oldest city wall of Poliochni ('blue period') and some
architectural forms

Models in the Levant. Since all these finds and findings have already been

the transition to FB II, they should be discussed in the context of this period.

In FB II the contacts of the individual parts

the Agiis both among themselves and with the East so clearly that for these
Period

There was talk of an atmosphere of 'internationalism' 195, which, given

the small tribal associations, as they must be assumed for the Agiis, a little

The fact is that the whole of Agiis is characterized by a series of cultural phenomena

the Lianders in the Near East and Egypt — a process that frequently

and accept regular connections 148t. For the sake of clarity

These elements should be discussed in the following order:

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7.9; 159 Fig. P. 34,3.4.6; 163 Fig. P. 37,4.9.13.14) Compare, for example, a silver vessel from Tell Farah (Mellaart

However, they only settled in the wake of an influx of northern 1966, S0 Fig. 20) and the gold vessels from
Euboia

West Anatolian phenomena, in FB 1a. East Anatolian (Segall 1938, 11-14 Taf. 1-3), which are mostly Late Neolithic

Evidence: Miloj¢i¢ 1961,64 (Samos): Bemnabo-Brea 1964, dated (Renfrew 1972, 114, however,

686. 7031, (Poliochni).

Entstchung in FH I).

192 “Trumpet handles' from frithem FHI: Goldman 10 “Trumpet handles' are missing there, and simple “tun-

1931, 91 Fig. 115,2 (Eutresis, Boiotia); Fossey 1969, nelhenkel' are not entirely unknown (Hennessy

58Fig.3(Perachora); laterFHI:ibid.63Fig. 1967,1Table 5,53;19Table
1,10;FBI),aberwohlzu

5,14-17;FHIL Mylonas1959,124Fig.123,457 rare and too
poor in form to serve as a model

(Hagios Kosmas).

to convince. Perhaps the early

103 Vg, GefiBgriSe from two vertical strips with a lay together with Anatolia, as it
in FB I fir die

Evidence from the Khirbet-Kerak horizon (Braidwood

connecting horizontal bar from ~Beycesultan
1960,362Fig.281,8;365Fig.283,19) (Ll~oMyelldaart1962,159Fig.P.34,5)
and Hagios is.

Kosmas (Mylonas 1959, 124 Abb. 123,6).

101 French 1961, 124 Fig. 5,13.15-18.21 (a chalko-

104 Warren 1965, 30f. No. 5. No. 13.

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lithic find from Macedonia: 128 Fig. 7,37). In

105 Mellaart 1966, 139S.; Renfrew 1972, 15.

Beycesultan (Lloyd —Mellaart 1962, 153 Abb. P. 28.5.

Metal Objects and Metallurgy

At the beginning, it was possible to outline the central importance of the metal trade on land and at sea for the countries of the Near East. The same is certainly true for the Aegean region %6. Although copper mining has been proven in isolated cases during the Early Bronze Age197, local copper can only be assumed for the Cyclades and Crete. The Greek mainland98 and western Asia Minor were probably largely dependent on imported copper. JD Muhly even reckoned that there was a metal trade between the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean region as early as the 4th millennium BC1%®. In the Saxon Early Bronze Age, copper was often alloyed with arsenic, either naturally or intentionally. 1 Intentional alloying is a difficult process that has also been demonstrated in the East (for example in objects from the 'proto-urban' find at Nahal MiSmar in Israel). In particular, the danger of serious damage to health when handling arsenic, which could only be avoided by complicated smelting processes, makes it unlikely that the systematic manufacture of arsenic alloys was invented in more than one place. The chronological priority of the Near East supports the assumption that this is the centre from which the difficult smelting techniques, which required a great deal of experience, were passed on to other areas such as the Aegean. 3

As an alloy material for copper, which is difficult to cast and forge in its pure form, tin is superior to arsenic in every respect. Its most important disadvantage is the rarity of deposits4. It has been shown (see above p. 54) that in the Middle East in the 3rd millennium BC, it was precisely the need to supply foreign countries with this metal that stimulated the development of long-distance trade systems and motivated military action.

106 Ibid. 15. 182.

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197 Muhly 1973, 187, denied this. But see Renfrew 1972, 312; Branigan 1974, 57.
59 pp.; Stech Wheeler et al. 1975, 32. On rich deposits in Cyprus that were already exploited in the Chalcolithic: Muhly 1976, 86.

108 However, Coleman 1977, 114 expected the copper ores of Laurion (Attica) to be exploited as early as this time. — For FH copper processing in Mantineia now also: Anonymus 1980, 112f.

109 Muhly 1973, 190.

19 Charles 1967, 211f.; Renfrew 1967, 1. 12f.; ibid. 1972, 314. General: Junghans et al. 1968, 111S;

Sangmeister 1971, 109S. 127; Sangmeister —Strahm 1973, 217; Selimkhanov 1977, 1f.

11 Bar-Adon 1971, 240-24Ta7b. S. 243; Mubly 1977, 74.

12 On the danger of health damage: Ross Holloway 1976, 153; Muhly 1977, 75.

13 Sangmeister in: Junghans et al. 1968, 111 pp.; Sangmeister 1971, 129, considered an independent origin in Portugal in connection with the Egéan colonies; see also note 295.

14 According to Muhly (1976, 89f.), this, and not backward technology, explains the late development of tin bronze.

AB[

69

has. The possibility has already been mentioned above that Sargon's tin country An(n)aku "beyond the Upper Sea" could be located in the area around the northeastern Greeks, where objects made of tin bronze from the early Bronze Age have been found; they have been interpreted by archaeologists as evidence of completely exploited tin placers in the area around the Troad!15. In view of the similarities between the northeastern and northwestern Anatolian cultures (Poliochni-'Blaw', Kum Tepe Ib, but also Trojal and Yortan) on the one hand and the Grotta-Pelos culture of the Cyclades (FKI) on the other, K. Branigan's suggestion that tin exports were the source of the wealth of early Troy makes sense16; for tin bronze (in some cases, as in the Troad, with an unnecessarily high tin content) is also known from the Cyclades17.

These explanations are contradicted by the argument of Muhly and Maddin (see note 15), since according to the written evidence from the Assyrian trading posts in Eastern Anatolia in the later

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3rd millennium BC, large quantities of tin were traded overland to Anatolia, which indeed seems to speak against the autarky of Asia Minor. However, the problem may be of a chronological nature.

The Trojan culture reached its peak in Troy IT. Its most important evidences belong to the final phase of this golden age and were partly buried as 'treasure finds' in connection with the catastrophic destruction of the city, partly covered by falling debris. In the following period, despite some signs of continuity in the development of undemanding material goods, there can no longer be any talk of unusual wealth in Troy.

If we assume that Troy's prosperity before the catastrophe was linked to tin exports, the subsequent decline could reflect the drying up of the sources of this wealth. The general decline in the percentage of tin in bronzes of the early 2nd century.
Jts. is an outstanding fact (analysis tables in: H.-G. Buchholz, Berliner Jb fir Vor-und Frithgeschichte 7, 1967, 189f. and in: U. Esin, Kuantitatif Spektral Analiz . . ., Istanbul, 1969). The robbery of the metal workers of Aratta by Enmerkar (see above p. 541f.) could also provide an explanatory model for this8. The fact that tin bronze was still available for domestic use in the following period11? is no proof of the continuation of exports on an early scale '2°.
The orientation of the Akkadian metal trade in eastern Anatolia does not need to represent an argument against tin exports from Troy in the earlier Frith Bronze Age: the central question concerns the time of the end of Troy11 g.

C. Renfrew2! dated the catastrophe to around 2400—2300 BC based on radiocarbon dates from other sites, and similar estimates have been made based on ar-

115 On tin in northwestern Anatolia: Renfrew 1967, 13; tion. Anders Ross Holloway 1981, 52. 105: he saw in the same 193713;2Bra,nigan1974,64.ThattherehasbeennoearlyTroynotacitybutasanctuary;the

Tin was detected (Muhly 1976, 99), could possibly be explained by the complete exploitation of the deposits in ancient times (Renfrew 1967, 13). In addition, evidence from Sitagroi V (Renfrew 1972, 313) suggests deposits in the vicinity of the Pangaion Mountains.

116 Branigan 1974, 64.

17 Ibid. 74.

118 The fact that the treasures from Troy [Ig were not recovered speaks in my opinion for the expulsion the city's population

Treasures are buried as the property of the deity and after destruction in the ground been left as it was.

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119 Branigan 1974, 72. 74.

120 For a decline in tin bronze during the Frith Bronze Age: ibid. 64 f. In Troy VI-VIL the tin content is lower than before (Schmidt 1902, 337), perhaps a sign of the exhaustion of the deposits (Renfrew 1972, 313).

121 Ibid. 206pp. 216f. 220f. Tab. 13.VIL.

chdological methods suggested by others'?2. J. Mellaart2? and Renfrew124 equated Troy IT with the FB II period in the Cilician city of Tarsus, which is dated to the time of the 4th dynasty of Egypt by imported pieces25. This gives the above-mentioned end date for Troy ITg126.

In contrast, M. Mellink and others127 equate TroyIT with the FB ITI of Tarsus. This gives end dates for Troy II at the earliest in the Akkadian period or (P.
Calmeyer)!28 even later. Let us see connections between the catastrophe in Troy and similarly radical destructions on the Greek mainland1d29 and in Crete'3% and let us consider a radiocarbon date for TroyTV (T-168: 2058 +110 BC)!3" which was confirmed by the discovery of a vessel of the TroyV type in Tell Ta%yinat in the

If the connection with the Amuq J phase is confirmed archaeologically 132, the date of the end of Troy IIg around 2400-2300 BC, i.e. shortly before the Akkad period or in its older part, becomes more likely. The orientation of the East Anatolian tin trade towards Assyria during the entire Akkad period is then no argument against an important position of Troy in the tin trade of the earlier Early Bronze Age. Sargon I's interest in the tin country (An[n]aku "beyond the Upper Sea") may have referred to Troy (or Agiis in general).

Other metals may also have been exported. Copper was present 133, but in quantities that do not compare with those in Cyprus3¢. Western Anatolia supplied gold to Sumer?35; silver from Laurion in Attica and lead from Siphnos have been identified in finds from the Cycladic FBII!®®.

122 Fir an Endatum of Trojan I1 at 2400-2300 v. Chr.: Mylojei¢ 1949, 281.; Weinberg 1954, 92; Praus- nitz 1955, 27; Mellaart 1966, 174f.; ders. 1971 , 405 ;
ibid. 1974,40;Easton 1976,1611f. (see above p.39;

there own approach based on C1* dates: about 2390 BC). An end date of Troy II around 2300-2200 BC was advocated by: Bittel 1959, 22; Weinberg 1971, 305 Tab. p. 313.

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123 Mellaart 1957, 73 (spétes Troja II = Tarsus FB II); Lio-yMeldlaart1962,112f.(Trojalla—g=Tarsus FB II); Mellaart 1971, 404; ders. 1974, 38S.

124 Renfrew 1972, 216f. For the equation Troy I = Tarsus FB see also Easton 1976, 156pp.

125 Hierzu Mellaart 1971, 405; Mellink 1971, 110f,; Renfrew 1972, 216; Mellaart 1974, 39£. (now equating Troy I = Tarsus FB I); Spanos 1977, 881f. 126 Mellaart 1966, 174, even considered connections between the destruction of Troy IIg (and numerous other Anatolian settlements) and the invasion of wild nomad hordes mentioned in Akkadian sources from the time of Naram-Sin, which destroyed Purushchanda.

127 Mellink 1965 and 1971, 126; Emre 1971, 120; Spanos 1977, 106.

128 Calmeyer 1977, 96; dhnlich Hood 1973, 1191f.

129 Caskey 1960, 301 f.; Weinberg 1965 and 1971, 3055 Mellaart 1966, 178; Renfrew 1972, 101.

130 Warren 1972, 343 pp.: Thermoluminescence and radiocarbon dates agree on a violent end to Myrtos before 2170 BC (perhaps about 50 years earlier). The destruction of Vasiliki probably also falls into this period.

131 Buchholz 1977, 308.

132 Braidwood 1960, 451 Abb. 349.

133 Muhly 1973, 1871f. See also above note 107, 108. 133 Muhly 1973, 190f.

135 Young 1972, bes. 9 (anders allerdings: Maxwell- Hyslop 1977, 841.); Branigan 1974, 63. 65. — On gold deposits in western Asia Minor see also Forbes 1964, vol. VIII, 163; ibid. 1971, 166; —on gold imports in Sumer see ibid. 172.

136 Branigan 1974, 57, assumed that the silver was of foreign origin. Compare, however, Renfrew 1967, 4; ibid. 1972, 318; Gale 1979, 15. 26 £f. 361f. 441. (p. 31 evidence of lead, possibly from Laurion, in Egypt; end of the 3rd millennium BC); H. Gropengiefer, Naturwissenschaft 66, 1979, 157 (Sipbnos); W. Gentner — H. GropengieBer — GA
Wagner, Mannheimer Forum 79/80, 1980, esp. 209 pp. (Siphnos: lead). 211f. (silver). 217. - Helck 1979, 17, reckoned with silver exports from Anatolia; the large number of silver vessels in the

treasure finds there (see below note 147) 148t really assume that this metal was abundant.

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The deposits were not sufficiently productive. The only important trade seems to have been in Anatolian gold (see below).

luxury goods

The tin trade could explain the appearance of Near Eastern types of daggers37, metal vessels and jewellery in the Agiis; a golden dagger from a princely grave in Montenegro138 is also close to Syrian forms. Although the Agiis had its own types of dagger,' Eastern influences continued until the final phase of the Early Bronze Age and increased in intensity in the following period4. It is conceivable that daggers served as diplomatic gifts to Dagdian princes, like artfully crafted swords41 in Homeric times.

Something similar can be assumed for metal vessels, which were particularly widespread in Anatolia and here (more rarely also in the Cyclades and the mainland) influenced the shapes of clay and marble vessels 142. Close relationships existed especially between the Troad in the Troy phase ITg and the royal tombs of Alaca Hiiyiik '#3; individual vessels from both sites are attributed to the same workshop44. Other metal vessel forms from the Troad can be traced back to Assyria4s, although the chronological situation is unclear146. There are also striking similarities

between jewellery from treasure or grave finds in Anatolia and those in the Royal tombs of Ur!47. WJ Young (see note 135) gave one reason for this:

137 Branigan 1966a; ibid. 1967, esp. 119pp.; ibid. 1968a, 13. 15. 17. 60. On Anatolian forms in the Cyclades also: Renfrew 1967, 10pp.

138 Parović-Pesikan 1971; Trbuhović 1975.

139 Renfrew 1967, 14£.: Particularly typical are the daggers type IVa and the lance heads type IIa; — Dietz 1971, 1-5 Fig. 1-4.

140 Ibid. 5-22 especially 5f. 17-20 Fig. 5. 9-11.

141 On such special forms of exchange of goods: Ross Holloway 1976, 157.

142 Two-handled cups ('Depas Amphikypellon'): Mellaart1966,160f.Fig.51;Renfrew1967,15f.Plate. 10c.d; ders. 1972, 284 Plate. 19,1.2; Héckmann 1976b, 162; Spanos 1977, 91. 95. 96S. Fig. 4; ~ 'Sauciéren': Renfrew 1967, 15f. Taf. 10a.b; ders. 1972, 284. 336 Taf.19,3.4;Hockmann1976b,16—2Sch;alen:Renfrew 1972, 335f. pl. 19,5.6; - multi-tubular vessels: Mellink 1969, 75; Hockmann 1976b, 162; - jugs with a bent tubular and rolled-up handle attachments: for these see Bittel 1959, 2 p. no.

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6-17; pp. 14-34 passim especially 14—18 (also on the question of imitations in sound). 23-26.31f. Fig. 7-19. 28.31-37; Mellaart 1966, 156. 158. 160. 188 Fig. 59,5—8; Spanos 1977, 991f. Fig. 6. 7; ~ Warblers and beakers: Mellaart 1966, 156. 1611. Fig. 48. 52; — Stiinder: ibid. 188 Fig. 59,1.2. Connections between the Cyclades and Anatolia

are also evident in the 'Cycladic pans' and their counterparts in Alaca Hiiyiik, cf. Mellink 1956, 52 pp. pl. 3,3-6.10 (interpretation as a mirror); Renfrew

1972, 336f.; Hockmann 1976b, 162.

143 This is documented by the Knicktillen jugs mentioned in the previous note.

144 Bittel 1959, 31.

135 In graves in Assur and Sippar from the time of the 3rd Dynasty of Ur, three crucibles with rotelle grit of a type common in the Troad were found, cf. Maxwell-Hyslop 1970; Calmeyer 1977, 87. 9093 Pl. 2a—c (for dating, p. 881£.); Spanos 197—7. For vessels from the Troad, cf. Bittel 1959, 1f. Nos. 1-5; 13—22 pass-im, 31. 34. Fig. 1-6. 26. 32; Mellaart 1966, 160 Fig. 50,1. 2; Calmeyer 1977, 90S. Pl. 2d; Spanos

1977, 99. The different chronological approach of the layers in Troy leads to differing chronological conclusions for the crucibles and the knick-knack jugs, cf. Bittel 1959, esp. 15-22; Calmeyer 1977, 95 pp.; Spanos 1977.

146 Spanos denied the connection without giving any reasons. The publication history of the finds may give rise to doubts about their connection.

147 Schmidt 1902, 225S. (Troja); Prausnitz 1955, 27 (Schmuck Troja); Bernabd-Brea 1957b; ders. 1976,

According to his information, the gold in the royal tombs of Ur comes from the Pactolus region around Sardis. According to this, southern Mesopotamia must have known about a metal-rich land in the far northwest long before the Akkad period and had secured the favor of its princes by
rich gifts. Against this background, Sargon I's interest in the "land of tin beyond the sea", which may well be identical with the gold land of the kings of Ur, is hardly surprising.

G. Sakellarakes found similar ivory jewellery in Frithmino graves in Ar-

chanes (Crete)'48. It seems that (for reasons not yet clear) Cretan princes also

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participated in these international relations at courtly level. In the same context, a broken ceremonial axe from the Troy treasure is also of interest, which was probably made of lapis lazuli.14 This assumption has recently been called into question,159 but the description of the material's origins suggests lapis lazuli.2 It is more likely that it was obtained via Mesopotamia than via Egypt (cf. note 13).

Such treasures have so far been lacking in the Cyclades. Here, Eastern influences are primarily evident in stone vessels. Perhaps links to the Levant go back to the Late Neolithic: two pointed cups made of white marble from Kephala!53 are formally largely identical to the clay 'cornets' of the Chalcolithic Ghassul culture of Palestine154. The similarity between Cycladic colour rubbing plates and Egyptian ones is also striking. The evidence of 'Egyptian blaw', a synthetic colour probably of exclusively Egyptian origin, in the Cyclades and in Crete155 proves the export of Egyptian cosmetics for the period of the 4th Dynastic and 148t connections also seem possible in earlier times. Perhaps decorated bone shells'S6 - containers for cosmetics? from Early Bronze Age sites in the Levant, the Cyclades and the Troad

-,

present, should be seen in the same context.

284f. pl. 240p. (Poliochni jewelry); Bittel 1959, 1f. (Troas); Bass 1965, 261f.; ibid. 1970 (Troas); Vermeule — Vermeule 1970; Young 1972, 5p. (Pactolus area); Rudolph 1979, 12p. 19 (Trabzon). A silver skyphos from another find in the Troad deserves special attention (Muscarella 1974, nos. 1-4), which combines a Trojan hollow handle with a Sumerian sphere body and foot (cf. Woolley 1929, 33f. pl. 8 below). A gold chalice from Dorak is similarly heterogeneous (Mellaart 1959, 756 fig. 14; ibid. 1966, 165 fig. 51,10; for the 'find' see note 81 above). While the finds from the Troad, Poliochni and the Pactolus region show common forms, the find from Trabzon stands out from this group.

148 Heidelberg residents

Winckelmann lecture

am

1. 12. 1978.

149 Schmidt 1902, 243 No. 6058 (cf. also 287 No. 7762); Gotze 1902, 338. 375. —
General information on Trojan axes and parallels in the FB III stratum

from Ai (Palace): Prausnitz 1955, 19. 23pp. Prausnitz saw in these and other finds (cf. below note 156)

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Evidence of contacts between the digital FB IT and the FB III of Palestine.

150 Renfrew 1972, 445.

151 Schmidt 1902, 243: »blue, like lapis lazuli, with brownish veins and spots«.

152 I would like to thank master goldsmith E. Foltz (RGZM Mainz) for his information on this matter.

153 Renfrew 1972, Taf. 1,2; Coleman 1977, 5. 64f. Nr. 103; 66 Nr. 109; 106 Taf. 23.67,103.109. A red-painted marble pointed rhyton was also found in the Aeneolithic burial ground of Varna in Bulgaria (Ivanov 1978, fig. 34), whose gold jewelry types partly show parallels in the find from Trabzon (see above note 147) and in Koumasa (gold band diadem: Xan~ thoudides 1924, 47f. pl. 29,216).

154 Amiran ua 1969, 23 Photo 7 Tab. 2,5-7.

155 Philippakes et al. 1976, 147. 149. 151; — on 'Egyptian blue' see also H.-G. Buchholz, below p. 177f.

356 Jericho: Kenyon 1960, 124 Abb.40,8; 146 Abb. 482 Cyclades: Zervos 1957, 30 Abb. 262; Poli- ochni: Bernabd-Brea 1964, 457. 666f. You know. 178.12. All- common: Prausnitz 1955, 22S.; Renfrew 1972 , 209 .

Several Egyptian limestone vessels are known from FM II finds in Crete57, and a vessel with an inscription of Pharaoh Userkaf (5th Dynasty) was found on Kythera (see Fig. 29)158. On the other hand, there are some fragments of slate vessels from Byblos 52, which are considered to be Cretan works and underline the close links between Crete and the Levant. On the other hand, the statement that a vessel from an Egyptian tomb of the 1st Dynasty was made of Parian marble 16 has not yet been confirmed. The shape of the find is typical for the Cyclades

foreignart161.

Overall, Egyptian and Syrian luxury goods exports

on the day of Agias — on

like decorative pearls 162, scarabs 0% and (perhaps only as raw material) ivory 164 are not missing - quite inconspicuous in comparison with the jewelry and metal vessels in the Troad. Exceptions are the jewelry finds from Thebes (see below p. 80f.)

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and Ar-

chanes (see note 148). They allow K. Branigan's opinion

seem a little exaggerated

that these objects are only 'souvenirs' that came to the Agiis in the course of trade with other goods (grain, dates, and possibly gold).

would be 165.It remains uncertain whether the Aegyptiaca came directly from Egypt to the Agiis

or through the mediation of Byblos16¢6,

Siegel

The majority of Egyptian sickles from the Frith Bronze Age belong to the type of stamp seal that was already known in the Neolithic period and was also prevalent in Egypt and Syria. While the cross patterns with spandrel filling by angled lines67 (which were particularly popular in Anatolia in the 3rd century BC) are too widely scattered in space and time to allow a more precise determination of origin, some seals or impressions with more distinctive patterns on clay vessels from northeastern Egyptian18 and Cycladic6® finds of the FB I can be linked to Egypt or Syria. Cretan seals in animal form imitate Syrian models7, the same can be assumed for stamps made of metal1" or ivory72.

157 Alexiou 1958, 6. 9; Warren 1965, 71f.; ibid. 1970, 2f.71£. 74ff. 105¢.; ibid. 1972, 271; Renfrew 1972, 446. 158 Gordon 1965, 43 pp.; Astour 1966, 315; Fdel 1966, 45t (also on the place name Kutira in Egyptian sources).

159 Money-Coutts 1936, 130S.; Branigan 1970, 181. 1861.
160Bossert19351;K4at.,Berlin1967,16Nr.140;see Renfrew 1972, 445.

161 Parallels from Crete could be more easily mentioned: Mon-

telius1924,21Abb.66.73(Koumasa);Xanthoudides

1924,17f.Taf.3Nr.677.678.682;24a;31Nr.681.686 (from Koumasa); — 99 Taf. 10.11 Nr. 1634.1635; 52 No. 1619.1620.1627.1631.1632.1636 (from Platanos); — 79 Taf. 43a No. 1024-1027 (from Dracones).

162 Branigan 1970, 181f. For Cycladic bird pendants (Zervos 1957, 29 Fig. 257) and early Helladic segmented beads (Theochares 1951, 115 Fig. 30a) see finds from Jericho (Kenyon 1960, 146 Fig. 48,3 and 155 Fig. 55, ALB.A.5; 173 Fig. 65,1).

163 Warren 1965, 64; Branigan 1970, 181; Renfrew 1972, 447 (dating to the Middle Minoan period). 164Blegenu.a.1950,48.174f, (FunimdspeiitenTroja I). 316. 324. 337 (Troja I fg);

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Prausnitz 1955, 26; Branigan 1970, esp. 142. 182; Renfrew 1972, 446£. 449. For the rich finds in Archanes (Crete) see above note 148.

165Branigan1970,182.

16 Against direct relations: Vercoutter 1954, 62. 167 On this: Bernabd-Brea 1964, 653f.; Kenna 1968;

'Warren197360, note 22 (for origin from Anatolia). 168 Poliochni ('Green/Red Period'): Bernabd-Brea 1964, 401. 651 Plate 129a. The context of the find is not certain, however.

169 Zervos 1957, 37 Abb. 101; Bossert 1960, 15 Abb. 11. 12.

170 Branigan 1970, 182.

171 Ders. 1976, 158S. 161.

172 Ibid. 1970, 182; Renfrew 1972, 445; see also above note 164,

Cylinder seals, which (originating in Mesopotamia) were also popular in northern Syria, are known from finds in the FB I1 in Troy'73, Mochlos, Amorgos and Corinth7#. Renfrew's reference to cylinder seals as early as the Macedonian Neolithic75 does not speak against the derivation of the pieces mentioned from Syria, since both their shape (with a small hemingway) and - in the case of the Amorgos seal - the patterns are attested to in northern Syrian imitations of Mesopotamian cylinder seals from the Djemdet Nasr period176. As roll-offs with local patterns show'7?, the type was further developed independently in the Agiis. A special position is given to the golden cylinder seal of an Egyptian official of the 4th Dynasty178, which is considered to be part of the grave find made of Pactolus gold mentioned in note 147. Young assumed that it had been brought to the foreign country by an Egyptian courier. If the seal belongs to the find, it proves direct contacts between the Nile region and Asia Minor around 2500 BC. This would correspond to middle Troy, and there are also some connections between the jewelry from the Pactolus find and that from Troy.

In particular, the more than 100 seal impressions from Lerna, which were used to mark and protect wooden boxes or vessels, indicate the connection between seals and more developed forms of trade. In this respect, the Aegean was obviously not significantly behind the Levant in the FB IT. It is worth noting that a group of stamp seals from Byblos, which belong to the later Frith Bronze Age, can be traced back to Danish models(!) on the basis of their circular patterns*8°.

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elements from the religious sphere

Since the Early Bronze Age cultures of the Agiis had no written language and no elements could be isolated in later Greek religion that could be traced back conclusively to the Early Bronze Age 81, our only sources are finds. All hypotheses regarding the religious ideas of that era are based, apart from pure conjecture, solely on the nature and location of human and (rarely) animal figures, drawings and some special types of buildings, objects and vessels. The uncertainty of attempts at interpretation is shown by the fact that no evidence is available for the most important source type - marble figures from graves.

173 Troy: Schliemann 1881, 463 No. 500.501; 464 No. 502.503 (both from the 'Burnt City', ie Troy I1g; without Osc); 463 No. 499 (clay, with Ose). — Poliochni: Bernabo-Brea 1957a, 208 Fig. 25; Renfrew 1972, 445 Pl. 23,3; Pini 1982, 602 with note 12.

174 Frankfort 1939, 70. 301; Bossert 1954, 31 with

Note 85; Buchapan 1960, no. 741; Buchholz 1967, 152. 158; Renfrew 1972, 445 pl. 23,2; Thimme 1976, 538 no. 453 (similar: no. 454). See also an example from Corinth, but without context: Ross Holloway 1976, 157. On the silver cylinder seal from Mochlos (FM 1I) see Pini 1982. He described the piece as a genuine import, as a "'peripheral' seal of the Frith Dynastic Periods II-III" in Mesopotamia.

175 Renfrew 1972, 445.

176 See, for example, Braidwood 1960, 332 Fig. 254,3 (Amuq G, without Ose), 489 Fig. 381,3 (Second Intermediate Period: with Ose); Thimme 1976, 583 to No. 453, 454. In contrast, Pini 1982, 602 with note 15, saw no direct connection between most of the Aged finds and the East. Thimme deserves approval, however, at least in the sense that the impetus for the creation of the Aged group of finds came from Syria.

177 Vermeule 1964, 39 Supp. 4b; Buchholz 1967, 158. 178 Young 1972, 11 Abb. 8.

179 Heath 1958.

180 Tufnell - Ward 1966, 183f. 227.

181 See Nilsson 1967, 256 f.; R. Holloway 1981, 104,

ab€d

Fig. 1 ad. (a and b) Copper figure from the “Trésor d'Ur' of Mari, Euphrates, H 11.3 cm. Damascus, Nat.-Mus. Inv.-No. § 2366; (c and d) Marble figures of the Plastiras type (c) from

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Delos, Agtiis, H 23.5 cm, East Berlin, Pergamon Museum and (d) from Amorgos, Agiis, one eye inlaid with green stone, H 30.5 cm, Athens, Nat.-Mus.

There is a consensus as to whether they can be recognized as religious evidence at all 182. However, it cannot be reliably determined if changes occur in the form of the (probably or presumably) religiously related objects that do not result logically from local development. Only such changes can be investigated here, with Cycladic finds being the focus of the study 183.

The most important one occurred in the later part of FB 1, when the small, abstract, amulet-like "violin figures" were joined for the first time84 by larger, round, sculpted, standing figures of the so-called Plastiras type (Fig. 11¢)!85. A derivation from the violin figures is not possible from a formological point of view. Thematically, it is new that some Plastiras figures depict men. On the other hand, in terms of style, size and motifs, there are such close similarities with copper and bronze statuettes of naked figures from Syria (Fig. 11a.b)% that connections can be assumed.

182 Overview: Hockmann 1976a, 43f. The interpretation of the grave goods as personal possessions of the living person, who had to follow him into the grave, is not least contradicted by the rarity of tools in the graves (Branigan

1969, 7with note 34).

183 See Héckmann 19764, 42. 45; ibid. 1976b, 160pp. 18+ Thimme 1976, 417, also considered Neolithic traditions for standing figures. However, the similarities are minimal, especially since the head and body

The visual appearance of the Plastiras figures differs fundamentally from the molds
Neolithic sculpture.

185 Renfrew 1969a, 6pp.; Thimme 1976, 437 no. 67 cat.-fig. 67 (our fig. 11¢ as a redrawing after a museum photo from East Berlin, Pergamon Museum).

186 Originally (Héckmann 1976b, 160) I had found in metal statuettes from Tell Judeideh (Braidwood 1960, 300 pp. fig. 240245 pl. 56—64) that Braidwood

The drilled eyes of the Plastiras figures, which were probably once mostly inlaid with a different coloured material (Fig. 11d), also point to the Levant and can be traced back to the Chalcolithic Beersheba culture.

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The Plastiras figures, in contrast,

set to the violin figures individually and

personally. I would assume that she

are not only new as a type of image, but

also changed ideas about deities

reflect: Gods' personalities8n8,

as they are characterized by attributes (WaSen) in Tell Judeideh. Such a profound change in the religious world of ideas, as I believe is evident from the Plastiras figures, presupposes a deep familiarity with the Syrian religion, which could not be gained through only sporadic and superficial contacts.

Near Eastern elements are also evident in the so-called canonical '8 marble figures of the FKIT stage. The facial representation on earlier canonical sculpture corresponds to mask-like alabaster heads from the Djemdet Nasr period from Tell Brak (Fig. 12)190. Life-size figures from Amorgos belong to the same period, which are difficult to imagine without the model of Near Eastern or Egyptian large-scale sculpture 9. The motif finds counterparts in seated harp-player figures from the Cyclades (Fig. 13)192.

were dated to the early 3rd millennium BC, were seen as possible models for the Cycladic marble figures. The finds from Tell Judeideh are now re-dated to the early 2nd millennium BC by Negbi 1976, 15. 67. 120, and by Spycket 1981, 80f. 283 pp., in order to be able to compare them with the Syrian statuettes of the Middle Bronze Age. It is assumed that Braidwood did not notice that the statuettes were not deposited together with layer G, but were lying in a pit that was probably only dug into layer G during the time of Judeideh I. If this re-dating is justified, the statuettes from Tell Judeideh would have been created too late to be considered models for the Plastiras type of Cycladic sculpture.

Regardless of how justified the doubts about Braidwood's observations are and how close the statuettes in question are to those of the 2nd millennium (that they differ formally from the majority of them is also acknowledged by Negbi and Spycket), the statuette in the 'Trésor d'Ur' from the pre-Sargon palace of Mari (Parrot 1968, 15 pages with fig. 7.8.12.13.15Tbaf. A. B 1.2 Color plates 4—8; Spycket 1981, plate 52.83; Land of Baal, exhibition catalogue Berlin 1982, 68 No. 57 with color plates, then our Fig. 11a.b), that slim, unclothed, standing metal figures in Syria already before 2300

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BC. The find from Mari is so detailed and vividly modelled that a longer preceding development can be assumed. I consider it quite possible that its beginnings go back to the early 3rd millennium BC and that the models for the Cycladic Plastiras figures are to be sought in this area rather than in a local tradition based on the Neolithic standing Cycladic figures (see note 184), which - not attested by any reliable finds - must have taken place alongside the fundamentally different development of violin figures of the FK I.

187 Perrot 1959, 8S. Taf 2. 3; Mellaart 1966, 28f. Taf. 9; Hockmann 1976b, 161f. Abb. 153 (then our Fig. 11d).

188 On the personification of oriental deities in the 3rd millennium BC: Jacobsen 1976, 781f. 95S.

189 Thimme 1975, 7; Hockmann 1976a, 45. 46f.

190 Mallowan 1965, 53 Fig. 8; Hockmann 1976b, 162 Fig. 154 (thereafter our Fig. 12).

191 Lecture. 19764, 40. 42.

192 Zervos 1957, 2481. Fig. 333. 334 (afterwards, as a redrawing, our Fig. 13); Buchholz - Karageorghis 1971, 100 No. 1212; Thimme 1976, 71 Fig. 38; p. 81 Fig. 61; p. 93 Fig. 77; p. 491 No. 253 Cat.-Fig. 253; Hockmann 1982, 34 Fig. 1, 1-4; p. 43 Fig. 3,3. On

Fig. 12. Mask-like alabaster head from Tell Brak, Syria, H 17 cm, London, Brit. Mus.

gen in Mesopotamia 13, the musical instrument there or in Palestine 194, while the

Chairs are partly modeled on Egypt or Syria

5. Harp player, as on the Cycladic

the male sex, belong to the Sumerian

Pantheon 1%¢. The Cycladic seated figure of a man is probably also

with Becher 197 refer to processes known from Mesopotamian depictions

are 198,

The only new motif of the FK I11 sculpture, the

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standing man with sash and dagger, 48t

to the armed (mostly weather) gods of Syria

and Anatolia. For togetherness

menhiinge also speaks the strange head-

and facial structure as well as the hairstyle of such a statuette 19°. The face is

that of an ivory head found in Crete2%, which is similar both in style and

also identified by the material201 as an import from Mesopotamia or northern Syria

is.

All in all, the similarities between

Cycladic sculpture of the Frith Bronze Age and Near Eastern on intensive and long-lasting

Contacts. The same applies to Crete: A group of stone figures is in the phase

FM ITunder the influence of Egyptian (or

North African models?°2. In

FM I11 1st statuettes, whose models

in the vicinity of the northern Mesopotamian 'prayer figures'

are to be sought, the 'African' from 203, Both groups are motivically and artistically

unscheinbar2®*. More sophisticated sculpture in Crete is based on Cycladic models

but it always remains small-format.

For the Greek mainland, immediate

Influences of oriental or Egyptian religion cannot be proven. In Western Anatolia

148t a lead figure from Troy 11209

indirectly connect with Middle Eastern parallels.

Several artistic copper and precious metal figures from Dorak, some with attributes
are currently not scientifically proven

reversible (cf. note 81).

simple stools: Zervos 234f. Fig.316. 317;

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198 7. B. Hansen 1963, 154f. Taf. 6.

Thimme 1976, 70 Abb. 39; S. 156 Abb. 146; S. 491f.

199 Thimme 1976, 47. 89f. 483. 485 No. 240 Abb. 73. No. 254. 255 Cat.-Abb. 254. 255.

75 Cat.-Fig. 240; cf. also the two copse fragments 193 Wegner 1950, 26 Pl. 6b (stele from Lagas).

ibid. 483. 485f. No. 241 Cat.-Fig. 241 and p. 165. 194 Hickmann 1976b, 163 Fig. 159.

483, 485 Abb. 162.

%5 Ibid. 163 fig. 156-158; see also ibid. 1982, 47f.:

200 Pepdlebury et al. 1936, 131 Taf. 19,15; see also Strem Erwigungen zum
Übertragsmechanismus orientali-

1966, 192; Renfrew 1972, 447f. New finds from Archaic cultural phenomena in the Cycladic culture. Ancestors

nes: Ergon 1980 Taf. 105; ibid. 1981 Taf. 122. Detailed considerations on 'prestige objects' (as below, U.

201 See also the ivory figure of Cycladic type from the gold-clad Egyptian
Mabelstiick in Dorak: s.

Archanes (Sakellarakes 1976, 155 Fig. 143). Note 57) #giic character in
Italy: Ross Hollo-

love of ivory in Crete cf. above p. 73 with way 1981, 41. 47f. 53. He also held
the exchange

Note 148.

of gifts among princely guests for

202 Banti 1930/31, 192 (against direct relationships to conceivable, as Homer suggests for the late Mycenaean
period

Egypt); but Pendlebury 1939, 90; Hutchinson 1968, 154; Branigan 1970, 100.

describes.

203 Pendlebury 1939, 90; Branigan 1970, 155; Sakella- 196 Jacobsen 1976, 82: the »joyful singer« Usum-

galkalama and the 'elegiac' Lugaligihusam, the »Trd-

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rakes 1976, 152 S.

ster in diisieren hours".

204 Branigan 1970, 146. 197Doumas1968,142f.with ill.;Doumas—Marangou
205Schliemann1883810,ill.226;Schmidt1902,255

1978, 113f. No. 131.

No. 6446; Emre 1971, 110 No. 31.

Fig. 13. Marble figure of a harpist from Keros, Agdis, H 22.5 cm. Athens, Nat.-Mus., Inv.- Nr. 3908

Grave Forms and Burial Customs

The predominant grave types of the Early Bronze Age in the Cyclades, as well as partly on the mainland and in Crete, stone boxes or domed graves made of small stones, often with a non-functional false door, are indigenous and can be traced back to the Neolithic period2°6. It is all the more striking that in isolated cases - beginning with a late Neolithic example from Athens2°? - graves have also been attested which are carved into the rock in the form of a vertical shaft with a chamber at the side2°%. In one case, in a grave from the earlier Early Bronze Age from Corinth299, two chambers lie opposite each other. This rock chamber grave only becomes more common in the later Early Bronze Age2'°.

Rock-cut chamber tombs are the predominant burial form in 'proto-urban' Palédstina?‼.

In view of the similarity of Cycladic-Late Neolithic marble pointed beakers with 'proto-urban' Ténernen 'cornets' (see above p. 73 with note 153.154) and other similarities

Palestinian rock chamber tombs cannot be ruled out.

In early Minoan Crete, the—without any recognizable native precursors in FM1

They are therefore traced back to foreign models: round sanctuaries of the (much older) Halaf culture of Mesopotamia, North African round wall graves or even the small dome graves of the Cyclades? 12. None of these comparisons is satisfactory. In contrast, the newly discovered round mortuary houses of Bab ed-Dra in Jordan?'3 represent good parallels.

Round (and square) above-ground or slightly sunken buildings for numerous burial

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The settlements here began at the beginning of the 'urban' phase (around 3000 BC). The similarity in the form of the houses, their use as graves and even the custom of multiple burials in both areas is clear enough to identify the models of the Cretan
Tholoi in the vicinity of Palestine. The custom of multiple burials in Crete had already been linked to Palestine by Branigan214, where it is documented in the 'proto-urban' rock chamber graves, such as were common in Bab ed-Dra both before and after the mortuary. In the Aegean, this custom is first encountered in the Cycladic-Late Neolithic stone cist graves of Kephala2!s.

A unique finding is the 'burial mound of Amphion and Zetos' in Boeotian Thebes, which Th. G. Spyropoulos traces back to the model of Egyptian pyramids.

206Coleman1974,336;Doumas1977,bes.69.

207 Shear 1936, 20 Abb. 17; Renfrew 1972, 111 Abb. 7.6,8.

208 Sonstige Belege: Manika auf Euboia (Doumas 1977, 66); — Hagia Photia, Crete (68 objects); - Paulopetri, Peloponnese (Harding ua 1969, 130{f. Abb. 13; but without dating finds: perhaps later than the Early Bronze Age). 209 Heermance—Lord 1897, 314 Abb.1; Renfrew 1972, 111 Abb. 7.6,7; Doumas 1977, 67. Fiir enge Be- zichungen zur Gerzeh-Kultur Agyptens: Tiné 1963, 89S.

21 Doumas 1977, 49pp. (Griber at Phylakopi on Melos).

211DeMiroschedji197144, p. In the Cyclades, the special treatment of skulls in the excavation of their burials is also repeated. — The statement by Whitehouse 1972, 275, 280f, that the oldest rock chamber graves are Neolithic examples from Italy, has already been corrected by Ross Holloway 1973, 18; ibid. 1981, 37.

212 See: Branigan 1970¢, 139pp.; Warren 1973, 42.

213 Ortner 1978, 821f.

214 Branigan 1970, 200. Bab ed-Dra': Lapp 1968, 12 f. with figs. 1-5.

215 Coleman 1974, 336; ders. 1977, 46.

was?216 The excavator saw in this a sign of the Egyptian colonization of Boeotia, which, according to the finds of shards in the mound, falls into the FH II. Three gold pendants217 in the (looted) burial chamber have, to my knowledge, no parallels in the Agiis. They appear to represent papyrus flowers>1® and perhaps support the connection of the monumental

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Grave complex with the Nile region. However, to prove Egyptian colonization, much more import objects (or, at least, clear influences in the Early Helladic finds) would be required.

Urbanization and Architecture

Similar to Palestine2!® and Syria220, in the Agiis during the Frith Bronze Age - here in Stage II - there was a transition to a way of life that can be described as urban.21 The settlements became larger. At least in some places, social differentiation became apparent, which presumably corresponded to industrial specialization. The resulting concentration of desirable goods in these cities made protection by elaborate fortifications necessary. The labor required for this could only be provided, voluntarily or by force, by the community of all inhabitants. These characteristics allow the fortified settlements of the FBII to be described as cities, although important prerequisites for an efficient administration (especially writing) were still lacking.

Defensive walls (as in the Ostiigiis) are already known from the FB I, but only became more numerous and more elaborate in stage IT222. They reveal four concepts: 1. In Aske-tario (also in Marathon-Plasi and in Aigina?) the curtain wall does not appear through

216 Spyropoulos 1972; ibid. 1981, 102 f. 117{f. — cf. also a copper scimitar of Egyptian type from Eutresis (Goldman 1931,218Fig.286,7). Similar pieces were also found in Spain (Savory 1968, 164

1972, 395 Abb. 18.11,2; — Perachora: Fossey 1969, 53 Abb. 1; — Aigina: Walter 1970, 136f. Taf. 103b. 104; ders.197161,Taf.54.55a;ders.1972,183f.Taf.124c; Renfrew 1972, 395. 398 Abb. 18.11,4; —Lerna: Caskey

Abb.50f.)undkonnenalsweitererBelfiiergfriheKon-1958,128Abb.1;Renfrew1972,398Abb.18.11,3;—

tacts between the Iberian region and the Aegean Sea (see the last section in this text).

217 Spyropoulos 1972, 20 Fig. 4.

218 Whether the papyrus motif can be considered as evidence of links with Egypt is not certain, however; Warren 1976, 89 pp. (in the same sense: Betts 1978, 61 pp.) concluded from the frequency and type of depictions from the Middle and Late Minoan period that the plant also grew on Crete. Evidence from the Frith Bronze Age was not mentioned.

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219 Amiran 1970, 83S.

220 Mellaart 1966, S9S.

221 Renfrew 1972, 17.

222 Belege in der Agiis und im western Anatolien: Demetrias, Pevkakia-Magoula: Milojéic 1974, 43S. You know. 3;—Manika on Euboia: Schachermeyr 1962, 1991.; —Marathon, Plasi: Mastrokostas 1970, 17 Abb. 1; — As- ketario: Theochares 1954, 104-107; lesson. 1955,

109-113; Schachermeyr 1962, 1891. Abb. 23; Renfrew

Tiryns: Voigtlinder 1971, 403 Fig. 5; ibid. 1973, 29f. Fig. 2; — Myrtos on Crete (uncertain): Warren 1972, 261 and plan; — Panormos on Naxos: Doumas 1972,

165f. Abb. 17. 18; Renfrew 1972, 177f. Abb. 11.4,2; — Kastri auf Syros: Doumas 1972, 158-162 Fig. 12. 13; Renfrew 1972, 176f. 398 Fig. 11.4,1; 18.11,1 pl. 21,1; — Kynthos on Delos (uncertain): Doumas 1972, 1621f. Fig. 15; — Daskalio: ibid. 163; - Emporio on Chios (uncertain): Renfrew 1972, 394; — Thermi on Lesbos: Lamb 1936, 43-47. 210 Fig. 18. 19 Plates 4,5.6; 5,4 Plan 6 (Phase V; —in phases III and IV questionable or possible: ibid. 25 Fig. 9 Plan 3 or 35f. Plan 5); - Poliochni on Lemnos: Bernabo-Brea

1964, 117-150 Atlas passim ('blue period'); 271-300

('green' and 'red period'); ~TrojaId—IIb: Blegen et al. 1950, 145-149. 204f. 244f. Fig.417. 436. 437. 450-454; — Demirci Hiiyuk (I owe information and insight into still unpublished plines to the excavator M. Korfmann).

- b

Fig. 14z and b. (a) Plan of the Early Cycladic city of Kastri on Syros and (b) of the Early Cycladic 'Acropolis' of Panormos on Naxos, Aegean

Bastions; such walls are particularly found in Inner Anatolia??3, 2. In contrast, the straight sections of the polygonal structure in Troy22* are flanked by massive bastions with a rectangular base. This construction principle is ultimately similar to the 'Enceinte Sacrée' in Byblos, which - built in the late Chalcolithic - also existed later?25. Here the military radio is missing.

tion; the angular 'bastions' are set as pilasters on the inside of the wall. 3. Related are walls that here and there recede at an angle to protect the flanking

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26. 4. The most important type (Kastri) consists of walls that adapt to the terrain and are flanked by semi-circular to U-shaped bastions.

23 Karatag-Semayik (Mellink 1973, 294f. Abb.1; dies. 1974, 351S. Abb. 1Taf. 65; Hockmann 1975, 278 Abb.3);—Tiilintepe(Esin 1976,Taf.90).
Dynasty in Saqqara, on which battles in Asia or Libya are depicted (Yadin 1963, 17. 5. 147; Drower —Bottéro 1971, 358 £.with fig. 17).

24Blegen et al. 1950, Fig.417 (see also above

82

Note 222). The wall route in Lerna is similar (see above note 222)

25 Dunand 1973, 235-241 Fig. 143 Plate 127. The Copper Age wall of Alisar is similar: Naumann 1955, 224 Fig. 264; ibid. 1971, 241f. Fig. 309.

26 So in Myrios (see above note 222), Poliochni (Bernabo-Brea 1964, Atlasblatt2. 3) and Demurci Huyiik.

Fig. 15. Plan of the Early Bronze Age city of Arad, Israel

|S

[o]}

Temple Palace

The wall of Kastri (Fig. 14a)228 is so similar to that of the FB II phase of Arad in Stidpaléstina (Fig. 15)229 in every respect that connections can be assumed230. The wall of the 'Acropolis' of Panormos on Naxos (Fig. 14b)231 shows a related concept; here the curtain walls merge with the bastions to form a curved facade that projects forward and backwards.

Even gate systems with a narrow, long corridor as in Troy or with a bent gate corridor as in Aegina appear to be simpler versions of a type that was highly developed in Palidstina232.

227 References: Demetrias, Kastri, possibly Panormos; see Hockmann 1975, 276f.

228 According to Bossert 1967, 56 Plan 2 (thereafter our Fig. 14a).

222 Amiran 1970, 92 Fig. 6; ibid. 1978, 10-13 Fig. 1 (thereafter our Fig. 15) pl. 173. 174; Hockmann 1976b, 166 Fig. 161. Similar bastions in Ai and Jericho: Hennessy 1967, 61 pl. 47,4.5. Egyptian depiction of such fortresses from Deshashe (early 6th dynasty):

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Drower—Bottéro 1971, 358f. Fig. 17. In Uruk, square bastions were converted into round ones in the Akkad period (Christian 1940, 302£.)—a consequence of Sargon's journey to Syria?

230 Schachermeyr 1971, 399S.; 1976, 187. 189, held

Kastri, on the other hand, was an Anatolian colony. However, I have not come across any Anatolian parallels to date.

231 According to Doumas 1972, 164 f. Fig. 17 (thereafter our Fig. 14b). 18.

232 In R&$ ha-Nigra and Dothan (Helms 1976, 3 Fig. 2; 6 Fig. 3) the task of making the narrow gateway as long as possible in a small area is better solved than in Aigina (see above note 222) or Troy Id-IIb (see ibid. and Dorpfeld 1902, 16. 53f. 5659 Fig. 10.
12 Appendix 3: Goals Fl and FN), but the fortification principle is identical: the attacker is given the opportunity to develop his full attacking power in the goal area for as long as possible.

K

And

"in,

Oh or

The apsidal houses in the Agiis are also likely to have originated from there233. Here the type reaches back to FB I; the oldest building in Troy Ia also belongs to it234. In contrast, in Palestine and Syria it has a tradition that begins long before the Early Bronze Age233,

Similar conditions prevail in the case of round and oval buildings, which in the Levant and Cyprus can be traced back to the Frith Neolithic23¢. In the Aegean they are known both as original buildings2e37 and as models (slate pyxides)?238 mainly from the Frith Bronze Age23°. A round building in Tiryns reaches monumental dimensions, in which the wide stone plinth common in Mesopotamia and Anatolia is evident, as is the use of fired bricks?4°, which also recurs in the megaron-like large 'House of Tiles' in Lerna?#! and the similar 'White House' in Aegina?¢?. A model, a slate pyxis from Melos (Fig. 16a.b)243, attests to the arrangement of several round buildings around a common courtyard enclosed by a facade wall. It is based on a building from the Early Bronze Age in Beth Yerach (formerly Chirbet Kerak) in Galilda (Fig. 17)244

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convincingly similar, which can probably be interpreted as a sanctuary. The model also seems to represent such a sanctuary; the horn sign above the gate corresponds to Anatolian horn altars in a sanctuary in Beycesultan (Fig. 18)245. Here two cellac are arranged in pairs, as is known several times from Palestine246. Perhaps a

23 FBT: Perachora (see above note 222); Poliochni (Bernabo-Brea 1964, 53-57 fig. 25-30); 86-96 fig. 44-55; see also note 237 below); from later FB phases see.
Demetrias (Milojéi¢ 1974, 461.); Perachora (s. oben Anm. 222); Pylos (Lord Tail- lour 1973, 220f. Taf. 275); Theben (Demakopoulou

Sanctuary: Zapheiropoulos 1966, 59. Warren 1972, 90
considered something similar for a small round building in Myrtos. On fired bricks: Hockmann 1975, 286. In this context, reference should also be made to the so-called herringbone masonry, which is also attested in the Aegean (Strom 1966, 65 note 9; Hockmann 1975, 288; ibid. 1976b, 159) and in the East; in Sumer it is only common for a short period (Edzard 1967, 61; Lloyd 1978, 119), while in Byblos it is already encountered in the Chalcolithic.

241 Caskey 1954, 23f. For the ground plan with narrow side aisles next to a wide central space, see temple of the Djemdet Nast period at Tepe Gawra VIII (Lloyd 1978, 76 fig. 38).
For relations with the East see also Themelis 1984, 351.

242 Walter 1971, 62; ders. 1972, 184; — vgl. the spitchalkolithische ~Byblos: Dunand 1973, 241 Taf. 130,1-3.

243 Hockmann 1975, 269276 Pl. 53 (afterwards, as a redrawing, our Fig. 16a.b). Pl. 54.

24 Ibid. 280. 282 Fig. 4 (thereafter our Fig. 17). In addition, there are buildings in Nabi Salah (Beit Arieh 1974,

144ff.) and in Arad (Amiran 1978, 241).

245 Lloyd - Mellaart 1962, 52 fig. 20 (thereafter our fig. 18); Hockmann 1975, 297 fig. 17;—cf. also a Homer altar from Troy Ilg (Schliemann 1881, 37 fig. 6). 246 Hockmann 1975, 294 with note 94, fig. 18; for Arad, add note 244 above. On this, see Ottosson 1980, 14f.

1975, 192 fig. 2) and Mourtere (Sampson 1978, 245 f. fig. 3). General: Sinos 1971, 36£.; Hockmann 1975, 286pp.

234 Blegen u. a. 1950, 821f. Abb. 133-138. 425.

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235 Byblos (Dunand 1973, 25 Abb. 9; 246 Abb. 146);— Jericho (Mellaart 1966, 4. 46. 52; Hennessy 1967, 6f. 44£); — Bet ha-Emech (de Miroschedji 1971, 43; Frankel — Kempinski 1973, 242f. Taf. 66a).

236 Bells 1970, 13s.; Hockmann 1975, 283f.

237 Bulle 1907, 19f. Pl. 4f. It cannot be completely ruled out that the curved walls in Poliochni (see note 233 above) belong to such buildings. For two possibly Neolithic examples: Hockmann 1975, 283f.

238 Ibid. 287 note 72; see also Maurigiannake's

1972, 166.

239 The 'late Neolithic' evidence from Thessaly corresponds chronologically to FB I(E. Hanschmann and V. Milojéié, The German excavations at Argissa-Magula in Thessaly IIL The early and beginning of the middle Bronze Age [1976] 3. 148 Fig.5. 153; Chr. Podzuweit, JbRGZM 26, 1979 [1982] 152 Fig. 7).

240 Sinos 1970, 35 Fig.86; Renfrew 1972, 105 Fig. 7.5; Héckmann 1975, 285f. Fig. 7. — interpretation as

House in the centre of Kastri, whose main room is divided into two cellae by a partition wall, can also be interpreted as a sanctuary for a pair of gods247. This assumption finds a certain support in the (admittedly older) Plastiras figures (see above p. 76f.), which depict men as well as women. Similar to the forms and motifs of the Marble sculpture would then also show particularly close similarities between the Cyclades and the Levant in buildings that presumably served the cult.

Fig. 16a and b. Early Cycladic pyxis in the form of a building from Melos, Aegean: oblique view (a), detail of the entrance (b); slate, H 9.5 cm. Munich, State-

historical antiquities collections

Summary

From the end of the Neolithic onwards, elements of the end-Chalcolithic and 'proto-urban' cultures of Palestine and Syria can be recognised in material goods, burial forms and customs, particularly in the Cyclades. In Crete, genuine imports from the Frith Dynastic Egypt began. The nature and motives of possible connections cannot yet be defined.

In FBII, the agreements increased both qualitatively and quantitatively. In

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In the vicinity of Troy they are evident in the form of precious 'courtly' equipment and jewellery, which suggest that the Anatolian princes had been in contact with Middle Eastern rulers long before Sargon. If the Egyptian cylinder seal really belongs to the Pactolus gold find and the gold sheets with the Sahure cartouche were really found in Dorak (see notes 57 and 81), Egypt must also have sent embassies and gifts to Asia Minor in the 4th and 5th dynasties. The less valuable Egyptian imports in Crete and Kythera point in a similar direction. However, these could also have been mediated through Byblos, which was closely linked to Egypt in cultural and commercial terms. The relatively clear relations with Byblos during FM II also provide the only indirect evidence for the correctness of Sargon's claim to have incorporated Kaptaru-Crete into his empire; for without the cooperation of the Byblosian fleet, an attack on the distant island would have been impossible for the land ruler Sargon.

247 Hockmann 1975, 276 f. 279. 296 Fig. 1: Riume 23.24.41.42; to a similar room inVasiliki

(East Crete): ibid. 279; St. Sinos, The pre-classical house forms in the Aegean (1971T) aff.42 (Vasiliki, plan).

85

b

Fig. 17. Plan of the Early Bronze Age sanctuary of Beth Yerach, Israel

gon would have been impossible. In any case, Crete's dependence on the Akkadian Empire could not have been very close.

The transition to 'proto-urban' forms of life in the Cyclades followed extremely closely the models from the Palestinian-Syrian region. This is particularly surprising in religious matters. Perhaps it helps to understand that both Egyptian and Sumerian deities (such as Inanna/Ishtar and Du-muzi/ Tammuz) were already known in Byblos at this time248. This meant that the local deities, who were probably only vaguely defined, took on the personal characteristics of the foreign gods and became identifiable with them. It seems that the impulses of the new religious ideas were strong enough to be passed on to the Cycladic culture - certainly as a result of frequent contacts. Such contacts, which perhaps went back to the Late Neolithic, may also have influenced the areas of architecture and burial.

directed Jewish development in paths that led to a rapprochement with Palestinian and Syrian forms.

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As the seals, props of the owner and the trader, indicate, the forms of commodity exchange in the Early Bronze Age Agiis seem to have reached a similar level as in the contemporary, also still unwritten city states of the Levant. The eastern Anatolian native princes, who

were the trading partners of the Akkadian karum merchants. Here the intensity of the contacts can only be deduced from the Akkadian written sources, while imported finds are not significantly more frequent than in parts of the Agiis. This example shows that the presence of eastern traders does not need to be ruled out here either.

The central importance of the metal trade, which is evident from the Mesopotamian documents 248 Contenau 1926, esp. 120 pp.

Fig. 18. Reconstruction of an Early Bronze Age cult room from Beycesultan, Turkey

as is evident from the extensive mining operations of the Palestinian

nensian city of Arad, 148t suspect that

also in Agiis metals have exerted the most important incentives on long-distance trade.

The (presumed) tin of the Troad and the proven gold of the Pactolus region were

for eastern traders certainly a reason for profitable long-distance travel, in the wake of which eastern

Cultural phenomena that reach Agiis

ten.

The Agiis and the Western Mediterranean

In the 3rd millennium BC, the use of metals began in the western Mediterranean region, and in connection with this, other cultural elements appear that were already encountered in the Early Bronze Age of the Agiis. Whether there are any connections has been assessed differently. C.
Renfrew et al. denied this: Radiocarbon dates (see above p. 40) assigned a higher age to the western Mediterranean finds than to the Dicean 'models'. However, in my opinion the time differences are too small for such a conclusion; the range of the dates in the west and east overlap. In addition, the fact that, especially on the Iberian
Peninsula, whole complexes of eastern cultural elements appear, which in the native Development has no precursors, seems to me more for the correctness of the older

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249 Renfrew 1967, 17; ders. 1970, 292f.; ders. 1972, 444f.; ders. 1976, 27; Fleming 1972, 305; Riemann 1974, 425S.; Muhly 1976, 111.

The idea?5° that the transition to the Metal Age culture in the west is connected with influences from the Aegean (and possibly other parts of the Eastern Mediterranean). The fact that in the 3rd millennium cross-connections over long distances become apparent among the local cultures?3? also suggests the conclusion that there were new, efficient forms of maritime transport, for which a connection with Aegean nautical science would at least be a plausible explanation.

In the following, elements with parallels in the Aegean Frith Bronze Age in six parts of the western Mediterranean will be addressed: Malta; Sicily and Aeolian Islands (Lipari); Italian mainland; Sardinia and Corsica; Southern France; Iberian Peninsula.

Malta

The island group is predestined by its location as a stopover on journeys from the eastern to the western Mediterranean and as a port of refuge for eastern Mediterranean sailors who are inevitably driven towards Malta by wind and current. Perhaps, as a Maltese stone figure of the Digean-Neolithic type25? suggests, sporadic contacts began as early as 4000 BC. The fact that around 3200 BC in the Red Skorba phase vessels of local form had a red polished surface and “trumpet-shaped”

handles” can be compared with eastern Mediterranean phenomena (see above p. 68), as can the custom of collective burial in rock chamber grids2s3, which began a little later in the Zebbug phase and which can also be related to an end-Neolithic finding in Athens254. The early date of these phenomena corresponds less to Aegean conditions than particularly to those in “proto-urban” Palestine2%s. In contrast, a clay head with a triangular face from the Red Skorba phase is quite close to Cycladic-late Neolithic finds from Kephala2s®. Collective burial is also known in Kephala.

Much later, in the Chalcolithic Ggantija phase, we first encounter shards from the vicinity of Troy I-Thermi257, huts in the East Mediterranean style of construction made of clay bricks on stone bases?%® and sanctuaries made of apsidal buildings around a courtyard2%°.

250 Leisner 1943, 569f.; Childe 1950, 71S.; ders. 1961, 241; Evans 1955/56, 49S.; Cavalier 1960, 319S.; Blance 1961, 192{S.; dies. 1971, bes. 51S.; Branigan 1966b, 97S.; ders. 1970,

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184; Schiile 1968, 31S.; ders. 1976, 38S.; Miiller-Karpe 1974, 481f.; Sangmeister 1975, 545S.; Hockmann 1976¢, 168 S.; Ross Holloway 1976, bes. 157.
251Bray196177;3T,rump19644f6f.;,Evans1971,222f. 252 Ders. 1963, 161S.; Thimme 1976, 419 No. 3.

253 Trump 1966a, 86; Evans 1971, 44S.

254 Whitehouse 1972, 276, and Renfrew — Whitehouse 1974, 363f., saw the Rock chamber graves in Malta and Italy (see below notes 280, 281) are considered autochthonous. The late Neolithic evidence from Athens (see above note 207) was merely mentioned without discussion;

but see Ross Holloway 1976, esp. 155f.

255 See also Ross Holloway 1976, esp. 155f.; ibid. 1981, ST

256 Trump 1966, 34 Taf. 26a; vgl. Coleman 1977, 105£. Taf. 26. 73.

257 Trump 1966, 46; Evans 1971, 217 note 2. With a stele from Troy I (Blegen et al. 1950, 15. 38. 46. 133. 155-158 fig. 190); cf. also the face on a stele from Zebbug, grave 5 (Evans 1971,213 fig. 57 pl. 61,7.8).

258 Trump 1966, 15; Evans 1971, 218; Hockmann 1975, 290 (there confusion with an older oval hut of a different construction); ibid. 1976¢, 174.

259 Ibid. 1975, 290; Ibid. 1976¢, 174. In contrast, Evans 1971, 218, derived the plan of the sanctuaries from underground rock tombs.

Fig. 19. Stele with

ship depictions

from the bronze 4

temporal sanctuary of Tarxien,

Malta

£ a stone slab made of

260, and on a stele in the Tarxien phase, Aegean ornamental forms are attested

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Longboats of the Tarxien Ships (Fig. 19)261 are among other

1n the hisSs drawings of kyk,l„adl“hen type. The artless graSiti stand Sc

It is assumed that the sanctuary of Korphe

t'Aroniou on Naxos (Fig. 20)?® so na

The locals think that Cycladic sailors would have

Maltese drawings

dedicated to the deity.

d % References to trade links between Malta and the Aegean are missing]Edoc!l; also the statement that obsidian from Melos was used on Malta2¢3 has not been confirmed264. Malta seems to have been called at mainly as an intermediate or emergency port.

be.

Essential elements of the Maltese 'temple culture' (megalithic construction, large stone sculptures) cannot be derived from foreign models265. The astonishing and inexplicable level of culture in Malta during the Chalcolithic period may be the reason why, despite visits by Cycladic and north-west Anatolian ships, Aegean influences were only hesitantly adopted. Perhaps the most important contribution of the Aegean visitors to Maltese cultural development was the progress in shipbuilding and nautical science, as can be deduced from western Mediterranean foreign finds in Malta (see

note 251).

260 See especially the bone humpback from Tarxien (Evans 1971, 223), which is connected with Aegean finds (e.g. Lerna: Caskey 1954, 22; Renfrew — Whitehouse 1974, esp. 360; summarized Ross Holloway 1981, 16 pages). For the distribution of such objects, see also the map in the article by H.-G. Buchholz and P. Wagner, below Fig. 25. Evans 1971, 219, also considered Cycladic influence (FK II) on the

Volute pattern of Tarxien ceramics.

261 Woolner 1957, 60 pp.; Blance 1971, 99; Héckmann 1976¢, 175 Fig. 175 (thereafter our Fig. 19). Except

Ships of Cycladic type (and others that cannot be identified) depict vessels that are at least similar to Egyptian ships of the Old Kingdom.

262 Doumas 1965, 47 pp. Fig. 4 (thereafter our Fig. 20). Fig. 7 pl. 35b; 36a; 37a.

263 Cornaggia Castiglione ua 1963, 320; Courtin 1972, 103¢.

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264 Renfrew — Whitehouse 1974, 362.

265 Unless one considers relations with the frith

Egypt; but the similarities are too unspecific for this.

iSsdarstellung a

orphe SchiSs =

APV 20 B0aischen

Sanctuary of YO s dem frihky' on Naxos, Aegean

t'Aroniou

Sicily and the Aeolian Islands

(For this and the following, see the literature on page 116£.)

At about the same time as the Red Skorba phase in Malta, the shiny red monochrome pottery of the Diana culture replaced the Middle Neolithic painted ware on Lipari, in Sicily and southern Italy. The forms of the Diana pottery are in the local tradition, but the design - which is perhaps intended to imitate metal vessels>6¢ - and the "trumpet handles" are new in Italy; they repeat eastern Mediterranean phenomena at the turn of the Frith Bronze Age (see above p. 67). Finds of copper slag on Lipari2¢?, which has no copper ore, indicate the presence of foreign metallurgists. The fact that Egyptian influences can be seen at this time on stone vessels?®® and arrowheads with a retracted base? ®? probably belong in the same context.

B. Blance pointed out the similarity of the Diana ware with the pottery of the oldest colony

Mesas de Asta in Spain (see below p. 98) and highlighted similarities with East Aegean pottery (Samos)27°. Stone cist graves were traced back by L. Bernabo Brea to Cycladic models of the Frith Bronze Age?7!; however, the type is now also attested for the Late Neolithic (Kephala, see above p. 80 with note 206).

In the Aeneolithic, rock chamber graves with collective burials began to appear, which had predecessors in the eastern Mediterranean region, but also in late Neolithic Athens (see above p. 80 with notes 207-211). Shapes and (especially polishing) patterns of ceramics273, stone club heads and small finds7 show similarities from the middle Aeneolithic with phenomena of the earliest Frith Bronze Age in western Asia Minor and the

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Ostigiis. In the Late Neolithic groups of Piano Quartara (Lipari) and Malpasso (Sicily), which now also processed metal themselves, these similarities are quite clear.76 and vessel forms from San Ippolito are close to those of the Frith Bronze Age of Cyprus.77 The spectrum of 'guest-like' phenomena remains narrower than in
it

266 Bernabo-Brea 1957, 51, interpreted the monochrome of the ceramics as a ‘reaction’ to the rich painting in the previous period. The similarity with foreign red ware at the turn of the FB speaks against the explanation as a local phenomenon. On the influence of metal vessels on the forms of Diana ceramics: Ross Holloway 1981, 23.

267 Bernabd-Brea — Cavalier 1956, 31. 35; dies. 1960, XXIV. — Renfrew — Whitehouse 1974, 376, identified further copper objects in the Italic Neolithic, but all of the finds are located far to the north, beyond the Po. See, however, Ross Holloway 1981, 34.
268 Branigan 1965, 471f.

269 On the spread of arrowheads with a retracted base from Egypt via the Agdis to Lipari and finally to the Iberian Peninsula: Savory 1968, 82; Blance 1971, 46. 96.

270 Ibid. 102. — Cazzella 1972, 260£. assumed that the Diana culture had existed until the Aeneolithic, and attributed the orientation of its 'hostly' elements to the same

area that influenced the Aeneolithic period in Italy.

271 Bernabd-Brea 1957, 47. 50; Cazzella 1972, 260.

272 Bernabo-Brea 1957, 88f.; Tine 1960/61, 113S.;
ders.1963,73f.;ders.1968/69,59;Almag—Arroibas

1963, 226.

273 Bernabd-Brea 1957, 70S.; Tine 1960/61, 114; Cazzella 1972, bes. 258; Cassano — Manfredini 1975, 2041f.

274 Bernabo-Brea 1957, 94; Ting 1965, 179f.

275 Bernabo-Brea 1953/54, 174S.; lesson. 1957, 70f. 84; Cavalier 1960, 331 f.342; Tiné 1960/61, 114. 116; Almagro —Arribas 1963, 226; Danicl— Evans 1967, 17;

Cazzella 1972, 249. 252S. 259. 271.

27° Calvi Rezia 1967, 507p. esp. 510; derivation from the Aegean: 518; for bony humpbacks (cf. above note 260) cf. esp. Cazzella 1972, 206; Ross Holloway 1981, 16p.

27 Bernabd-Brea 1953/54, 16. 177; ders. 1957, 86; Cazzella 1972, 262.

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Full Bronze Age cultures of Capo Graziano and Castelluccio, which belong to the 2nd millennium BC2n78,

Direct evidence of the presence of strangers has so far been limited to the

Diana-age copper slag on Lipari. However, the gradual transition to phenomena that are close to those of the Early Bronze Age of the Aegean may well be understood as a conscious approach, the contacts with Aegean (and perhaps Cypriot)

The location of Sicily and the Aeolian Islands suggests that they were used as stopovers on a route that led further into the western Mediterranean, as was the case in the 2nd millennium BC.

Italian mainland

R. Whitehouse used isolated rock chamber graves in a Neolithic context as a reason to assume that this type of grave originated in Italy independently of the Early Bronze Age in the Aegean28°. However, Ross Holloway251 had already pointed out that the rock chamber graves of Palestine and Egypt (Negade II) date back to an earlier period than the Italian (and Maltese) finds. Earlier connections with the Levant were also considered by other sources?®,

Rock chamber graves became the dominant form of burial only in the Aeneolithic, and then only in southern and central Italy?283; they are found in all three regional groups (Laterza, Gaudo and Rinaldone). Metalworking began everywhere at the same time. Daggers partly resemble those from the Greeks and Syrians; they apparently reached Crete in isolated cases?84. In addition to copper28s, silver and antimony28¢ were occasionally processed.

origin of these phenomena (Bernabd-Brea 278 On this: Bernabo-Brea 1957a, 114f.;
Cavalier

1960, 337; Renfrew —Whitehouse 1974, 367; Hock-

1968/69, 40).

284 Branigan 1966b, 97; ders. 1968a, 63; ders. 1971, mann 1975, 290f.

471f.; Barfield 1969, 77; Ross Holloway 1981, 35. That 279 Buchholz 1974, 352; Ross Holloway 1981, 46.

280 See above note 254. For autochthony also Rie-

three of these daggers are made of silver,

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has no parallel in Italy; the formal similarity

mann 1974, 434 (his suggestion that the Italic type with different

with Italian tical shaft missing in the Agiis, lets the graves

in Fundenistaberdeutlich (as well as Renfrew

— Whitehouse Athens [see Cazzella 1972, 262£.] and Corinth except

1974, 369). Other types of daggers are

Syrian similar eight). — Against the dating of the oldest rock chamber

(Biancofiore 1967, 218; Renfrew — Whitehouse

1974, graves of Italy in the Neolithic period: Cazzella 1972, 263;

378 to Type A 1). Nevertheless, Renfrew

— White- Tin& 1973, 106.

house and Riemann 1974, 436 pp. all external influences

281 Lo Porto 1972, 367; Ross Holloway 1976,

155f.; ibid. 1981, 36pp. A similar assumption has been made by Tin& 1963, 73pp., but the models in the Old Kingdom of Egypt

tens sought.

282 Biancofiore 1967, 292 (on the Laterza group). From

His examples show fir branch patterns

the ceramics (ibid. 230 Fig. 41,9; 268 Fig. 45,6) also with Grotta-Pelos ceramics (FK I); cf. also

Cassano — Manfredini 1975, 2071f.

283 Biancofiore 1967, 268S.; Peroni 1971, 195. DaB

Common buzzard in Northern Italy

are missing and the collective burial in the Rinaldone group of central Italy is only sporadically attested, points to the Mediterranean

consistently,

285 The types of copper used:

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Junghans et al. 1968, 80 pp. Arsenic copper is relatively rare (Renfrew

Whitehouse 1974, 378), and tin bronze plays

no role; a significance of tin for contacts

with the

Agiis (Lo Porto 1968/69, 59) is unlikely.

Antimony- 286 Lambi 1958/59, 137 pp. On intentional admixture (especially in the Rinaldone group):

Barker

1971, 188. The indigenous origin of the metal

is not certain (Selimkhanov 1975, 50; also

Dayton 1978, 115, did not mention Italy among

the countries with antimony deposits).

The pottery of the Aeneolithic differs so clearly from that of the Neolithic that it has been attributed to immigrants from the Aegean287. Larger immigration is unlikely?#8; however, there is an unmistakable similarity to Aegean pottery of the Frith Bronze Age, not only in the way the pottery is made, but also in the shapes and decorative patterns, which in some cases clearly imitate metal vessels28. Models are known particularly from north-west Anatolia (Troy, Yortan)290, and to a lesser extent from the Cyclades; two conical-neck vessels from Pitigliano2°! are remarkably similar in form and decoration to Cycladic vessels from the Grotta-Pelos or the Kampos group (FK I). Decorative forms also link the region with the East?°2. The simultaneous appearance of these innovations (also with the Aeneolithic of Sicily, Lipari and Malta) 2-3 can be explained by early Bronze Age contacts with the Aegean and Cyprus294. The copper deposits of Tuscany were certainly an attractive target for foreign metallurgists. The presence of foreign teachers would make the rapid blossoming of metallurgy in the Aeneolithic of Italy understandable295. If the daggers found in Crete (see note 284) really come from Italy, they represent valuable evidence of the Aegean's interest in Italian metals.

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287 Bernabd-Brea 1968/69, 27, p. 55; similarly (for the Laterza group) Biancofiore 1967, 296. 300. Both Bernabo-Brea and Peroni 1971, 304, 336, pointed to the
Tradition points to an immigration from Arcadia "17 generations before the Trojan War" (Dionysius of Halicarnassus I 11,2-4). For the Aeneolithic, however, this is only of interest as a parallel from a later period.

288 S0 are missing in the Aeneolithic period of both the Italian mainland and the islands
previously fortified settlements of Aegean type (Blance 1971, 100).

289 Bernabo-Brea 1968/69, 28; Ross Holloway 1976, 150S. 153; ders. 1981, 27. 30S. 47.

2% Biancofiore 1967, 282 (Laterza); Bernabd-Brea 1968/69, 38 pp.; Barich 1971, 414; Ross Holloway 1973, 17£; ibid. 1976, 149 pp. (Gaudo); Cazzella 1972, 210, 212; Peroni 1971, 194 (on polished pattern pottery of the Rinaldone group) admittedly recognized connections, but Technete generally (ibid. 296) was clearly more late with regard to the Aegean.

Eastern influences were rejected by Trump 19662, 80 pp.; Riemann 1974, 440 pp. 446; and Ross Holloway 1976, and questioned by Renfrew—Whitehouse 1974, 343, 366, although the formal similarity was admitted. Riemann's reference to the lack of seaworthiness of the ships of the 3rd millennium BC as an argument against contact with Aegean cultures is refuted by the voyages to Meluhha, Punt and Keftiu (see above p. 58). More recently, see: O. Hockmann, Antike Seefahrt (1985).

291 See Museo Grosseto, Inv. No. Firenze (sic) 95588 (shape and decoration like ceramics of the turn FK I/IT) and

2521. On similarities between Rinaldoneu and Gaudo pottery with Cycladic pottery in terms of shapes and subcutaneous eyelets, and with Early Helladic pottery in terms of workmanship: Bernabo-Brea 1956, 256, 258. On FK elements also in the Gaudo group: Cazzella 1972, 272 f.

292 Biancofiore 1967, 216. 286; ibid. 1971, 202; Cazzella 1972, 267. On a foot amulet from Laterza:
Biancofiore 1967, 227. On metal jewelry: Branigan 1966b, 103; cf. Renfrew — Whitehouse 1974, 351.360. 367. A seal with a spandrel-filled cross from Montale (Bernabd-Brea 1964, 653) cannot be used; the context belongs to the later 2nd millennium BC.

293 On long flint blades: Ross Holloway 1976, 149; ibid. 1981, 27£. — On stone clubs with shaft holes (Rinaldone group): Cazzella 1972, 267 (against connections to the Frith Bronze Age of northwest Anatolia, however, Renfrew — Whitchouse 1974, 366, which
Type from the Neolithic Ripoli group—). On battle axes of the Rinaldone group: Bernabd-Brea 1968/69, 39 (for relationships to Pohochni, 'green' and 'red phase'). — On a Baitylos idol from Laterza: Sanz Aranda

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1974, 356.

294 Lo Porto 1962/63, 214f.; Cazzella 1972, 268f.; Renfrew — Whitehouse 1974, 366.

295 See especially the dangerous processing of arsenic bronze (see above note 112) and antimony, which was hardly learned indigenously. Decidedly in favour of the adoption
from the East (possibly using arsenic-rich bronze of Eastern origin for alloying
native

ian copper): Ross Holloway 1981, 36. 47. 54.

Sardinia and Corsica

The prehistory of Sardinia in the 3rd millennium BC is still only partially known. Stone cist graves with stone wreaths in Li Muri (Arzachena) have been dated to this period29s, which are not dissimilar to grave forms in Greece, but also in Palestine??7. Among the finds, a steatite bowl29e8, stone beads?®® and club heads made of steatite300 appear to be 'eastern'; however, these indications of foreign influences do not yet provide a clear picture. The Ozieri (San Michele) group is more widespread, which includes red polished earthenware with 'trumpet handles' similar to the Diana pottery (or only that of the Tarxien phase of Malta?)391. It has mostly been dated to the 2nd millennium BC392; however, C!* dates suggest that

for a considerably earlier beginning393, perhaps even before that of the Arzachena group?°%. Still unpublished finds (see note 303) show that the Ozieri group as a whole is indigenous; however, its appearance is influenced by the Aegean
Frith Bronze Age was strongly influenced.

Rock-cut chamber graves with collective burials are more likely to be associated with the Late Neolithic evidence from Athens (see above p. 80 with note 207) than with the Cycladic graves of the later Frith Bronze Age3°5. However, stylized bull horns on a painted false door in the rock-cut chamber grave of Mandra Antine3¢ are strikingly reminiscent of the horn attachment on the gate of the building model from Melos, which can probably be dated to FK I (Fig. 16a.b). Conical horns point to the Greek Late Neolithic or the Grotta Pelos Group (FKT).

Malta and Sardinia mainly in the eastern 295 Lilliu 1948, 35S.; ibid. 1963, 32 Fig. 3; Guido

influence.

1963, 37 Abb. 3; Atzeni 1980, 32 (Outline: 30 Abb. 20).

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302 Bray 1963, bes. 180; Guido 1963, 40. 48; Contu 297 Lilliu 1965, 365. — Guido 1963, 40,
and Castaldi

1964, 256f.; Lilliu 1965, 383, p. 389. That the Ozieri- 1969, 235, saw parallels both in
eastern as well as

The fact that the group has existed for a long time is evident from the influences of the western Mediterranean region.
The later works of Castaldi

Bell Beaker culture (Guido 1963, 63). In the late phase 1975, 76, even more emphasis was placed
'Parallels' in Corsica

also Atzeni 1980, 33.

and Mallorca (G. Rossello Bordoy, Mayurca 7, 1972,

142) belong according to C'* data only to the 2nd millennium BC

303 It was long before Ozieri began his work in the 3rd millennium BC (ibid. 121).

vermouth (Lilliu 1948, 35; Bosch-Gimpera 1954, 48f.; Ferrarese Ceruti 1965, 68; Lilliu 1965, 366; Daniel — 298 Zervos
1954, 141 Abb. 147; Guido 1963, 39 Abb. 4

Evans 1975, 738) and by C'* data from Sa "ucca de (on relations with Crete, Hagios
Cosmas and the

Agyptender4.Dynasty:P.40);Lilin1963,34 suTintirryorwisen(Lor—inTraump1978,201);the Abb. 4.3; ders. 1967 , 12 ; Castaldi
1975, 76. Invasive

In the context of dated samples from the Grotta del Lilliu (1948, 381.) also had connections to the Tarxien

Guano (Alessio et al. 1971, 399; Castaldi 1972) with the period of Malta; however, he already considered

Orzieri layers has now been questioned (Loria — models in Crete or Egypt for
more likely.

Trump a.0.). On the genesis of the group in which unity 299 Guido 1963, 40; Lilliu 1963, 30 Fig. 4,1.2 (both

mixed-late Neolithic traditions with Aegean ele- for relations with Crete).
Parallels in South France

elements merge: Loria — Trump 1978, 2001f.

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rich: Bérard 1954, 284 fig. 5,25.27-29; Guido a.0. (slender olive-shaped beads from La Bouissiere); J. Ar- nal—L. Balsan, BPrHistFr 52, 1955, 668 fig. 1bottom, 2nd and 3rd row (wing beads from St. Martin-du-Larzac). For the finds from La Bouissiere there is a
Radiocarbon date of 2025+130 BC.

300 Lilliu 1963, 30 Fig.4,4. On relations with northwest Anatolia, Crete and Egypt see also Guido 1963, 40; Atzeni 1980, 32.

301 Bray 1963, 178f; Contu 1964, 256f. In contrast, Castaldi 1969, 230,
Similarities between

304 For this see: Guido 1963, 36. 40; Puglisi—Castaldi 1964/65, 70£.

305 Guido 1963, 49f. 65; Atzeni 1980, 25f. 32 (plans: 23 fig. 9,1-10).

306 Contu 1964, 247 Fig. 9, pl. 1. 2 (for relations to Malta; see also note 301); ibid. 1966, 198f. Fig. 3. 4; Atzeni 1980, 22 Fig. 8,4. For the Aegean origin of the spiral patterns and other decorative patterns on ceramics: Guido 1963, 57f.; Contu 1966, 195S.; Castaldi 1969, 230; Lorraine 1978, 183S.203.
For relations with southern France: Castaldi 1969, 244,

neck vessels3e07, while pyxides (Fig. 21 b)*°8 or a stone bowl with spiral reliefs from Orgosolo3% are close to the FKI stage. The Greek models are particularly clearly reflected in Sardinian stone sculpture. Obese statuettes with bulbous head decoration31° are close to a Neolithic type from Greece312. Much more common are figures that are simplified imitations of Cycladic idols from FKII-III stages312. They were also made in the 2nd millennium313, but began earlier. The figure from Senorbi (Fig. 21 c¢)314 stood in a stone bed like non-figurative steles in Li Muri.

In Sardinia, Cycladic influences are more evident than those of north-western Anatolia, which have predominated up to now. However, the latter are not lacking3?5; in particular, a pendant with an 'owl face' (Fig. 21a) is so similar to Trojan idols!¢ that it may be an Anatolian import. Finally, the earth 'pyramid' Monte d'Accoddi?!7 should be mentioned, which was usually associated with Mesopotamian ziggurat temples3!®. The 'burial mound of Amphion and Zetos' now offers itself as an obvious parallel (see above p. 80f.).

These links with the Agiis are contrasted by others that connect Sardinia with the Fontbouisse group of southern France, the Iberian Peninsula and Malta. Some of the rare

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307 Lilliu 1963, 63S. Abb. 12.1 Know. 15b.c; Loria — Trump 1978, 235 Abb. 20,2.5.6; Atzeni 1980, 21 Abb. 5,14.17.21.22 (similar to Abb. 5.18); Thimme 1980, 371Nr.53Cat.-
Fig. 53 (similar to No. 52). General information on Eastern influences on ceramics: Atzeni 1962, 58 pp.; Guido 1963, 66; Lilliu 1963, 66; ibid. 1965, 373 pp.; Atzeni 1975, 34; Loria — Trump 1978,
176S.

169; Guido 1963, 45. 66; Castaldi 1969, 230; Buchholz 1974, 355; Atzeni 1975, 34; ders.
1980, 28. 32. One statuette (Atzeni 1975, 11 fig. 2,4) even has bent knees like canonical Cycladic
idols. Castaldi 1965, 254. 258. 263 (similarly Lilliu 1957, 43) recognized that—as another common feature—figures were deliberately broken. On references to FM sculpture: Almagro — Arribas 1963, 228; Guido 1963, 45; Atzeni

179pp. 183 f. 200pp. On two Cycladic jugs, perhaps

leichtausSardiniens.unternn.323. 1975,12f.—Renf—rWhietehwouse1974,362,lehnten

308 Guido 1963, 43 Taf. 2. 3 (also: 68 Fig. 12,2); for

Bezichungen zur Agiis: ebenda 64. 66f.; Atzeni 1975,

34; Hockmann 1976¢, 173 with Fig. 171 (thereafter our

Abb. 21b); Loria — Trump 1978, 1791f. 202f. mit 232

Abb.17,2.5Taf.16,2.4(»ParallelennurimFK«);At- 1976,15).Lor—
iTraump1978,1891.ledtheTonfi-

zeni 1980, 21 Fig. 5,12. A good paralicle is in the museum of Santorini (unpublished; inventory number unknown to me).

309 Ferrarese Ceruti 1965, S3S. Sternmuster (Lo Schiavo 1976, 15f. 19 Nr. 11 Taf. 3; Atzeni 1980, 19 Abb. 4,17; 8. 21 Abb. 5,2.4.8; Thimme 1980, 373f. Nr. 63. -67a Cat. Abb. 63. 67a) kehren auf FK-'Pfannen' wieder (zB Otto 1976, 138S. Abb.121,1.3; 122,4; 124,1.3; Thimme 1976, 525 Nr.400 Kat.- Abb. 400; S. 527 Nr. 406 Cat.-Abb. 406).

310 Atzeni 1975, 7S. 12 Taf. 1; Loria — Trump 1978, 154 Taf. 34,1-3; Atzeni 1980, 28 with Abb. 16,1-11; Thimme 1980, 361 Nr. 3. 4 Kat.-Abb. 3. 4. Imitations from bones: Atzeni 1975, 11 Abb. 2,1.2 Taf. 2a—. 31 Ebenda 7f. 12.

312 Zervos 1954, 3511f. Abb. 446S.; Atzeni 1980, 28 with Abb. 16,16—18 (hereafter: Abb. 16,13.14); Thimme 1980, 361S. No. 1. 2. 6 Cat.-Fig. 1. 2. 6 (similar: No. 7-12.14 Cat.-Fig. 7-12.14). On Cycladic influence: Lilliu 1948, 33f.; ibid. 1965, 387{,; Bray 1963,

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guren aus Sa 'ucca de su Tintirriolu (ebenda 242 Abb. 27 Taf. 32) von den Marmorstatuetten
ab.

313 Guido 1963, 521. 591f. Bray also considered the survival of marble sculpture in the Middle Bronze Age

1963, 181.

314 Zervos 1954, 353 Abb. 451; Guido 1963, 45 Plate 5; Lilliu 1963, 47 Plate 14b; Hockmann
1976¢, 173 Fig. 172 (thereafter our Fig. 21c); Loria — Trump 1978 Pl. 32,5.

315 Eye patterns: Atzeni 1975, 16£.; vessel lids (possibly later): Castaldi 1975, 67; phallus or Baitylos motifs on
stone sculpture (such as Baityloi in Troy and Byblos): Atzeni 1975, 16; T-shaped stylization of the faces: ibid. 17f.

316 Ibid. 17 Pl. 7,1 (afterwards, as a redrawing, our Fig. 21a). Parallels in Troy: ibid. Pl. 7,3-8. 317 Contu 1953, 199S; ibid. 1953a, 174f.; Guido

1963, 59S.; Atzeni 1980, 27. 241. Abb. 11. 12.

318 Lilliu 1957, 40; ders. 1963, 43; ders. 1965, 390S.; dhnlich Guido 1963, 61.

FK influences; the marble figures could be based on a local clay sculpture (like Lo Schiavo 1976, 15. 18 pl. 2,3). These 'prototypes' are not older than the Ozieri marble figures (Lo Schiavo

Fig. 21a—c. (a) Stone pendant from Oristano, Sardinia, H 3.7 cm. Oristano, ~Antiquarium Arborense; (b) clay pyxis from the area around Oristano, H 5cm; (c)
Stone figure from Senorbi, Sardinia, H 42 cm, both in Cagliari, Mus. Arch. Naz.

Different standards

Copper objects are, as analyses have shown3'®, mostly of Iberian, partly French and occasionally Eastern European and probably Irish origin. Metal objects are found in the 3rd century.
BC, it was still so rare in Sardinia that it is uncertain whether the island's copper deposits
were already known32°. Perhaps they have for the contact with the Eastern Mediterranean

The island had not yet played a significant role, and was only a stopover on the way to the Iberian Peninsula. The Aeneolithic of Corsica is even less well known than that of Sardinia. A steatite figure from Campu Fiurelli (Fig. 24c)??! is, however, similar to Cycladic idols (perhaps from the local group in Attica) 322

close enough to establish connections with

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to consider the Agiis.

Siidfrankreich

Two FK ITI jugs, allegedly dredged in the port of Marseille 323, together with a third from Menorca??*, represent the only original objects from the Dgdian Frith Bronze Age in the West; however, the find details have been called into question.

319 Junghansu. a. 1960, esp. 75. 77. 188f.; Guido 1963, 51. 320 Ibid. 46; Branigan 1970, 184. Lilliu 1963, 22f. expected early copper mining, and Muhly 1976, 186. 190. 238. 284, did not rule it out completely. Evidence of small objects made of copper and silver now: Atzeni 1980, 24. 28. Sardinian obsidian was important for trade relations: Guido 1963, 67; Lilliu 1963, 23. 321 Lilliu—Schubart 1967, 12 Fig. 2; Héckmann 1976¢, 173 Fig. 170 (thereafter our Fig. 24c).

322 Ibid. 173. — General information on Corsica: Daniel — Evans 1975, 742 f., Camps 1975, esp. 118f.

323 Benoit 1956, 5.12. 14—18 Know. 2.4. Fiir Echtheit des Fundes: Martinez Santa-Olalia 1948, 41f.

324 Ibid. 37S. Fig. 1. Since according to C'-data the Aeneolithic ('Pretalay6tico inicial') only began around 2000 BC (G. Rossellé Bordoy, Mayurca 7, 1972,

121), it is still unclear to which local context the find might belong.

drawn325. Otherwise, some types of decorative beads - especially wing beads and three faience beads - can possibly be traced back to the eastern Mediterranean region??º. The relatively active copper processing in the Fontbouisse group can hardly be traced back to direct contact with foreign sailors, since it began earlier inland than on the coast327. Other 'foreign' phenomena include stone wreath graves similar to those of Li Muri (see above p. 93 with note 296) and some tholos graves*?®, oval and round huts in the suddenly emerging stone construction style?2° and the 'fortress' of Lébous (Fig. 22b)33°, whose architecture is reminiscent of eastern Mediterranean

Elements: The round building B 4 of Lébous about 148t belongs to the early Helladic period as well as the of Tiryns (see above p. 84 with note 240). Lébous was previously associated with the colonies on the Iberian Peninsula (for these see below p. 98). However, X. Gutherz33! now questioned both the fortress character of the complex and its Chalcolithic date.

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A special problem applies to the particularly numerous figural steles ('statues-menhirs')332 in southern France, on which figures that can be identified as male with a triangular dagger or axe or other figures that are certainly female with multiple necklaces are depicted. They are also attested in Corsica and Sardinia, Italy33® and large parts of Western Europe and Switzerland, but are less common there with a similar shape and theme. T-shaped stylized faces only make a loose connection to the stele from Troy I (see note 257), and the dagger shape is quite unobtrusive for a derivation from the Dacian Frith Bronze Age334. A similarity of the

'Women-

Stele' of the West with an isolated figural stele from Souphli in Thessaly33%. This is, however, dated Neolithic; possible connections in the West must also be evident in Neolithic contexts. Loose connections in this direction do not seem to be completely excluded336.

325 Renfrew 1972, 444, thought that these pieces had only come there recently.

326 Winged or phallic beads: Biancofiore 1971, 202; Montjardin 1974, 12; Gutherz 1975, 41; — Faience beads: Audibert 1962, 140. See also above note 299. 327 Gutherz 1975,
37.

328 Audibert 1962, 138S.; Castaldi 1969, 235; dies. 1975, 76.

329Bailloud—Mieg de Boofzheim 1955, 168S.

Plate 73,16 (round hut); Gutherz 1975, 45. He saw the parallel arrangement of the huts as a structure with an urban character.

30 Arnal et al. 1963, 229, p. 240, appendix 9 after p. 232 (after that our fig. 22b; — the authors are in favor of connections with the Iberian area); Arnal 1973, 174f.; Hockmann 1976c, 171f. fig. 169; — on the round building B 4: Amal et al. 1963, 239.

31 Gutherz 1975, 45. 109, considered that the site was a medieval sheepfold. Observations by Arnals 1963, 234 pp. and C' data (ibid. 1973,

173).

32 Colomer et al. 1975, 120 (onset of the earliest

Stele isolated from before 2000 BC); d'Anna 1977, passim.

3 Korsika: even 256(first2.Jt.v.Chr—.Sa)rdi;nien (nur ain Beleg in Luconi): Atzeni 1975, 24 f.; — Italians: Trump 19663, 98 f.; Anati 1972, 59S. 71S.

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334 On the 'Aegean' dagger form: ibid. 103. Generally for relations to Troy and Malta: Audibert 1962, 178; Atzeni 1975, 30pp.; d'Anna 1977, 234f. — Anati 1972, esp. 52, saw in the
Steles are evidence of the Indo-Europeanization of Europe, which he assumed to have originated in the Caucasus region. For purely Western European contexts: Trump 1966a, 100.
Something similar took

Whitehouse 1972, 280; for their statement that the steles are attested earlier in southern France than in the Aegean, see the following note.

35 Biesantz 1959, 57 Fig. 1. The distinctive necklaces of the Soufli stele (and numerous western Mediterranean examples) return on a second stele from Troy I

(Blegen et al. 1950, 157 Fig. 93), so that the continuity of the Agiis from the Late Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age is assured.

36 For example, Bocksberger 1967, 82, pointed to decorated stone slabs in the Neolithic Lagozza culture of Italy.

Grabhagel

£ hut

@ storage pit?

(Tor) .

Bastion |,

n Felskante

We are L

22a

Fig. 22a—c (a) defensive wall of the Copper Age colony of Los Millares, Spain (see also Fig. 23); (b) Chalcolithic fortifications of Lébous, France; and (c) Copper Age colony of Vila Nova de Säo Pedro, Portugal

Rundbau B4

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Since the other foreign elements may have reached southern France from the Iberian Peninsula337 or from Sardinia, with which already in the Neolithic

Although connections existed in 338, the Cycladic jugs from Marseille and, uncertainly enough, the faience beads remain the most important evidence of connections to the eastern Mediterranean region. They are hardly sufficient to prove close connections with the Early Bronze Age of the Agiis33?

Iberian Peninsula

In the parts of the western Mediterranean region that have been discussed so far, individual elements could be identified that appeared in the 3rd millennium BC without any indigenous precursors and that show more or less close parallels in the eastern Mediterranean region; however, their selection was almost always so inconsistent that it was difficult to draw conclusions about the nature of the connections.

The Iberian Peninsula offers a different picture.

Finds indicate connections not only with the Neolithic cultures of Italy34° and the Balkan Peninsula3#!, but also with the Neo- and Aeneolithic of the Levant and Egypt?%. Particularly striking are schematic stone figures of the type El Garcel#3, which

"Violin idols" of the Levant 344 and the Agiis 34; less clearly, relationships with the East are also evident in other types of idols346.

Copper slag from El Garcel also dates from around 3000 BC. 347 This gives a similarly early start to metalworking as in Lipari (see above p. 901); it is hardly a coincidence that the 'late Neolithic' - rather Aeneolithic -

Almerfa culture concentrated on areas with copper ore deposits348. It deserves attention,

27 So on the Tholoi: Audibert 1962, 138p. In general: Guido 1963, 61f.

338 d'Anna 1977, 234 (on Sardinian obsidian in Chasséen).

339 As assumed, for example, by Audibert 1962, 1781.; Lilliu 1965, 368; or Atzeni 1975, 30.

340 Blance 1971, 45.

341 Evans 1955/56, 49S.; Topp 1959, 115S.; Blance 1971, 49; Benac 1975, 37S.

342 On arrowheads with a retracted base: Savory 1968, 82; Blance 1971, 46. 96; —
Silex daggers with surface grinding and fine retouching: Savory 1968, 92. 101f.; —
"Pilgrim bottles" (from El Gärcel): ibid. 79. 89 pages; — Bowl shapes (Ramonete): Otlet 1977, 418; — Stone pendants: Savory 1968, 90; — Slate "crooked arms": ibid. 101; —
Slate 'Placas': Leisner

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1951, 125; Savory 1968, 92.

343 Almagro 1966, 21S.; Blance 1971, 46f.; Bosch- Gimpera 1974/75, 5.

34 Almagro 1966, 34. 36 (Troy); Savory 1968, 90

(Levante); Almagro Gorbea 1973, 335. On phalanx idols with eyes: Blance 1971, 35.
48.

345 Blance 1971, 47. For undecorated 'placas' see a Cycladic example (Erlenmeyer 1965, 68. 70

Pl. 20,4), which M.-L. and H. Erlenmeyer linked there with a Mesopotamian stele depiction from
the Gudea period.

346 For example, on 'placas' made of slate or bone with only partially recognizable figurative decoration:
Leisner 1951,

122pp.; Savory 1968, 90 (for connections to the Neolithic Ghassul culture of Palestine—
If the relationship between a bone head from Abrigo de Carrasca (and other bone figures from Jaén) and the sculpture of the Chalcolithic Beersheba culture of Palestine is as close as Spindler—Gallay 1973, 15, believe, these figures must also be as early as El Garcel. Blanco Freijeiro

1962, 1f. and Sangmeister—Schubart 1969, 1f.42f., however, first associated them with Cycladic
idols of the Early Bronze Age. The same problem applies to Almagro Gorbea's type X ('Lunulas': Almagro Gorbea 1973, 340). 347 Siret 1887, 6; Savory 1968, 80. 89; Barker 1971,

98

190. For the beginning of the Metal Age now a C** date: GrN without number = 3115 + 40 BC.
(Almagro Gorbea 1971, 282).

348 Savory 1968, 164f.; Bosch-Gimpera 1974/75, 4;

Schiile 1976, 42f. (Reference to the low suitability of the cultivated area for agriculture).

Fig. 23. Plan of the Copper Age colony of Los Milares (detail: Fig. 22a)

*

S® Settlement x

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that this culture includes, among other things, red polished earthenware®*? and (rarely) red-painted pottery*°° with simple geometric patterns, for which connections to the Aeneolithic of Sicily have been assumed351.

At about the same time, in the first half of the 3rd millennium BC352, simple round graves (tholoi) with collective burials began to be used in south-eastern Spain, the area of the Almeria culture. These continued to exist alongside the local megalithic graves (see below), which also featured collective burials, and developed further, with occasional influences in both directions. The fact that the flat idols (as well as stalked arrowheads; see
Note 342) only occur in the round graves?334, can be understood as an indication that the tholos grave also belongs to a 'foreign' component in the Almeria culture355, parallels can be found in the Early Bronze Age of the Aegean as well as before

349 Martinez Santa-Olalla 1948a, 96 pp.; Blance 1971, 28f. For relations to the Diana culture of Lipari and ultimately to the Levant: Savory 1968, 78; on the Diana culture and the Agiis: Blance 1971, 100; Bosch-Gimpera 1974/75, 5 (but C** dates from the 5th millennium BC: Guilaine 1976, 45). On a special early type of early red ware in the Reguengos region: Leisner 1951, 71 pp.; Savory 1968, 78; Blance 1971, 41.

350 Ibid. 41.

351 Tarradell Mateu 1955, 13; Blance 1971, 41. However, in the Ghar-Cahal cave (Morocco) the pottery in question dates back to an earlier period than that of the

Bell Beaker culture. For origin not in the Neolithic, but only in the colonial period: Savory 1968, 163.

352 Blance 1971, 31. In contrast, Savory 1968, 9, dated the first tholos graves to the
Time before the middle of the 4th millennium BC

353 Savory 1968, 87f.; Blance 1971, 35f.

354 So Blance 1971, 36. On the foundations of a megalithic tomb in El Pozuelo: Bosch-Gimpera 1974/75, 6; in the Dolmen del Portillo: Osuna Ruiz 1975, 282.

355 Leisner 1956, 22S.; Castaldi 1969, 238; Blance 1971, 36.

the Levant (see above p. 80)356. In addition, the early Almerfa culture—as well as its contemporaneous neighbouring groups, particularly in southwest Portugal®>7 and Murcia?8—knew the type of rock chamber grave with a round chamber and vertical shaft

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or horizontal passage (dromos)3°, which could also be traced back via Malta and Italy to the Agiis and ultimately to the Levant.

It therefore seems that the early Almerfa culture was influenced by the Eastern Mediterranean which could be explained by the signs of copper processing. These influences are clear, but were not strong enough to characterize this culture (as well as the neighboring ones)3°? in its entirety as 'Eastern Mediterranean', but rather stand out from a native component. The megalithic graves belong to the present, whose derivation from the Early Bronze Age of the Aegean is based on chronological and

other reasons can no longer be maintained361. Of course, it seems to me Is it not justified to conclude that all East Mediterranean influences were based only on coincidences?®? After all, even the original origin of megalithic tomb architecture in the Levant remains a matter of debate.

Around the middle of the millennium (or frither), a new development emerged in southeastern Spain, at the mouth of the Guadalquivir and in southern and central Portugal near the coast. Pottery and small finds show forms that did not result from the previous development, and fortified settlements emerged shortly afterwards, which

in their architecture and in the finds so clearly from the neighboring native cultures that they are interpreted and described — as I think rightly363 — as foreign colonies364,

The location of these colonies on the coast or on rivers that were once navigable shows that their founders were seafarers for whom shipping was the most important means of transport.5 The motive for these colonies is equally clear: they are all conveniently located near important copper deposits, and the comparatively abundant finds of copper slag and casting molds36 - in the colony, which is unusually deep inland

356 Savory 1968, 8f. 93; Blance 1971, 36; Schubart 1975, 113.

357 Leisner 1943, 289 Taf. 174; Nieto 1959, 215S.; Savory 1968, 116. 118S. 121f.

ros; GrN without number = 2900 440 BC and 2640 £65 BC from Carapito I).

31 Renfrew 1967a, 276if.

362 So ders. 1972, 444; ders. 1976, 27.

358 Pellicer 1957/58, 1231f.; Nieto 1959, 1891f.; Savory

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363 Hockmann 1976¢, 168S.

1968, 116; Blance 1971, 37. General information on rock chambers

364 Blance 1971, 49. 51; Spindler — Gallay 1973, 197; the vulture: Berdichewsky Scher 1964, passim.

Bosch-Gimpera 1974/75, 7; Kalb 1975, 383; Schiile 359 On Eastern relations: Nieto 1959, 232 pp.; Berdi-

1976, passim. For interpretation as seats of foreign masters, Chewsky Scher 1964, 212; Savory 1968, 117f.; Blance

citadel-like from the settlement of the locals - 1971, %0.

separately: Savory 1968, 158; Kalb 1975, 385.

360 General information on the Portuguese megalithic culture:

365 A painted 'ship picture' on a stone of the dolmen of Antelas is cited on several occasions; on this, ibid. 50. On the collective burial: Savory 1968, 88. —

On the 'Non-Cardial' Group of the Neolithic: Blance

s. de Albuguerque ¢ Castro et al. 1957, esp. 331. 335. 1971, 41 (painted ceramics; reddish polished 'Alma-

342f. pl. 4; Savory 1968, 112 fig. 36. The interpretation of the comb advocated by these authors is, however, an-gra' ceramics). 46 (idols; cf. also Spindler - Gallay

1973,15).46(beads);Spind—lGealrlay1973, face-comparablecombmodelsmadeofstone(Savory 17 (combs). — For dating: Almagro Gorbea 1970, 1968, 122 Fig. 39¢.d).

19 (C'*-data GrN 4.924 = 3110 £50 BC and 36 Sangmeister 1960, 135f.;Blance

19764;1Ga,rrido GIN4.925=2660+50v.Chr.ausOrcadosCastenai- Roiz1971,111— .ForeignProspectorsObject:Blance

100

Cerro de la Virgen near Orce even found ore samples?7 - together with the clear increase in the number of finds of metal objects and equipment 368 leave no doubt that the colonists came to the country because of the deposits of copper and probably also silver?°?. They not only exploited the naturally arsenic-containing, perhaps partly additionally arsenic-containing

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They not only used the alloyed ?7° copper of the Iberian Peninsula to a far greater extent than can be proven for the previous period?'!, but also introduced advanced processing techniques. The difficulties and dangers of the 'hot' processing of arsenic copper have already been mentioned (see note 112). Just as remarkable as the mastery of this technology is the fact that the colonists were the first to produce larger objects using the casting process372. The sheer extent of these technical innovations alone suggests that processes developed elsewhere were transferred to the Iberian Peninsula.

were transmitted.

All the new features of the colonies have analogues in the Early Bronze Age of the Aegean or other countries in the eastern Mediterranean. This is particularly evident in the form of settlement in the colonies. The round huts, for which at least some domes can be assumed, have their best parallels in Orchomenos (Boeotia)37¢. The construction in mud bricks?75 on a stone base corresponds to the eastern Mediterranean construction, as does the whitewashing of the interior walls37¢, which is about

at the 'White House' in Aegina (see note 242). The same direction is indicated by the design and construction of the fortification walls, which is now uniformly known from a number of colonies377. In the normal case - the best example is Los Millares at

1961, 192£f.; Sangmeist1e96r5, 51 {f.;Schuba1r97t5, 13.

367 Schüle 1974, 419.

368 lances: Almagro — Arrÿbas 1963, 238f; curved knives: ibid. 238; Savory 1968. 164; Sangmeis—tSechru- bart 1971, 40f.; Spindler — Gallay 1973, 13; Daggers: Savory1968,164; Blance1997; Blades, axes: Almagro — Arribas 1963, 236 f.; Blance 1971, 98; Chisels: Sangmeis—tScehubrart 1969,13f.; Blance 1971,98; Needles: Sangmeister — Schubart 1969, 39; Spindier — Gallay 1973, 238. On ‘foreign’ copper species in these types: Spindler 1969, 76; Sangmeister 1971, 127.

369 Savory 1968, 164; Blance 1971, 9; Bosch-Gimpera 1974/75, 8.

270 Junghans et al. 1968, 17; Sangmeister - Strahm 1973, 217 (for the export of arsenical copper from the Iberian Peninsula to the Aegean Sea); cf. also the early arsenical copper in the Chalcolithic Palestine, above p. 69. 7 Savory 1968, 19. For egg types, cf. above note. 368.

37 Blance 1971, 79. 97. Their view that the technique of copper casting cannot be traced back to the Bell Beaker culture is generally limited by the finds at El Ventorro (Harrison et al. 1975, 173f.). 373Schü—Plelleicer 1966,8;Kalb 1969,2171.;Sang-meister — Schubart 1969, 2; Gusi Jener 1975, 313;

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in rows (Cerro de la Virgen): Kalb 1969, Fig. p.21,

373 Almagro— Arribas 1963, 213; Kalb 1969, 220; ibid. 1975, 384£. (but also parallels in the Levant).

375 Schiile — Pellicer 1966, 8; Sangmeister — Schubart 1969, 2; Kalb 1969, 217; Blance 1971, 51. 89; Schiile 1974, 419; Arribas 1976, 155; Schile 1976, fig. p. 43 top.

376 School — Pellicer 1966, 8.

37 Secured fortifications: Campos (AlmagróArribas 1963, 213); — Castro da Fomea (Spindler — Gallay 1973, 9); — Cerro de los Castellones (Mendoza et al. 1975, 315 f.); ~Cerrode laVirgen (Blance 1971, 51.89; Schiile 1974, 419f.); — Columbeira (Schubart 1970, 591f.); —Los Millares (Almagro —Arribas 1963, £31.); — PedradoOuro(Leis-nScheubrart19916t.);6-,Penedo (Spindier 1969, 45 pp.—)V;ila Nova de Säo Pedro (Savory 1968,159Fig.52,1; ibid.1972,23f.;Schubart1970, 70 Fig. 8b; Blance 1971, 61); -Zambujal (Sangmeister — Schubart 1969, 1f.; ibid. 1972, 191S; Schubart 1970, 71 Fig. 9b). Further evidence (but unclear whether fortified with walls): Almagro — Arribas 1963, 205 f.; Spindler 1969, SOf. 110; ibid. 1971, 521.; Schubart 1970, 70f. On relations with the Eastern Mediterranean: Almagro -Arribas 1963, 13f. 211pp.; Blance 1971, 89. Against Eastern influence: Renfrew - Whitehouse 1974.

Kalb 1975, 384; Arribas 1976, 155. - On the arrangement

368.

Almeria (Fig. 23)378 — a compact wall made of unworked stones, following the contours of the terrain, surrounds the settlement area; straight walls are rare?79, This curtain wall is flanked by semicircular bastions at moderate, rarely at greater distances38° (Fig. 22a)381, as is known from Lerna, Kastri (Fig. 14a) or Arad in Palestine (Fig. 15; see above p. 83). Massive, later hollow round towers can be considered a variant of this type3%3. In Vila Nova de Säo Pedro in central Portugal, the bastions merge with the curtain wall to form a curved, projecting and receding facade (Fig. 22¢)384, as was found in Panormos (Fig. 14b). Small round 'castles' without bastions, such as the 'forts' in Los Millares, are unusual; they correspond to the early Helladic round building in Tiryns (note 240). The gates are narrow passages38, as in Kastri or Arad; a long gateway38¢ corresponds in concept to the gate systems in Troy 1d-1Ib (see note 232). It is particularly noteworthy that the so-called herringbone masonry made of alternating slanted layers of stones has been demonstrated several times3%7.

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This type of construction is widespread in the Aegean as well as in the Levant (see note 240). An open water pipe at the Cerro de la Virgen3#8, however, can only be compared with the waterworks of the Old

Orient or Egypt.

The colonists did not introduce any new types of graves, but used rock chamber and round graves, which were merely refined architecturally3%°. However, a number of individual forms and special burial forms, such as the construction of stone circles around the grave or the deposit of grave goods outside the grave, show parallels in the Early Bronze Age Agdis area3?1. It is worth noting that the tholoi of Pai Mogo and Praia das Magas in Portugal do not seem to have been originally built as graves, but as sanctuaries392. They would be found in the round buildings of Beth Yerach/Chirbet Kerak in Palestine (Fig. 17) and the building model of Melos

(Fig. 16a) correspond to this (see above p. 85). In the same context it may be that occasionally round rock chamber graves are arranged in symmetrical groups3?3 like the above-ground round structures of the two eastern Mediterranean examples.

378 Hockmann 1976c, 170 Abb. 164 (after Almagro — Arribas 1963).

379 Cerro de los Castellones: Mendoza 1975, 319. 380 Pedra do Ouro: Schubart 1969, 201 p. (Complete with

388 Blance 1971, 51; Schiile 1974, 419; Arribas 1976, 155.

389 Skies 1974, 419.

390 Almagro — Arribas 1963, 214 f. 219; Castaldi 1969, 238; Spindler — Gallay 1970, 43f.; Blance 1971, 90. — Savory 1968, 123, saw in the rock chamber graves a sign of renewed contacts, especially with Malta and the Gaudo group of southern Italy.

Lébous).

381 Hockmann 1976¢, 170 Fig. 165 (thereafter our

Abb. 22a).

382 Savory 1968, 158, took direct reference to Los Millares.

connections to the Early Bronze Age of Palestine. Similar

erwogen Almagro — Arribas 1963, 213S.

383AbfolgeinZambujal:Sangmei—sStcheubrart1969,

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15.17.25;Spindler1969,110. 392Spindler—lGealrlay1972,73.78S.thought of examples

384 Hockmann 1976¢, 170 Fig. 166 (after Savory

1968; then our Fig. 22c).

28 The Millares; Vila Nova de Sdo Pedro: White 1971,

89.

386Zambujal:Sangmei—sStcheubrart1969,44Abb.7.
Rota: Berdichewsky Scher 1964, 77S. 80Abb. 33, 2.

387 Los Millares: Blance 1971, 55 pl. 28,2; - Cerro de 1a Virgen: ibid. 51. 89; Schiile 1976, fig. p. 42 left.

On typological relationships between rock chamber graves and tholoi, see ibid. 168.

102

391 Corresponding forms are found in Leukas, in Hagios Kosmas, in the Cyclades and in the Messara, cf. Almagro—Arribas 1963,219; Blance 1971,90.

the one on Malta; however, in my opinion, these do not show any greater similarity than the evidence in the Levant and the Aegean.

393 Such a group of five rock chamber graves in

Abb. 24a—c. (a) Crown Siegel from Monte do Cabe- <0, Portugal, L, 2.8 cm. Lisbon, Mus. of Geographical Services; (b) Pyxis ('Cup') statuette from Vila Nova de Säo Pedro, Portugal, Dm 8.4 cm. Lisbon, Mus. of Carmel; (c) Steatiette figurine from the Field of Fire, Korsika, H 30 cm. London, Brit. Mus.

b S

These relationships to the eastern Mediterranean region are also clearly evident in the pottery of the colonies. The grey or red pottery decorated with polished patterns of the early — probably still unfortified — colony of Mesas de Asta?°* tends towards the Late Chalcolithic of the Eastern Aegean, and the relationships of the so-called symbol pottery of southeast Spain point in a similar direction — to the area around Troy1 —, whose eye patterns find their best equivalents in the FB I of the northeast Aegean395. Stone vessels can also perhaps be linked to those of the Cyclades and Crete, despite some differences39¢.

Particularly striking are the relationships to the FB I pottery of the Cyclades, which are evident in the zigzag-decorated pyxides from central Portugal, the so-called 'Copas' (Fig. 24b)397.

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They were clearly made in Portugal itself, but in such a close resemblance to the cylinder pyxides of the Grotta Pelos group (FK 1) that it is difficult to understand that they were made by chance. For the rare painted vessels of the colonies, connections with the Aegean are less clear, but suggestions can be made.
from the area of the Anatolian or Cretan FBT or III3%°.

394 Esteve Guerrero 1945, 35pp.; Blance 1971, 91 (for references to the Late Chalcolithic Samos, but also to the Diana culture).

395 Blance 1971, 55. 62. 93 (on Aegean parallels of the eye patterns, which also recur on some idol types). For details see especially Asquerino 1975, 351 f.

3% Savory 1968, 131; Blance 1971, 94, represented this with reservations.

397 Hockmann 1976¢, 170 Fig. 167 (thereafter our Fig. 24b). General information on 'Copas' and other forms of Aegean-influenced 'import pottery': do Pago - Sangmeister 1956, 222 (for import); Blance 1959, 459 pp.

(proof of local production); Savory 1968, 1324f.; Spindler 1969, 78f. (both against import; the pottery of the colonies only imitated foreign models); Blance 1971, 92f.; Savory 1972, 33 f. — See also the conical neck vessels (such as FK I) in Leisner's 'Level 7' in south-eastern Spain (Leisner 1943, pl. 161, B 7,3; C7,6; E 7,9;

K 7,21). — Metal vessels are not yet known from the colonies, but may have been present.

This is supported by the similarity of a silver cup from St. Adrien (Briard 1978, 13 pages, fig. 2,1-3; similar gold cup from Brittany, lost: fig. 2,4) with a silver cup from the Troad (Muscarella 1974, no. 4): the form can only have been brought to Western Europe via the colonies. The cup from St. Adrien was originally considered to be neolithic (according to information when it was delivered to the restoration workshop of the RGZM Mainz); it is now dated to around 1700 BC (Briard 1978, 19).

398 Blance 1959, 460pp. In this respect, the excessively large pottery kiln at Vila Nova de São Pedro deserves attention (Savory 1968, 159 Fig. 52,1.2).

399 Leisner 1943, 589 (for relationships to FM III ceramics); Esteve Guerrero 1945, 39; Almagro — Arribas 1963, 230S.; Savory 1968, 163: Blance 1971, 92 (note that the parallels occur in both FM I and FM I); Almagro 1974, 317S.; Almagro Gorbea 1976, 198 (for models in the Aegean FB

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It should be mentioned that similar ceramics to those of the colonies have also been found in Morocco was 400,

The stone and bone sculpture of the colonies is almost always stylized to the point of non-figurativeness and, unlike the flat 'plaquettes' of the previous period (see notes 342 and 346), is round-sculpted***. Particularly characteristic are baityloi and cylindrical idols, which only partially, like the 'symbol pottery', have large eye patterns°2. Some of the types have parallels in the Levant and Agiis43, while others are indigenous4.
Very rarely do we come across figures that are more close to nature. Of these, an ivory statuette from Almizaraque with an incised pubic triangle filled with dots *5 is more closely associated with Cretan imitations of Cycladic sculpture *°° due to both the material and the way the triangle is reproduced*'".
On the whole, however, the sculpture of the colonies is closer to Anatolian than to Cycladic or Cretan4%8.
In addition, a component with parallels in predynastic Egypt can be seen; cylinder idols with the head laid back, ‘sandals’ made of stone or ivory and ‘crosiers’ made of stone4%? belong to this group.

An Egyptian component is also evident among the other small finds. Sharpened and finely retouched flint daggers have parallels in predynastic Egypt, as do arrowheads with a concave base, the dominant type of the colonies.19 The latter, however, do not necessarily have to be traced back directly to Egyptian models, as they are also widespread in the Aegean and on Lipari.11 Ivory combs, boxes and beads2, the material of which probably comes from North Africa, point in the same direction.12 Given the distance not only in space but also in time between the colonies and prehistoric Egypt and the almost complete lack of connecting finds, it is difficult to reconstruct the type of transmission.

%00 Tarradell Mateu 1955, 19. 23 (on relations with the Serraferlicchio group of Sicily); Savory 1968, 134; Blance 1971, 93.

40t Blance 1971, 56. 94£.; Spindler — Gallay 1973, 15. $° Almagro — Arribas 1963, 242S.; Almagro 1966, 211f.; Almagro Gorbea 1969, 221S.; ders. 1973, 27S.; Blance 1971, 56. 62. 97. %03Almag—rArroibas1963,242f.;Almagro1966,34. 36; Savory 1968,1291f.;Almagro Gorbea 1969,261;ders. 1973,2811f. 335S. 340; Blance 1971,94f.

“09 Almagro — Arribas 1963, 2401.; Savory 1968, 130f.; Blance 1971, 95. See also the golden crosier pendant from grave 36 in Varna (Ivanov 1978, pl. 10). A golden lunula (ibid.) is also similar to the stone lunulae from the Iberian peninsula (cf. also note 418 below), and the golden diadems from Varna (Ivanov 1978, pl.

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17. 19. 21) are in my opinion no less similar to the evidence from the Cuevadelos Murciélagos (Blance 1971, 28; Fig.: Ebert, RV I 338 Taf. 169a) than Frithminoan and Cycladic dia-

404 Almagro 1966, 23f. 281. 36; Almagro Gorbea 1973,

3361f. 340.

+05Almagro—Arribas1963,243;Almagro1966,27£.; with a daily NATO-registered airport

see also Blanco Freijeiro 1962, 1f. for further statuettes. The temporal distance to the Frith Bronze Age of the Agiis, which Blanco Freijeiro assumes, does not exist. 406 Thimme 1976,
153 Abb. 143.

(Rudolph 1979, 8.10. 16. 18. 20), the Bulgarian finds can also be traced back to the same models as the forms on the Iberian Peninsula, which were transmitted to the West by other routes.

407 However, the stone 'Hackenmo-

dele' parallels in the Levant (Savory 1968, 129).

408 This also applies to 'horn idols' of unknown purpose.

determination:Savory1968,137;Blance1971,62;Spindler 412Sangmei—
sStcheubrart1969,41;Blance1971,561, 1971,64.For Anatolia, see Diam—
aRuttnert1969,147S. 413Ebenda56.

104

don't say.

As the Gribers of Vama were delighted with the discovery of trotter

419 Savory 1968, 821.; Blance 1971, 96. 41 Blance 1971, 96.

ieren414. However, stone bowls, pendants in the shape of a crescent or animal*15 as well as marble imitations of club axes*!® can also be associated with Egypt, specifically with the Old Kingdom or the First Intermediate Period.

and costume elements: wing (phallus) beads*!7, pierced disc pendants*18, bird and vase head pins419, segmented beads or pin heads*29 and bone sleeves4?!. A copper stamp seal deserves special attention

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(Fig.242)422 from the megalithic tomb Monte do Cabego, which is similar to a Frithhelladic steatite seal from Eutresis auSallend 423,

Regardless of the fact that the Portuguese seal is probably made of Iberian copper*24, it indicates forms of trade as evidenced by seals and impressions for the Early Bronze Age of the Aegean, and makes direct connections seem possible. The most important, although perhaps not the only, reason for the presence of Aegean colonists and traders in the far west was certainly the unusually rich deposits of copper on the Iberian Peninsula, which is characterized by a high natural content of arsenic*?5. This makes it easier to cast than pure copper and may have been particularly sought after.

E. Sangmeister has assumed (see previous note) that the Agiis initially only obtained arsenical copper from the west. Even if this were true, Aegean metallurgists soon processed arsenical-copper alloys that differ from Iberian material by containing traces of other metals. In this respect, some objects made of 'Dgdian' arsenical copper are gaining importance on the Iberian Peninsula, particularly Sangmeister's material group C 6426; they underline the probability that Aegean metallurgists worked in Spain and Portugal or that Aegean metal objects occasionally reached the colonies. These are not the only clues: some curved knives (see note 368) - an east Mediterranean type anyway, whose colonial date is confirmed by a stratified find in Zambujal*? 7 - are made of tin bronze. Since this material can be regarded as typical for the Early Bronze Age of northwestern Anatolia and the Aegean (see above p. 691f.), the eastern origin not only of the type but also of the objects themselves can be considered. These knives can perhaps claim to be recognized as genuine Aegean imports alongside the Cycladic jugs from Menorca and Marseille (see above p. 95), and they surpass those of scientific interest.

414 Blance, on the one hand, assumed (1971, 100) direct connections along the North African coast, but on the other hand only considered indirect connections (ibid. 49).

415 Savory 1968, 129. 416Almag—Arrroibas1963,240f.

+17 Vilaseca — Capafons 1967, 31.

*18 Osuna Ruiz 1975, 282. Also Lunula-Anhénger (Savory 1968, 125 Abb. 40h.i; Blance 1971, 73 Taf. 10,11) have parallels in the East (e.g. B. Theochares 1951, 15 Abb. 30). .

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419 of the Pago—Sangmeister 1956, 225; Savory 1968, 131; Sangmei—sStcheubrart1969,39;Blance1971,63f.96. 420 Leisner 1943, 450—453 Abb. 21,1-7 Taf. 160,15.

For parallels in the Aegean and Levant, see note 162 above.

421 Blance 1971, 56. 63.

422 Leisner 1959, 88f. Pl. 16,1 (afterwards, as a redrawing, our Fig. 24a). 423Blance1971,99(mitBeleg:Goldman1931,199 Taf. 20,2).

424 Analysis: Leisner 1959, 89 (corresponding to Sangmeister's material group E 01: cf. Junghans ua 1960, 210 Tab. 1. 2).

425 Sangmeister — Strahm 1973, 217.

426 Sangmeister 1971, 127. 427Sangmeister—Schubart1971,40f.

scientific importance, since their archaeological context is clearly established.

In this respect, the finds of 'Aegean' arsenic copper and 'Aegean' tin bronze represent a final link in our argument that the numerous eastern elements in the colonies cannot be dismissed as convergence phenomena, but are linked to close and probably direct contacts between the Iberian Peninsula
and the Eastern Mediterranean.

It is difficult to say exactly how these contacts took place. There are no Aegean written sources from this period, and the Oriental and Egyptian ones are silent - as was to be expected. The mixture of cultural elements from different parts of the eastern Mediterranean region that characterizes the colonies42 speaks more for 'joint ventures' of small groups of people brought together by common interests and the same courage than for organized enterprises at state level in defined spheres of interest. This is even more likely for the period before the founding of the colonies, which may have been necessary for economic reasons. Unlike on the Sinai Peninsula and perhaps even in Punt, the indigenous population of the Iberian Peninsula was probably not able to mine and extract copper on their own, at least initially, so that eastern Mediterranean specialists had to be brought in for this purpose. For the early period (El

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However, temporary visits by foreign prospectors, such as those who left their mark on Lipari, can be expected. Perhaps these first expeditions can be imagined as being similar to those of the “Venediger”, who from the late Middle Ages onwards roamed Europe in search of the minerals and earths that the workshops of Murano needed to colour glass*?? The first metal prospectors in Spain and Portugal seem to have come mainly from Palestine and Egypt. It seems that the Aegean only began to take part in ventures in the far west somewhat later, but before the establishment of fortified colonies *3°. As the East Aegean-looking finds on the Guadalquivir and the 'Cycladic' copas in Portugal show, the Strait of Gibraltar did not represent an obstacle. It remains to be seen whether this expansion to the Atlantic coast was solely due to the greater daring of the Egyptian sailors or the better suitability of their ships for the nautical conditions in the Atlantic, or was caused by the greater pressure of the Syrian or Egyptian 'competition' in the more easily accessible southeastern Spain.

The development of Vila Nova de Säo Pedro (see previous note) and other settlements into heavily fortified city-like colonies represents the next phase and the high point of the relations between the Iberian Peninsula and the Eastern Mediterranean. HN Savory's interpretation of the fortifications as the seats of a newly established foreign ruling class, which may have already found Eastern Mediterranean settler groups, does not seem impossible; but it remains to be seen whether a Syrian-Levantine sphere of interest in Almeria can really be separated from a Cycladic one in Portugal, or whether, as B. Blance believed (see note 428), at this time on the Iberian Peninsula in all

428 White 1971, 100.

429 Laub 1969, 1941f.

430 Savory 1968, 135f.; ibid. 1972, 27f. 33: The main

concentration of the 'Copas' dates back to the time before the fortification of Vila Nova de Säo Pedro.

431 Savory 1968, 160.

'Colonial zones' Aegean influences (Trojan-Anatolian alongside Cycladic) and those from Syria and Egypt penetrated each other in a way that was almost inseparable*32, without there being any ethnic-sociological differentiation.

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The complexity of the situation is shown by the Serraferlicchio elements in Spain and Portugal, which are believed to have reached the West in the wake of foreign sailors.

In any case, it must be assumed that not only experienced builders were needed to build the fortifications, but also a large number of workers; small foreign ship crews were hardly sufficient for this. It is more likely that local workers (voluntarily or involuntarily) helped to build the colonies' defensive, residential and water structures under the guidance of foreign builders and using East Mediterranean techniques (herringbone masonry, mud brick and dome construction). Similar conditions can be assumed for ore extraction in the mining areas, while the smelting and processing of copper was apparently carried out in the colonies themselves by foreign specialists. This model of an economic (and probably also ethnic) symbiosis between the local and foreign population explains the cultural influence of the colonies better than the assumption that the two groups lived strictly separate from one another. It could also explain why the finds from the colonies differ from those of the 'mother-land' in that they are less artistically made and have different details. These differences are less pronounced in the case of tools, water and equipment that sailors had to take with them, and which are most likely to be genuine imports from the East, than in the case of luxury items and jewelry, which were probably made entirely in the colonies themselves. A special case is the production of 'Copas' and other ceramics in Portugal, which surpassed their Danish counterparts in terms of craftsmanship. As the unusual size of the pottery kiln in Vila Nova de Säo Pedro shows, pottery was probably made commercially here. Such products may have been intended in part for the local population, whose labor and supplies such as food and firewood the colonists probably had to rely on on a permanent basis.

These contacts seem to have led to tensions: the colonies were destroyed in the late 3rd millennium BC. In the following strata, finds of the Bell Beaker culture appear for the first time, and the conquerors can be seen as the bearers of this culture433.

The origin and spread of this culture cannot be discussed here; it must suffice to indicate that its bearers belonged to the indigenous population of the Iberian Peninsula, but were evidently culturally influenced by the colonists 434. A certain knowledge of the way of life in the colonies is also indicated by the fact that at least some of them were still inhabited by the conquerors. They also strengthened the fortifications, but in a primitive way and by abandoning the bastions 435. A lack of familiarity with the technical achievements of the colonists is also shown by the following:

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the deterioration of the aquiduct in Cerro de la Virgen43¢ and the mostly backward methods of copper processing (see note 372). Nevertheless, the bell

432 Savory 1968, 158. 160, connecting Los Millares with Palestine, Vila Nova de Sio Pedro with the Early Bronze Age of the Cyclades.

433 Ibid. 165.

434 Blance 1971, 115 (restrictive: Savory 1968,

174).

435 Blance 1971, 61. 436 School 1974, 220.

Beaker culture provided important impetus for the spread of metallurgy in many parts of Europe. It also seems significant that its bearers - probably also based on the experiences of the colonists - worked as seafarers in the western Mediterranean and reached Sicily in an eastward expansion.

To sum up: The similarities between the Iberian Peninsula and the Eastern Mediterranean

The findings in the Mediterranean region appear too numerous and too clear to be convincing as convergent phenomena. They suggest connections between the two areas; and this also explains the less clear eastern Mediterranean phenomena, particularly in Italy: in the case of contacts, as suggested by the graves of Cycladic and perhaps Egyptian ships in Malta, the coasts and islands of the Tyrrhenian Sea and probably also the African coast must have been touched by eastern Mediterranean sailors. That the ships of the Levant and the Aegean were able to reach the western Mediterranean is not only evident from the depictions in Malta, but also from the frequent voyages of Egyptian ships to Punt, as attested by the grave inscription of Khnemhotep.

It is worth noting that these great nautical exploits were not mentioned in the Eastern sources of the time. The lack of literary references to long-distance voyages in the Mediterranean is therefore no proof that such voyages did not take place. The voyages to Punt also show that there must have been voyages of discovery during the Old Kingdom. It does not take much imagination to imagine that the reports of the course of drifting Byblos sailors across distant countries and islands in the "Great Green", the Mediterranean, triggered planned voyages of exploration that may have led to the rich copper country in the far west. The Egyptian predynastic

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Elements already present in the Almeria culture make it probable that the first explorers were Egyptians and (probably as their partners) residents of the Levant coast, whose influences can also be felt early on in the Aegean. Western Anatolia and the Aegean

seem to have taken part in such ventures only later; but their influences (and those of the Levant) are more evident in Italy and Malta than Egyptian ones, which probably made their way more along the North African coast.

The motive for such long-distance journeys is derived from the literary evidence of the great importance of the metal trade, which also played a role for punt sailors, as well as from the archaeological evidence of copper smelting in El Gärcel and Lipari, to name only the earliest. Presumably the copper cargoes brought home from the far west in the 3rd millennium BC represented no less wealth in their time than the fabulous profits of Kolaios from his chance journey to Tartessos much later. I would like to assume that the lure of Iberian copper was strong enough to trigger the contacts between East and West which culminated in the establishment of colonies, the archaeologically tangible effects of which could be summarized here.

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CHAPTER XLVI

JEW TRADERS IN BORDEAUX.

Slave trade by Jews in Aquitaine. — Accusation brought against the Jews of Bordeaux of having delivered this city to the Normans. — Legislative provisions concerning Jews of Poitou and Gascony in the 11th century. — Mentions of those of Bordeaux in the Gascon roles, the acts of Rymer and elsewhere; pepper tax imposed on the Jews of Bordeaux as on those of Aix en Provence. — Spanish and Portuguese Jews established early in our city. — Portuguese merchant who died at the Chapeau-Rouge home, in 1546. — Emigration of Jews from Spain and Portugal driven out by the Inquisition; they take refuge in Bordeaux and Gascony. — Activity imparted to Bordeaux commerce by these foreigners; jealousy they inspire. — Retirement of some of them; edicts issued in favor of tres by Henri II and Henri III, in 1550 and 1574. — Persistence of the envy which the Jews p tugais are the object; order from Marshal d'Ornano intended to protect them. — Crowd Spanish Jews in Bordeaux, especially at the time of the fairs; postmaster's affair Ponteil. — Denunciation brought against all Portuguese Offices; it has no consequences. — Rigorous measures taken in 1625 against the Portuguese of Guienne; intervene tions of the jurates in their favor. — Rigorous prosecution of the tax authorities against them. — Notable Jewish merchants of Bordeaux at the beginning of the 16th century; factories founded by some of them. — Denunciation of the Jews of Bordeaux by the Sieur de Pressigny. — Request from the Jews of Bordeaux to extend their trade. — Opposition of the merchants of Dijon — Lawsuits brought against the Medina family — Arrival of the Avignon Jews. Germans in Guienne; judgment of the Council pronouncing the expulsion of the newcomers; sixteen families are forced to leave Bordeaux. — Place of two Jews from Avignon to be restored to their trade; opposition of the House. — Complaints against Jews and fairground inarchands; the Chamber persists in its ideas, and only responds to observations Mr. de Tourny. — Return of a certain number of Jews from Avignon; they turn their industry towards banking and armaments. — Their petition to be relieved of the judgment of 1734 is a crown of success. — New petitions from Avignon Jews; those are rejected by the jurats and the Commerce Council; trading permissions granted to these Jews were patents obtained in 1759 by six families of theirs. — Arrival of new Jews in Bordeaux; they are still expelled. — Limitation of antagonism between Portuguese and Avignon Jews. — Travel of three Jews from Bordeaux to Paris to trade there.

The Jews show up early in Bordeaux; we see them there, as in ancient Rome, trading in slaves. This industry, all the more productive as the cruel wars of which Aquitaine was then the scene must constantly fuel it, was exercised by the Jews of our southern provinces in

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virtue of an imperial privilege which allowed them to buy captives from conquered countries, take them to Spain and sell them to the Muslims. The clergy finally spoke out against this infamous traffic; He spoke, through the mouth of Agobard, to Louis the Débonnaire!, and had the rescript which authorized this trade revoked, in a council held in Toulouse in the year 829. Adalelme, metropolitan bishop of Bordeaux, attended the synodal assembly to represent Vasconia, whose interests were at stake, because of the neighborhood of this province with the Peninsula?.

We do not know if the Jews of Bordeaux continued the slave trade; but we can believe it if we add credence to the accusation brought against these Jews of having, in 848, delivered the city to the Normans. They already inhabited this Mont-Judaïqüe which the Bordeaux Chronicle speaks of in the year 1273, and which is mentioned in the act of

1, "We commanded the Christians not to sell Christian slaves to them (the Jews), so that they would not allow the Jews themselves to sell the Christians to Spain," etc. (Saint Agobard, archbishop of Luydun, Opera, ed. S'ephano Baluzio. Parisiis, m.pc.Lxvi., in-8°, t. I, p. 62. Cf. Not. ad Agobard., t. IH, pp. 18, 19.)

? Simonde de Sismondi, Histoire des Français, t. NI, ch. vi, p. 472. — Lou-bens, Histoire de l'ancienne province de Gascogne, etc., t. I (à Paris, 1839, in-8°), p. 177, 178. — Detcheverry, Histoire des Israélites de Bordeaux. Bor-deaux, 1850, in-8°, p. 45, 16. Cf. Pagi, Historico-chronological criticism in the uni-versos Annales ecclesiasticos E. et R. Caesaris cardinalis Baronii, t. 3, ann. 858 and 829, p. 537, col. 1, p. 558, col. 1, $ x1-xi1v.

8 Annal. Bert., ap. D. Bouquet. (Rec. des hist. des Gaules, etc., t. VII, p. 65, C.) — Chron. management. Normann., ap. du Chesne, Hist. Franc. Script., t. I, p. 525, A. — The city of Toulouse was delivered in the same manner as Bor-deaux, and undoubtedly for the same reasons, to the Saracens, in 732, if Delancre is to be believed (?'Incredulity and disbelief of the spell, etc. Paris, M. pc. xxi., in-4°, p. It is fair to say that nothing similar is found in

the General History of Languedoc by DD. by Vic and Vaissete. See. book. VHI, ch. xxiv, t. I, p. 397, and p. 695, col. 2, note Lxxxin, n° xx.

AND NAVIGATION IN BORDEAUX. has

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donation and foundation of the priory of Saint-Martin by Geoffrey, Duke of Guienne, under the date of 10771.

From this time on, there is no longer any question of the Jews of Bordeaux before the 11th century; yet contemporary documents are not always explicit on their account.

In 1182, Philippe-Auguste had issued an order by which his subjects were relieved of the sums they might owe to the Jews: this order must have affected those of Guienne, although subject to English domination, by reason that having debtors everywhere, they could not escape the effects of such a law. The ecclesiastical authority indicated the means for the future. In 1214, Cardinal Robert of Cork, legate of the Samnt-See, wrote to John Sans-Terre to inform him that he had convened a council in Bordeaux.

In this assembly, it was ordered that the lords would repress the usury of the Jews, under penalty, for the latter, of seeing all commerce move away from them, and, for the merchants as for the barons, of being struck with 'excommunication?., In 1219, following a general measure, which extended to the Jews of Poitou and Gascogne, those of Bordeaux were forbidden to buy or sell any kind of objects, except the provisions of the Day, otherwise than in the sight of Christian prudential men.

1 Discourse on the antiquilez found near the Saint-Martin lès Bour-deaux priory in July 1594, following the Chronique bordeloise, edict. by m.ncoui., folio 45 reclo. Cf. Darnal, Suppl. chronicles, etc., p. 11; and Detcheverry, History of the Israelites of Bordeaux, p. 16, 17. |

? Rymer, Fœdera, etc., t. I, leave I, p. 61, col. 1 and 2. — D. Devienne, Hist.

of Bordeaux, t. 1, p. 30. — Detcheverry, History of the Israelites of Bordeaux, _p. 48, 23, 24.

They were also forbidden to receive wet or bloodstained linen as pledge, or anything that belonged to Holy Church and could give rise to the slightest suspicion.
“Thus,” adds the king in his letter to G. de Neville, his seneschal, “that this took place in the time of King Hénry, our ancestor, and in the time of King Richard, our uncle. »
It is to be regretted that the sentence presents too much obscurity for it to be possible to decide whether the king means to speak of legislation in use in England, or only

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in Poitou and Gascony.

On June 3, 1265, Edward, eldest son of the King of England, gave Bernard Macoynis, citizen of Bordeaux, his Jew from Lesparre, Bernard Bénédict, to own it during his life, as well as all the income he could earn from it. . It seems that this Jew from Lesparre was very well known; because Bréquigny has preserved for us a donation, dated October 21, 1283, in which another Jew is designated by the quality of brother of this Bénédict *.

On May 23, 1275, Edward E wrote to the Constable of Bordeaux that he had learned that the community of Jews, already prey to the scarcity which was being felt this year, was still burdened with taxes. He therefore forbids this officer from oppressing the Jews or imposing them without his order. In a second letter, this time addressed to the seneschal of Gascony at the same time as the constable of Bordeaux, Edward announced to them that he was in-

1 Red. bit. claus., and. 3 Hen. III, A. D. 1219: vol. 1, p. 397, col. 2.

2? Martial and Jules Delpit, Notice on a manuscript from the Wol-f'enbültel library, S vu. (Notices and extracts from manuscripts, ete. t. XIV, 2nd part., p. 495.)
— Detcheverry, Hist. of the Israelites of Bordeaux, p. %.

$ Rymer, Foedera, etc., t. 1, part IF, p. 146, col. 2. — Detcherry, Hist. of Israel. of Bordeaux, p. 32.

formed that the community of Jews of Gascony, at the instigation of certain of their competitors, finds itself overburdened with enormous taxes levied under the most futile pretexts, and that we crack down with the greatest rigor against those who cannot pay them; that he does not intend for the Jews to be persecuted in this way, and that, when justice has to deal with them, they will be judged by prudent and loyal Christians.

The community of Jews of Gascony having remonstrated with the king that most of them were emigrating to escape the intolerable restrictions with which they were burdened, this prince returned to the charge to order them to be reduced. On the other hand, in 1291, Philip the Fair issued an order to enjoin all Jews coming from Guienne and England to leave the kingdom before mid-Lent.

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In the Gason roles, there is still frequent mention of the Jews of Bordeaux, namely Aaron of London #, and of Elie, son of Bénédict, of the same city#, who, undoubtedly, had left England for get closer to Spain, with a view to seeking asylum there, in case they are disturbed in the English possessions. A disastrous fate was reserved for them in this new homeland. Towards the end of the 13th century, they were expelled from Guienne, and again in 1318-1956. At this

1 Covenants, vol. Y, part II, p. 496, col. 2. - Hist. des Israel., p. 32, 33

2? Once upon a time, vol. IT, folio 88 recto.

3 Rot. Vasc., 27 Hen. III, memb. 24; 3 Ed. I, memb. 5; 114 Ed. I, memb. 4.

Jbid., 12 Ed. I, member,. 2.

5 Jbid., 17 Ed. I, part. I, memb. 11.

ibid., 12 Ed. HN, member 6, on the back. — Litlera, the seal of the king of the Franks, of the goods of the Jews of Bordeaux, 10 Ed. 1. (The antient Kalendars and In-

At the time, they fell under the attacks of the peasants, King Edward II took account of their property, and ordered an investigation into the murders committed against them. Other documents published by Rymer shed light on the condition of the Jews of Bordeaux and Gascony under the Plantagenets. Under the terms of a burrow of the archbishopric. from the year 1356, the Jews of Bordeaux were required to pay an annual royalty of eight pounds of pepper to the archbishop, payable at Christmas #. When we see, in 1143, an archbishop of Aix giving to the Jews of this city permission to have a synagogue and a cemetery, on condition that they would pay him and his successors, in perpetuity, two pounds of the best pepper, and in 1383, another archbishop granted the same award a similar privilege to all the Jews of his diocese*, we are led to think, with Father Bougerelf, that in Bordeaux as in Aix, the majority

ventories of the Treasury of His Majesty's Exchequer, etc., ed. by Sir Francis Palgrave, vol. IT, 1836, in-8o, p. 121, no. 61.) — In a letter to the seneschal of Gascony which we find under this indication, Edward begins by expressing his deep astonishment at the fact that after having, on several occasions, given the order to expel the Jews residing in Guienne, this order would have remained without

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execution. See again the Gascon role of the fourth year of Edward II, memb. 45 {de Debitis que debebantur Judeis, levandis ad opus Regis), and that of the seventh year of the same reign. (From Judeis expellendis.)

ta Per quosdam malefactores qui pastorelli vulgariter nuncupantur. » — To make known the shepherds of 1320, we can only refer to a notice from Mr. Léon Dessalles, who occupied? twenty-two pages of the Annals -agricultural and literary of the Dordogne, ann. 1842, and in the Doat collection, preserved in the manuscript collection of the Imperial Library, vol. LIT, fo 68.

2? Rot. Vasc., 13, 14, Ed. I, memb. 7, on back.

8 Fœædera, etc., vol. IE, p. 49 and 180; ed. HE, t. 1, part II, p. 446, col. 2, and p. 196, col. 1. # Baurein, Bordeaux varieties, etc., t. IT, p. 329.

5 Pitton, Annals of the Holy Church of Aix, p. 122, 160.

8 Memoirs to serve the history of the Jews since their arrival in Pro-

were grocers, perhaps even in commercial relations with the Levant and Spain, since pepper constituted the tribute that was most usually imposed on them.

It is certain that, very anciently, there were Spanish and Portuguese Jews in Bor-deaux only designated as coming from one or the other kingdom of the Peninsula. Speaking only of the Portuguese, they exported from their country, into the British possessions, oil, wine, osey!, wax, cochineal, figs, grapes, honey, cordovan, that is to say morocco, dates, salt, skins and other commodities; but it is doubtful that all those which have just been listed, for example wine, wax and honey, came from Portugal to compete, on our market, with the productions of Guienne.

In 1546, we find a mention of a Portuguese merchant in Bordeaux: it was a certain Lope Diaz, whose name is still carried with honor in this city by an Israelite family; but we cannot say that this Lope Diaz was established there. The inventory after death, at the Chapeau-Rouge home, of his papers and effects Ÿ, seems to indicate that this foreigner did not have his residence in Bor-deaux, either that he was only a fairground merchant, or that the jurats would have refused him permission to settle in our city, by virtue of articles 7 and 8 of the statutes, the title of the merchants, which conferred on them this right.

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vence, etc., in the Memoirs of literature and history of Father Desmolets (in Paris, M ncc xLix, in-8°, t. I, part. IT, p. 376, 377.

1 See above, t. f, p. 110, note 4, and p. 157, note 3.

? The Libel of English Policy, apud Wright, Political Poems and Songs, t. IL, p. 163. 3 Minutes de Douzcau, 3 janvier 1546.

4 Continuation of the Bourdeloise Chronicle, side., p. 75. See p. 78.

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In his will, received by Denhors on July 19, 1561, noble Arnauld de Ferron, advisor to the parliament of Bordeaux, mentions a house, rue Bouquière, "where the Portuguese stays in louaige." » Some time later, we see in our city Jean Gonsalves, native of Oporto *; but this information is too incomplete for any light to be drawn from it.

If, at that time, the number of Portuguese Jews was not considerable among us, it soon increased in a notable proportion. On a date that we cannot specify, but which cannot go beyond the end of the 16th century, a French agent wrote from the Spanish border: “We have nothing new here, except Jewish forces fleeing the Spanish Inquisition... They all go to Bordeaux and other districts of Gascony, where they hope to find retirement. These are, strictly speaking, Ma-rannes, which, under the name of Christians, retain several Mosaic ceremonies and observacions. The worst thing I see about their exile from Spain and Portugal is that several good people are surrounded there to catch, and even those who are considered to have some feeling for religion. So much so that this persecution brings a great reduction in trade in that country, and many of our merchants withdraw from it.

1 Liasse 184-2, leaves vexxxj recto and xxxiii verso.

2 Minutes of Castaigne, bundle 87-14, folio ïïij:xij verso; act of January 28, 1572. — We will say nothing about the Spanish merchants established in Bordeaux, such as Adam Francesco and “Louppes Domayne,” while leading us to believe that they were Christians. The first purchased, by deed from Denhors, dated March 47, 1561 (bundle 184-2, fo:io miiijc xlvj recto), all the cabosse nails that a master keymaker was to make during the year; and the other sold wheat

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to a plowman from Saint-Morillon. (Minuts of Themer, last day of February 1577, bundle 488-16.)

from day to day. Moreover, money is very rare in Spain!" etc.

The Jews had brought many with them to Bor-deaux. Spaniards and Portuguese, they engaged in trade and gave a new activity to that place. Taxed like the other regnicoles, they were, at least some of them, naturalized and thereby authorized to remain and trade in the kingdom; but the jealousy of their new compatriots did not take long to awaken, "slanderously and falsely imposing on them several crimes, to give them the opportunity to abandon the said city and retire to their country", etc.

Several took this course. Those who remained having addressed a request to Henri IT, this prince granted it by letters patent dated from Lyon, November 12, 1574, which the parliament of Bordeaux registered on April 19, 1580, at the request of Diego Mendès Dias, Simon Meira and other Portuguese merchants living in Bordeaux 5. There we find a reminder of other letters patent issued in 1550 by Henri IT, and designed in the same direction.

1 Manuscript from the Cottonian Library, Caligula, E.
This volume was damaged by fire.

? Detcheverry, History of the Israelites of Bordeaux, p. 49, 50.

8 Privileges, which Portuguese Jews have enjoyed in France since 1550. In Paris, from the Stoupe printing house, x. nec. Lxxvn., in-12, p. 41-16. — Instead of Meira, we suggest reading Lameira. The Meira named in the registration of the Bordeaux parliament was probably one of the ancestors of Antoine Lomeyre, whom we will see again, with the quality of merchant-banker, at the beginning of the 18th century, and of Abraham Lameyÿre, who lived in the middle. See below, p. 424, note 3, and p. 498. |

"As the merchants and other Portuguese, called new Christians, said the king, have sent to us by people on purpose that they were sent from here, made it understood that having known, having for some time trafficked in this in our kingdom, the great and good justice which is exercised in it... so that this

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The envy inspired by the Jewish merchants of Bordeaux nonetheless persisted, despite the services they had rendered. This feeling was still so strong at the beginning of the 16th century that Marshal d'Or-nano issued, on January 2, 1604, an order which forbade all inhabitants from harming Portuguese merchants and others by word or action. foreigners who would like to retire to Bordeaux to live and trade there?.

fact that the course of the merchandise is carried out and conducted in such freedom, that without any suspicion of insults, the merchants can go, trade and frequent in such places of our said kingdom, countries, lands and lords of our obedience that as they please, and in all security exercise their arts and manufactures; considering also that to have at all times our predecessors and We have singularly favored the merchants of our said kingdom, We have, in many cities of it, benefited them with beautiful and great privileges, by means of which they make great gains and increase their traffic day by day; and that for the convenience of the situation of our said kingdom, by which (besides that it is very fertile and abundant in corn, wines and other amenities required for human life, which is a great means to the merchants of that of 'save, being those of other countries forced to make great expenses for the food of their families, people, factors, servants and go-betweens) flow and pass several beautiful and large rivers and navigable rivers, on which a great deal of traffic takes place, and Furthermore, it is for the most part surrounded by both the Levant and Ponant seas, on which the neighboring foreigners of our said kingdom (who more than any other in all of Europe carry goods) ordinarily frequent and trade, so that the means of living well is open to everyone who wants to be employed in any way whatsoever, said Portuguese. has come a singular desire, which grows in them day by day, to come and reside in this our kingdom, and bring their wives and families there, bring their money and furniture... provided that we are pleased to grant them letters of nature -lity," etc. (Privileges enjoyed by Portuguese Jews in France, etc., p. 1-5.)

1 Grains ran out in 1599, and the shortage was so great that the city of Bordeaux was filled with poor people who were dying of hunger. It was decided that they would be distributed to all individuals, without regard to anyone. The Portuguese nation distinguished itself, on this occasion, by a humanity which excited universal admiration. See the Bourdeloise Chronicle, 2nd part, p. 11.

2 Detcheverry, History of the Israelites of Bordeaux, p. 51, 52.

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Such protection could only encourage the Jews of Spain to visit Bordeaux: we also frequently saw them within our walls, especially at the time of the fairs. A troop of Israelite merchants, who went to this city , had an affair which almost had serious consequences for all the Jews who lived there. These travelers had stopped on the way to Bayonne and stayed with the postmaster named Ponteil; They went to bed after having opened all their bundles, either to see them again, or to arrange them differently. The next morning, they made the house resound with their cries, claiming that someone had robbed them and pointing to a half-open window as the path by which someone had entered their home; according to them, their loss amounted to five or six thousand crowns in rings, jewels, pearls and precious stones.

Arriving in Bordeaux, they informed and obtained a decree against the said Ponteil. The unfortunate man was arrested and questioned; but no confession could be drawn from it, and, for lack of proof, he was acquitted, "half ruined in body and expense!"

Some time later, a compatriot, perhaps even a relative of this same Ponteil and his namesake, wanting to take revenge on the conduct of the Portuguese in this affair, came forward as a denouncer of all those in the city of Bordeaux, who formed about fifty or sixty families. Supported by twenty-four witnesses, he accused them of Judaism and the most execrable crimes. Whether these allegations appeared to be false to the justice system or whether it had been circumvented by the credit which

1 P. de Lancre, Incredulity and miscreance of spell, etc., p. 470.

then enjoyed at the court Philotee Elian de Montalto, a Portuguese doctor and Jewish by race, the parliament had Ponteil taken prisoner, while there was only ever a personal adjournment against his adversaries!.

King Dusaut's lawyer supported the accusation as best he could; but as the Jews had long been established in Bordeaux and had entered into an infinity of good houses where they went to sell their goods, they found a way to have their case pleaded by a very good lawyer. "The strongest of his plea," says de Lancre, "was on the slander that was put against them: that they had been in the city for sixty years, leaving

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that they had prescribed their domicile and accommodation; that they are greatly useful there, leaving their goods at a much better price than other merchants," etc.

For his part, Ponteil entrusted his cause to a famous lawyer of the time, named La Roche, whose terrible advisor reproduced the plea in its entirety. This lawyer gave his all to the Portuguese; but he was dealing with a strong party. They did so well that they obtained a ban on the Bordeaux parliament and managed to suppress the consequences of the action brought against them.

Reassured in this respect, the Portuguese Jews of Bordeaux did not remain long without experiencing new apprehensions. War was declared between France and Spain. The Catholic king having placed an embargo on vessels, goods and furniture belonging to the French who were in Portugal and other places in his kingdom, the king of France, using reprisals, or-

1 Incredulity and disbelief of the spell, ctc., p. 488.
? Jbid., p. 487.

gave that an inventory would be made of all the furniture and goods belonging to the Portuguese of Guienne, and to this effect, on May 14, 1625, M. de Gourgue, first president!. To ward off the blow that threatened them, they addressed the municipal administration, and the jurats took, on June 4, 1625, a resolution to the effect that a certificate of good life and morals would be sent to the king and to the members of its Council in favor of these merchants. It is recorded there "that in this city they are useful because of their trade, selling and selling their goods without question to people, trading with all loyalty and fidelity?," etc.

In January 1630, peace between the two crowns having been proclaimed and trade re-established between the French and the English, the bourgeois of Bordeaux complained "of the fact that there are in this city a large number of foreign commission agents who the biggest af-

1 Detcheverry, History of the Israelis of Bordeaux, p. 56, 57. — There were then in the Peninsula a large number of French people, called Gavaches, who had come from Guienne and other provinces. See the Memoirs of Gourville, in the year 1669. (Petitot Collection, 2nd series, vol. LIL, p. 412.)

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? Detcheverry, p. 57. — We do not have to speak of the Portuguese merchants of Bayonne; we will say, however, that the names of those who lived in this town, or rather the Faubourg de Saint-Esprit, in 1625, are recorded in the Conterrolle de la recepte of the customs office of Bayonne of that year. (Archives of the department of Gironde, C. Finance Office.) It includes Jacob Luis, Daniel Henriquez, Diego Dacosta, Alfonso Nuñez, Fernando Rodrigo living in Biarrits, Melchior Albernos, Simon Baya, Coello, Ascenso Nuñez, etc. (Folios 3 ro, 5 r°, 8 ro, 10 ro, 14 vo, 12 vo, 20 re, 91 vo, 25 vo, 34 ro, 58 ro, 72 vo, 92 ro, 402 vo, 106 vo, 140 r °, co.) One of them, Bento Luis, did business with Bordeaux, from where he obtained, undoubtedly for Spain, large leather aiguillettes, azure, serges of Saint-Maixent, canvases from Holland and others, and coarse goods. (Folios 52 r°, 77 vo. Cf. folios 51 vo, 57 ro, 59 r°, 78 ro.)

3 Continue to the Chronique bourdeloise, p. 52, ann. 1629,

actions, and, although various ordinances had ordered the Portuguese to empty the city in three months, the number increases every day. They have the most beautiful boutiques and stores there for all kinds of goods!. »

This declaration is joined by those of the ju-rats in their correspondence with Secretary of State Châteauneuf, on the occasion of a sedition whose repression had caused the greatest disorder in Bordeaux: "The Portuguese, who hold entire streets and do a considerable trade, write these magistrates, have asked for their passports... The Portuguese and foreigners, who do the biggest business, are looking for ways to withdraw from here. Gaspard Gonsallès and Alvarez have recently left, who were among the most notable among them. We realize that trade ceases? »

This consideration did not stop the tax authorities. The king, by a declaration of January 22, 1697, renewed by three others, one of January 26, 1637, the second of January 1646, the third of May 1656, had ordered that foreigners established in France since 1600 would pay the sums to which they would have been taxed by the rolls decided in Council; Damour, responsible for recovering it, carried out the most rigorous prosecutions against the Spanish and Portuguese merchants established in Bordeaux. They explained to the Council that they were not in the case of the declaration, since they had been naturalized French since 1550; but the be-

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1 Detcheverry, History of the Israelites of Bordeaux, p. 58.
? Letters of December 21 and 30, 1675. (Ibid., p. 63.)

care of the State made the government forget commitments that it should have respected. At the request of the Portuguese, a decision of the Council was issued, by which His Majesty reduced to 20,000 pounds, with 2 sous for the pound, all taxes made and to be made on the Portuguese, in execution of the declaration of July 22, 16971 .

With peace the fugitives returned, and other Spanish merchants of the same religion later increased the little colony*. In 1636, the number of its members did not exceed two hundred and sixty Ÿ. In 1648, Coste Furtado, a Portuguese banker, pleaded against Thomas Craf, an English merchant-commissioner. Around the same time, Jacques Castaigne, a Portuguese merchant and bourgeois from Bordeaux, traded in olive oils, and generally in colonial goods, such as almonds and soap, and had as a principal, in Dax, a certain Pierre Gomez* . In 1664-65, David Lopès was a shipowner and loaded wines and spirits on the Plume-Couronnée. In 1684, the nation consisted of twenty families; at least this is the figure which comes back to Bordeaux in the number of expulsions pronounced by the judgment of the Council of State, dated November 20 of the same year?. We do not see the Despi families appearing there.

1 History of the establishment of Jews in Bordeaux and Bayonne, since 1550, by citizen LFB (Beaufleury). In Paris, year VIII, in-8, p. 30, 31.

? Interpretive acts of the custom of Bordeaux, following the Customs of the jurisdiction of the parliament of Guienne, by the Lamothe brothers, t. IF, p. 86-89. See t. 1, p. 392, 393.

3 History of the Israelites of Bordeaux, p. 59-62.

Cleirac, Usance du negoce, etc., p. 40.

5 Minutes of Couthures, October 16, 1652, folios 383 recto and 384 recto.

6 State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles IT, 1664-65, vol. CXV, n° 74.

T History of the Israelites of Bordeaux, p. 64.

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nossa and Azevédo, to which our town owed a morocco factory, nor that of Dominique Lopès d'Oliveira, who established a silk handkerchief factory there, nor the name of Raphael, which is linked to a much more considerable foundation, that of the performance hall completed in 1738 *. Factums published during the course of the trials supported by this family, in 1724 and 1725, taught us that its various members, in addition to the bank, did considerable business in all kinds of commodities 5, and we know moreover that 'at that time the Jews, in Bor-deaux, were not too badly viewed by the justice system #.

1 History of the Israelites of Bordeaux, p. 66. — In 1678, a cloth of gold worker had obtained permission to make all kinds of silk fabrics; I don't know if he set up a workshop in this town. (Continuation of the Chron. bourd., etc., p. 56.

See above, t. 1, p. 289.)

2? History of the Israelites of Bordeaux, p.68, in a note, — In another compilation (History of the theaters of Bordeaux, etc. Bordeaux, 1860, in-8", p. 29), Mr. Detcheverry points out that the Jews were excluded from the theater, without adding that one of them had contributed to its establishment.

8 Bib. publ. of the city of Bordeaux, Jurispr., n° 3,076, t. }, folio 55; t. IE, Exhibit No. 73, et t. IV, exhibit no. 45. It shows three Raphaels: David and Abraham, father and son, and Jacob. The latter is described as a banker in Bordeaux, residing there on the ditches of Grands-Carmes, in an insurance contract received by Treyssac, dated July 45, 1744, and he appears there in the company of two Rodrigues and an Abraham Francia, who had already appeared, with Mr. Abraham Lameyre, in another act of the same notary (June 16, 1744).

As for Raphael father and son, they lived on rue Bouhant, not far from David Pacz, to whom they sent a summons, received by Banchcreau, on February 10, 1798.

Customs within the jurisdiction of the parliament of Guienne, publ. by the Lamo-the brothers, t. II, p. 86-89. — Following considerable losses, the Azevcdo brothers, the Germé brothers, the three Bonfils brothers, Lespiaut and Marin, Bordeaux merchants, had gone bankrupt; they presented a request tending to obtain the referral of the disputes born and to be born, due to the said bankruptcies, before the judges and consuls of this city, and they obtained a conforming judgment, as well as the sirs Isaac Carvalho, Jacob Rodriguez, Antoine and Manuel Lopez, Moïse Mercadé and Isaac Rodriguez de Campos, merchants from Saint-Esprit, near Bayonne. (Register of the Commercial Council F. 12. 57, folio 252

Other documents of the same type, attached to documents of a different order, bring before our eyes

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the Gradis, who, in business, walked hand in hand with the Raphaels, and whose race is not extinct', the Peixotte, who, after having cast so much brilliance, have barely left a memory, the Sasportes*, the Fernandès5, the

verso and 353 recto; session of August 30, 1715.) — Sébastien and Noël Germé, or Gomé, had lost and asked to buy back the ship Reine-Esther, captured in the Bordeaux River by corsairs from Guernsey. (Reg. F. 12. 55, folio 212 recto; session of September 26, 1710.) Having recovered it, they requested and obtained to bring it in ballast to Bordeaux, with Irish flag and crew, but at the condition that this crew would return to Ireland.

(Ibid., folio 256 verso; session of April 24, 1714.) — It is hardly probable that this ship is the same as the Dutch vessel seized around 4670 by M. de Baas, governor and lieutenant general of the American islands . (Letters, instructions and memoirs of Colbert, t. HT, Part II, p. 500.)

1 See register B of the deliberations of the Chamber of Commerce, fes 76 vo (December 22, 1718), and 81 ro (March 46, 1719). This concerns a seizure of cocoa belonging to a Gradis, perhaps Antoine, mentioned in the collection of the Bibliothèque de la ville de Bordeaux, Jurispr., n° 3,076, vol. X, folio 73. The name of Gradis reappears in two acts, one of Michellelet, of November 7, 1713, the other of Banchereau, of July 24, 1727.

? Minutes of Michellet, March 45, 1711 (purchase of wine by Henry Pcixotie, bourgeois and Bordeaux merchant, living there, rue Bouhaut); May 47, August 17, 1742 (protests at the request of Léon Peixotte, in his own capacity); Nov. 2, 1714 (meme is shown as knowing Dutch). — Minutes of Dan-chereau, January 12 and November 23, 1727 (Aaron Sasportes, merchant in Bor-deaux, then his widow and Mr. Abraham Sasportes, his son, all three residing on rue Bouhaut, acknowledge duty to Abraham Peixotte his son, d 'first 2,009 pounds, then 1,465 pounds, for loan to the big one on the Saint-Antoine, of Bordeaux, of which the Sasportes are the owners); March 4 and 17, 1327 (exchange letter drawn from Hamburg on Léon Peixotte and son); June 6, 1727 (sale of a house to Abraham Peixotte fils); November 24, 1727 (prutèt by L. Peixotte and fs); March 25, 1738 (judgment in the hands of Mr. Féger, merchant from Bor-deaux, on what may be owed to a ship captain by L. Peixotte). .

3 Minutes de Banchereau, April 22, 4727 (opposition by Philippe Fernandès and sons, merchants, rue Bouhaut, in the hands of Sieur Chalk, merchant at Rous-selle); July 4 (opposition by Ph. Fernandès and son, departing from the Saint-Pierre, from Amsterdam, holder of twenty-five pounds of cocoa paste, loaded by Rodriguez, merchant of this city, on behalf of the said Fernandès, in

Lamega, the Mezes*, the Péreires, namely: Jean Lozade, Joseph Nunès Péreire, banker, viscount de la Menaude, baron d'Ambès {, who, as such, had the right to attend the cures of his lordships; Jacques Péreire Souarès,

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two small boxes); November 23 and 26, same year (loans of a sum of 3,000 pounds on the Marquis-de-Lacaze and on the Diane, of Bor-deaux, in charge for the Antilles\. Cf. above, p. 352, in note. — The cocoa paste mentioned above was surely chocolate, already known by this name before the year 1659. See D. Félibien, Hisfoire de Paris, vol. and Mme de Sévigné, letter of April 15, 1671.

4 Minutes from Michellet, June 40, 1714 (goods seized at the request of Sieur La-mègue, merchant from Bordeaux, in the parish of Saint-Estèphe in Médoc). — Minutes of Banchereau, January 28, 1727 (Abraham Lamega, merchant, rue Bouhaut, farms a bourdieu); February 25 (loan to Messire Jacques de Pichon, Baron de Longueville, advisor to parliament, by Isaac Rodrigues Henriquès, residing on rue du Mirail, of 5,530 livres. The sum is paid to the said Abraham); May 214 (power of attorney given to Abraham Lamega, by Isaac Tullekin, residing in Middlebourg, following deed received by Henry de Wilde, notary in Amsterdam, dated May 21, 1727); July 3 (loan by the Lamega brothers and Co. to the captain of the Princesse-de-Seudre, from Bordeaux, bound for Santo Domingo); August 22 (summons by the same people to pay the price of a shipment of indigo from Santo Domingo); November 3 (Isaac de Léon, from Bayonne, presents to the Lamego (sic) sirs a bill of exchange drawn on them by Abraham de Torres. Cf. November 8); 4, January 23, 1728 (protèt, farm lease of a Bourdieu in the parish of Talence). See above, p. 276.

? Minutes of Michellet Marie Lopès, young lady, widow of Emmanuel Mezes, bourgeois and merchant-goldsmith. from Bordeaux, living there, rue des Ayres); From August 1712 (cession to the widow Mezes and her son Alexandre, partners); March 44 (money loan by the same); March 22 and May 2 (mention of Alexandre at the same time as David Crespès and Antoine Albarès); July 4, 1713 (Alexandre's signature on the marriage contract between David Garcia, merchant, native of the town of Almendra, in Portugal, residing on rue Bouhaut, and the daughter of André Vas, merchant, and Miss Françoise Labrechède, same Street); May 29, December 11 and June 4, 1714 (sale and rental of houses on Rue Bouhaut and Rue des Augustins). See also the minutes of Banchereau, March 4, 1727 and January 15, 1728.

8 Minutes de Michellet, May 7, 4711 (summons which contains the address and signature of Jean Lozade Péreire); July 7 and August 17 (farm lease of the land and lordship of Puyo to this same Jean).

Collection 3,076, t. IF, exhibit no. 67; t. IV, exhibit no. 10. Cf. 1. VE, nos. 57, 64; ctt. XVI, no. 135.

bourgeois and merchant of Bordeaux, who, in 1720, pleaded against Thomas Clock, wine merchant and spirit killer at Chartrons, at the same time as general receiver of the RR lottery. PP. of the Company of

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Jesus". Let us also mention the families Rodrigues5, Fonsè-que *, Baïs5, Depasf, Pinto', Silva and Alvarès de

1 Collection No. 3,076, vol. II, exhibit no. 68. Cf. no. 60.

? Minutes of Banchereau, June 11, 1727. — In the act, mention is made of two Jewish traders, Mendès France and Antoine Dacosta, less known than Samuel Dacosta, living on rue du Mirail, not far from Henry Gomès, Isaac Rodrigues Henriquès, of George Francia, of the goldsmith Abraham Alva-rès, and undoubtedly relative of "Blaise Dacosta, Portuguese merchant, rue Bouhaut. » (Minutes from Cassaigne, January 4, 1708; from Michellet, May 16, November 30 and December 4, 1713; February 2, March 13, 1714; and from Banche-reau, January 16, June 9, July 17 and August 42, 1727; 22 and February 35, 1728.)

In the last of the acts to which we have just referred, Abraham de Sola and Pierre Gomès Silva appear at the same time.

$ Minutes of Banchereau, August 25, 1727. (Antoine Rodrigues, merchant, is mentioned as living on rue Saint-Julien, and David, his son, on rue des Au-gustins.)

Four members of this family, who lived on rue Bouhaut, are named in two acts of Banchereau dated April 15 and June 3, 1727.

5 Members of this family, also four in number, are mentioned in Banchereau's minutes, dated April 45, 1727.

6 Collection 3,076, vol. XI, no "10, 41, 17, 20.-" Antoine Lopès Depas, Bour-Geois and merchant of Bordeaux, residing there, rue Sainte-Catherine, figure with Michel Toledo, ès-ès-qualities, his brother-in-law and his associated, in three deeds received by the notaries Grégoire, dated October 2 and November 27, 1700, Robardeau, October 30, 1713, and Michellet, September 146, 1714. After Antoine, come Louis and François Lopès Dcpas, merchants of Bordeaux, residing there, on the ditches of the Hôtel-de-Ville, who lent, by deed of Banchereau, of January 14, 4727, 5,000 pounds to Péreire Souarès, rue Sainte-Catherine, owner of the Jacob, of Bordeaux, bound for Martinique or Santo Domingo, where he had a brother (August 25). We also find, among the same minutes, on the date of August 27, Philippe Lopès Depas, merchant, on the Carmes ditches, trustee of the Portuguese nation.

T Collection 3,076, t. XVII, no. 208. See above, p. 280, note 2.

8 Register A of the Chamber of Commerce, p. 44; September 2, 1706. —-Re-. Cueil 3,076, nos. 10, 11, 17, 20. — Minutes of Banchereau, November 23, 1727; February 95, 1728. — Gabriel de Silva, merchant, ditches des Tanneurs, was a son

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Léon!, some of which continued to prosper, while others fell into a state bordering on poverty; Pierre Henriquès Hierro*, Joseph-Alphonse Albarès and Jacques Lopès, his uncle; Jacob Gomès Beiza and his adversary Paul Griffa, "appealing from an arbitration opinion rendered between the parties by Mr. Billate and Mr. Bonnaud, bourgeois and former consuls of the Stock Exchange, on February 21, 1721#; » Antoine Lameyre, merchant banker, and François Mendès; Joseph Henriquès Médine, bourgeois and banker, "appellant of a salary rendered by the judge and consuls of Bordeaux, dated June 18, 1718, against Nicolas Wolt, merchant, living at Chartrons 6."

We pass David Paez and Isaac de Sosa, named in the collection of facts that we have already contributed

of François de Silva, doctor of medicine, mentioned in two acts of Mi-chellet, of January 5 and February 15, 1712, and in the Administrative Correspondence under the reign of Louis XIV, t. IV, p. 626-639. — Previously we can mention a Jean de Silva, lawyer in the parliament of Bordeaux (reg. B. 24, judgment of March 9, 1541). From his wife, Jeanne de Bidart, he had several daughters, described as damsels in various acts of Douzeau (July 7, 11, August 27, 1561), and Denhors (August 16, 17 and 18, September 1, 4 and 8, 1561).).

1 Minutes from Banchereau, April 10, 4727. (Abraham Alvarès de Léon, merchant in Bordeaux, residing there, rue des Augustins.)

? Minutes of Banchereau, dated November 23, 1727.

3 Collection 3,076, vol. I.

Ibid., folio 81. — This Billate, deputy of the Chamber on the Council of Commerce, had been entrusted, with three others, with working on a draft commercial treaty with Spain. The company decided that it would meet extraordinarily and call the Bordeaux merchants in business relations with this country, to obtain briefs on this matter. (Reg. B of the deliberations, folio 107 verso; April 11 and 15, 1720. Cf. folios 109 verso, 111 verso, 114 rect and verso, etc.)

$ Collection 3,076, t. IL, folios 6, 12.

6 Jbid, t. IV, at the end. — See above, p. 282, footnote. — Joseph Médine, merchant, rue Bouhaut, appears, with Samuel Navarre, in an act of Ban-chereau, of April 24, 4727, and the second of these Israelites alone among the minutes of Michellet, on the date of November 2, 1714.

bution!, and we will only mention Isaac Lacam and Jesbant

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Lacant (because the family name appears in these two forms), owners of a sugar refinery in Char-trons in 1695°, and Emmanuel Fernandès Mirande, of whom we only have the name to record 1c1, following from that of Pinto *, as having passed from Bordeaux to Tou-louse #.

Around the same time, the Chamber of Commerce received a memorandum against the Portuguese who had

1 Collection 3,076, vol. X, nos. 10, 11, 17, 20, and folio 73.

2 [bid., t. V, no. 79, p. 4. — Isaac Lacam, with his father-in-law Jacob Ratier, “bourgeois and merchant of Bordeaux,” named above, p. 505, appears in a receipt received by the notary Grégoire, dated February 6, 1700. In another later act, he is described as a squire, advisor, secretary to the king, of the court of aids and finances of Guienne, resident Saint-Siméon parish.

(Minutes of Michellet, December 1, 1711.)

8] There were also, in Amsterdam, Pintos, esteemed to the point of being honored by the visit of the Prince of Orange and his family.

In a document received by Couthures, on December 8, 1666, Joseph Mirande, merchant from Toulouse, is presented as the son of the merchant from Bordeaux. — In 1732, two Portuguese Jews from our town, Mr. Nonès and Mr. Pinto, giving up their family and their fortune, which was considerable, went to their aunt, superior of the convent of N.-D. du Refuge, in Toulouse, were instructed in the Christian religion and asked for baptism. It was conferred on them with great pomp by the archbishop on April 12, 1732, and the two neophytes had the capitouls as godfathers, in the name of the city. (Beau-fleury, Hist. of the establishment of the Jews in Bordeaux and Bayonne, p. 40, 41.)

— Two years previously, the three daughters of an Israelite merchant whom we already know having taken the veil, the family had requested from the authority, and Louis XV issued an order, dated July 15, 4728. “Bicn, it is said, that His Majesty, for good considerations, approves that the three daughters of Alexandre Mezes remain in the Ursuline convent of the city

from Bordeaux, where they are voluntarily entered, and from where their mother strove to remove them by a means of surprise which would have brought upon her an exemplary punishment if His Majesty did not prefer clemency to severity, His Majesty makes very express inhibitions and prohibitions to all superiors, religious men and women, convents and communities, from receiving in the future in their houses the children of Jews, under the pretext of religion, before the age of twelve. »

(Privileges enjoyed by Portuguese Jews in France, etc., p. A1.)

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enter Bordeaux with goods from India! : these Portuguese, like those who were forbidden to broker bills of exchange?, were surely Jews.

The following year, a sieur de Pressigny came to join the crusade undertaken against the Jews of Guienne. He . showed that their establishment in Bordeaux, Bayonne and elsewhere could have dangerous consequences, in that such a considerable number came from Spain and Portugal, that they would soon equal, he added, the number Christians in this province. By decree of the Council, dated February 21, 1722, the king ordered that the intendanis and commissioners dispatched for the execution of his orders in the generalities of Bordeaux and Auch would set up, in pursuit and diligence of the sieur de Pressigny , statements of all the Jews who were established and domiciled there, with circumstantial details, notably on the main business in which they were involved; but these having invoked the declaration of Henri IE, of August 1550, confirmed by letters patent of Henri II, of November 11, 1574 and April 19, 1580, and by others of Louis XIV, of December 1656 , obtained from his great-grandson a new confirmation, for the sum of one hundred thousand livres and two sous per pound more, in favor of the joyful accession of the king to the crown. His letters patent, given in Meudon in June 1723, were provisionally

1 Register C of the Chamber of Commerce, folio 22 verso; deliberation of May 29, 1727.

2? Register B of the Chamber of Commerce, folio 124 recto; session of December 98, 1720.

3 Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Guyenne, vol. CLXIV, folios 289-292.

recorded at the Bordeaux parliament, then on vacation, on September 11th!

* The same year, some Jews from Bordeaux addressed a request to the Comptroller General requesting that they be allowed to sell, within the scope of the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Paris and other parliaments of the kingdom, goods which they bought at the fairs, and, for this purpose, to stay there for a month of each season. The commissioners to whom this

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request had been returned were of the opinion to reject it?.
Two years later, the Jews of Dijon also presented a request to the authority.
After recalling that, by letters patent of June 1723, the king had granted to Jews
domiciled in France the privilege of selling and trafficking for one month of each
season, in all the cities, towns and villages of the kingdom, they explained that
three Jews from Bordeaux, having gone to Dijon, had asked the parliament of
Burgundy for authorization to sell in the jurisdiction, by virtue of these letters, of which
they had obtained confirmation by means of the payment of a sum of 100,000 livres
for the joyful accession of the king to the crown; they also relied on a
consistent decree rendered by the parliament of Bordeaux on June 22, 1724. They
added that having come to Dijon with goods to trade there, and having learned that the
merchants of this city had intended to make them, of the opposition, they
had been obliged to resort to parliament to obtain that

1 Privileges, which Portuguese Jews enjoy in France, etc., p. 25-32.
2? Register of the Commercial Council F, 42. 75, p. 1.038; session of December 30, 1728.

the judgment cited above was executed according to its form and content, with the
prohibition of causing any disturbance or impediment to their trade.

For their part, the merchants of Dijon presented a request by which they
asked that before deciding on that of the Jews, they be ordered to communicate
to their adversaries the letters on which the children of Israel based their privilege, and
to justify that they were really of Jewish nation; but without stopping at the request of
the merchants, the parliament of Dijon issued, on July 24, 1730, a ruling in accordance
with the conclusions of the Jews. Strengthened by this decision, our three Bordelais
sold in Dijon, during the month of August, and sold with such advantage that
their competitors saw themselves on the verge of ruin.

In their efforts to ward off it, they represented that Burgundy's trade was extremely
limited; They then pointed out the inconveniences which, in their
opinion, the trade of the Israelites entailed; they spoke of the large number of buyers
that the Jews attracted by the false appearance of cheapness,

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conduct which they maintained with the merchants pressed by their creditors, the fraudulent bankruptcies which they occasioned and which they were always ready to favor; finally, the damage which resulted from it for commerce in general; but despite all these allegations, more or less founded, the three Bordeaux Jews were upheld their rights! by two judgments of the

1 Register of the Commercial Council F. 12. 77, p. 127-131; session of December 21, 1750. Cf. F. 12. 78, p. 100; February 8, 1731. — In December 1727, Mr. Desforts. then controller general, had sent to Mr. Boucher,

parliament of Dijon, dated June 22, 1724 and July 29, 1730. Joseph de Lezia and other Jewish merchants established in Bordeaux were also allowed to trade, sell and negotiate, for one month each season of the year, in all cities, towns and places within the jurisdiction of this parliament. These judgments, having been referred to the Council of State, were overturned on February 20, 1731, and Jews were prohibited from selling and selling goods in any city or place in the kingdom other than those where they were domiciled.

Two lawsuits filed. to one of the notable merchants of the Jewish nation came to alarm the Portuguese Israelites about the solidity of their privileges, and to give new force to the animosity of which they were the object. A Mr. Gaubert, who had great obligations to the family of a certain Medina, had made, on September 16, 1729, in favor of the widow of this merchant, a donation inter vivos of the majority of his property, reserving the enjoyment during his life, and also reserving a small sum to dispose of at his death. After his death, a very distant relative brought suit against the widow Medina to have this donation annulled, claiming that, as a Jew, she could not inherit from a Christian, and that the privileges granted to Jews

intendant in Guienne, a memorandum from the merchants in detail of Bordeaux, requesting permission to establish themselves in Jurande; and the latter, after having communicated it to the jurats and directors of the Chamber of Commerce and having ensured their consent, had sent, on April 9, 1728, to Mr. Desforts a favorable opinion: in his session of February 98, 1732, the Commerce Council resolved to postpone the draft statutes sent to Mr. Boucher, until it had been seen whether some measures could be taken regarding Jewish commerce. (Reg. F. 12. 79, p. 212, 213.)

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1 Departmental archives of Gironde, Intendance, C. 371.
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only understood each other about the faculty they enjoyed of inheriting from each other.

The case was judged at the seneschal of Guierine, in favor of the widow Medina. Call to parliament. During the course of this appeal, the chancellor requested that the judgment be stayed and that the matter be reported to him, which was done. Since then, the king issued a decree in which he referred the trial to him and his Council, prohibiting knowledge of it to the parliament of Bordeaux!.

The facts of the other trial are thus set out in a request to the Keeper of the Seals by the widow of a lawyer at the same parliament, dated June 17, 1733. On October 7 of the previous year, the husband had made a will by which he established Joseph Médina, "Judaizing Jew, of Bordeaux," his universal legatee and his executor, leaving his wife only a small property located in the parish of Bègles, "to hold for him all his rights and claims. » After the death of the test-. tator, Medina took possession of this inheritance, with a value of more than 50,000 crowns and an annual income of 7,150 livres; at the same time, if we refer to | the request, he aroused the widow's creditors who sued her against the seneschal of Guienne. Deprived of the enjoyment of the small farm which had been bequeathed to her, reduced to alms, she addressed the Keeper of the Seals, but only after having waited a long time for the outcome of the affair, in the hope that His Majesty would make known his intentions regarding the Jews tolerated in Bordeaux, and would decide whether they could extend their privileges until

1 Archives of Foreign Affairs, Guyenne, vol. CLXIV, folios 315, 316.
? See the same volume, folio 311 recto.

than to succeed to the property of his Christian subjects by do-nations inter vivos and testamentary dispositions!.
Affluent by the development that commerce had taken in the hands of the Portuguese Jews of Bordeaux, other Israelites hastened to settle there.

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with the hope of the same success. At first they were hardly noticed except by their discords; but, having become rich, the Langes, the Astrucs, the Dalpugets, the Cas-sins, the Petits, the Boyers*, gave umbrage to the other merchants, both Bordeaux and Portuguese. They were denounced, and, following complaints, on January 21, 1734, a decision was issued by the Council of State ordering the expulsion of all Avignon Jews, Tudescans or Germans, established in Guienne*. Under this judgment,

1 See volume CLXIV already cited, folio 313 recto.

3 Judgment which refers to Mr. Lamavoine de Courson, intendant in Guienne, the disputes between Mr. Lange Mossé, Joseph Dalpuget and Joseph Petit, Jewish merchants established in Bordeaux, and the Jewish community of Avignon. (Reg. of the Commercial Council, December 30, 17147.) — In 1720, the first of these Israelites, domiciled rue des Augustins, having purchased in participation with the sirs Sema Dalpuget, Joseph Dalpuget father and his son, associates , a small box of lace, complained of their bad faith. (Minutes of Banchereau, November 28, 1727.)

3 See the count of these families in the stewardship papers, (Archives of the department of Gironde, C, portfolio 372. Cf. Recueil 3,076, vol. III, folio 28 verso, and vol. V1, nos. 45, 37 , 57, 64.)

Intendance, C, portfolio 372. (Petition signed by Joseph Vidal and Lange Mossé, to the intendant, concerning the Jews of Avignon, of whom they give the count, with details of their affairs (April 20, 1722). — Reg . C of the Chamber of Commerce, folios 190 verso, 192 recto (Dec. 30 and 31, 1733), 195 recto (January 21, 1734), 198 verso (February 48), 200 recto (March 4), and 202 recto (4th). April). — Like Lange Mossé, Joseph Vidal and Blanche Rabel, his wife, lived on rue des Augustins (Minutes de Banchereau, Feb. 18, 1727.) — At the end of the century, we find an Abraham Vidal, Portuguese Jew, merchant. in Paris, whose succession gave rise to a memoir, which was printed in 1784, in-é°, and to a decree of parliament, dated February 18 of the same year.

5 This judgment, which was printed in a placard, is found in the volume of

sixteen Jewish families were taken out of Bordeaux, among which was that of the Dalpugets, whom the drapery and silk merchants, promoters of the decision, had mainly had in mind, because it was a big trade in these goods, which, rivaling theirs, necessarily harmed it!. These Dalpugets, and some other Avignon Jews established in Bordeaux, twelve in number, made the greatest efforts to have the judgment revoked and obtain the benefit

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of the king's declaration of June 1723.

In a memoir published for this purpose, they explained the reasons for the jealousy and incessant attacks to which they were subject from the merchants of Bordeaux: “The remonstrants go shopping; they carefully follow the time of the fairs; they do their business by themselves, and live thriftily; they do without clerks and waiters; the smallest dwelling is good for them, provided that they find there enough to make a store and store their goods; they make no expenditure, neither outside nor inside; occupy yourself with the sole object of their commerce, all pleasures are forbidden to them; and content with a small profit, they are able to sell cheaply: hence the sale of their goods, hence the assistance of buyers, hence the

Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Guyenne, vol. CLXIV, folio 221. 11 gave rise to an order from the intendant, dated May 19, 1734, following which an inventory was made among the Jews of Avignon, the official report of which is preserved in the archives of the prefecture of Gironde, under code C, portfolio 372.

1 Register of the Commercial Council F. 12. 81, p. 77, 78; session of January 25, 4734. — Beaufleury, History of the establishment of the Jews in Bordeaux, etc., p. 46-48. — Detcheverry, History of the Israelites of Bordeaux, p. 74, 75.

preference over other merchants, who, brought up and accustomed to a totally different life, are obliged to hold their merchandise on too high a foot. »

Coming then to the reproaches addressed to the Jews, of publishing defective articles, the editor of the memoir speaks out against this accusation and declares that "when the case was found (which we almost never saw, and which nevertheless can reach the most accurate merchant), the remonstrants immediately took back their goods, "

Neither the reasons they put forward, nor the length of their residence, nor the good certificates they brought back of their commercial probity, nor even the promise to swell the ranks of Christians *, swayed the persecutors; all these Jews had to leave Bordeaux, with the exception of nine families, who obtained a reprieve of nine

1 To the King and to Our Lords of his Council, petition from Joseph-Jacob d'Alpu-

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get, father and son; Joseph and David Petit, father and son; Ange Mossé; Nathan Ace-trick; Solon d'Alpuget; Joseph Casting; Leon Petit; Léon de Carcassonne and Manuel d'Alpuget. [Paris.] From the printing house of the widow Knapen, rue de la Hu-chette, 1734, folio, p. 6, 7. (Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Guyenne, vol. CLXIV, folio 324 verso and 393 recto.) Cf. Certificates reported by Srs Dalpuget, father-in-law and son-in-law, proof of their former residence in Bordeaux, of the regularity and probity of their trade, of the accuracy of their payments and commitments, of the satisfaction of the Lords, Communities and individuals who have provided themselves with different clothes and merchandise; and finally of the advantage that it would be for the province and inhabitants of Bordeaux if they were re-established there. Printed with 6 folio leaves. (Gironde departmental archives, Intendance, C, portfolio 372.)

2? The prioress of the Carmelite convent of Bordeaux had requested that the widow Lange be allowed to trade in this city, and this in consideration of the fact that this Jewess had a daughter whom she offered, at this price, to endow to enter religion. The commissioners of the Council of Commerce were of the opinion not to deviate from the decision that had been taken not to allow any Avignon Jew in Bordeaux. (Register F. 12. 88, p. 46; session of February 16, 1741.)

months to put their affairs in order!. They withdrew to the generality of La Rochelle, despite the decree of parliament, of August 22, 1729, which prohibited Jews from settling there in perpetuity or for a time?, and, treated better than in Bordeaux , they obtained a sentence from the police judge of Saintes, which allowed them to open shop; but this sentence was overturned by a decision of the Council, dated May 31, 1735, stating that the Jews established in the towns of Saintes, Rochefort, Cognac and others in the generality of La Rochelle and the country of Au-nis, would be required to leave without delay. They are in no hurry to comply with all the rigor of the order: while leaving the towns where they had withdrawn, they had left there the goods that they claimed to have taken with them during their expulsion of Bordeaux, and this with the aim of creating a pretext for asking for a period of six months in order to sell them. Informed of this, the Council of Commerce, in its meeting of August 30, 1736, decided to propose to the controller general to inform Mr. Bignon, intendant at La Rochelle, of the reluctance of the assembly to grant the Avignon Jews -but this grace, with the request to issue an order which, recalling the provisions of the judgment of 1735, would enjoin them to justify, in two months, the sale and removal outside the kingdom of their goods, under penalty confiscation and without further delay 5.

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1 Register F. 12. 81, p. 200, 201 (session of March 4, 1734), and 373 (May 13).

2 The judgment specifies "Joseph and Jacob Dalpuget, father and son, and other Jewish merchants in company, calling themselves merchants of silk sheets in company, from the city of Bordeaux. » It was printed in Paris, by Pierre Simon, in four pages in-4°.

at Register F. 12. 83, p. 525, 526.

This decision had barely been taken when Jews from Avignon, Joseph-Jacob and Emmanuel Dalpuget, father-in-law and son-in-law, presented a petition to the Comptroller General to ask to be reinstated in the drapery and silk trade that they made in Bordeaux before the judgment of January 21, 1734. The Chamber was responsible for verifying the facts put forward by the petitioners and giving its opinion on their request; she concluded that it was necessary to stick to the execution of the said judgment, and a memorandum was given to the intendant to serve as a response to the petition.

Summoned to this magistrate, the jurats and directors of the Chamber persisted in asking for the contested regulation to be maintained! |

A few years later, on the complaints brought to the controller by the merchants of the various towns of the kingdom, among others against the Jews, the intendant asked the Chamber: 1° if in relation to what was practiced in this department, There would be some inconvenience in giving them the freedom to attend fairs, which are generally open to everyone; 2° if we were to take away the freedom of fairground pedlars to spend and stay for a certain time in the towns. and villages, outside the time of fairs; 3° if assuming this freedom left to each, the precaution of having their goods carefully inspected, upon their arrival, by the merchants' guards would not be sufficient to prevent contraventions of the regulations, which were the only reason for the exclusion requested against them. The Chamber responded with a brief still imbued with the same

1 Register D of deliberations, folios 45 verso, 16 recto (14 and 21 Nov. 1737), ct 17 recto (December 7). |

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ideas', and persisted there, when, in 1744, two Jews from Avignon, Rogé and Abraham, addressed a request to the intendant of Guienne, to ask permission to sell wholesale and retail draperies, silks, gilding and other items, during the Bordeaux free trade fairs. More liberal, it must be said, Mr. de Tourny replied that the spirit of the 1734 judgment was quite severe in itself without extending it further, that it had no other aim than to to prevent Avignon and German Jews from establishing themselves in Bordeaux, but not from coming to fairs there, and that, in his opinion, the general interest should prevail over the particular interest, being well understood moreover that the goods of the said Jews would be subject to visits by the guards and jurors of the corporation ©.

The separation of the Avignon Jews from Bordeaux only lasted a short time, mainly that of Jacob-Joseph and Emmanuel Dalpuget. Well seen in this city, where their only enemies were the merchants of draperies and silks, they returned at first as if in passing, and, after various interrupted stays, they returned home and were left in peace when saw them turn all their business towards banking and armaments. But, fearing to be disturbed at any moment, they asked, in August 1748, to be exempted from the prohibition of the judgment of January 21, 1734.

Minister Saint-Florentin sent their brochure to Mr. de Tourny, who communicated it to the jurats of Bordeaux and to the Chamber of Commerce, issuing a favorable opinion.

1 Register D of deliberations, folios 90 recto and 103 recto (April 45 and September 7, 1741). 2 [bid., folios 181 verso and 182
recto (February 27 and March 5, 1744.

It must be believed that this opinion carried the weight of others!; because on April 22, 1749, a patent from the king was sent to Jacob and Emmanuel Dal-puget, father-in-law and son-in-law, by which they were assimilated to the Portuguese Jews and relieved of the rigor of the Council's decision of January 21 1734, on the condition nevertheless that they could not carry out, either through themselves or through intermediaries, directly or indirectly, the trade in draperies or silks wholesale or in bulk.

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detail, under whatever pretext; and on the condition that they would confine themselves to the trade of the bank and the islands of America, in which they had been engaged for some time, all on pain of nullity of the patent °.

This patent opened the way for other Jews from Avignon, such as Nathan, Salon Astruc and Moïse Lange, who similarly obtained permission to reside in Bordeaux to engage in maritime commerce and banking. Success

1 See in register E of the deliberations, folio 58 verso, that of the Chamber of Commerce, dated February 11, 1759.

2? The patent, dated July 12, 4750, is in the Departmental Archives, Intendance, C, portfolio 372.

3 Detcheverry, History of the Israelites of Bordeaux, p. 75-71. — A decree of the Council, registered in Bordeaux, on July 21, 4667, ordered that no bourgeois would be received any more, who, in addition to the qualities required by the statute, did not have 1,000 livres on a ship, and that no one should be admitted to the offices of jurat and judge of the Stock Exchange, if he did not have a share in a building up to the sum of 2,000 livres, and the consuls of 1,000. (Conf. Chron. bourd., etc., p. 100. Cf. p. 102, 105.) At that time, such a figure was quite considerable. A lawyer, having just said that a bourgeois had, from 1654, more than 40,000 crowns of property, part in houses and farms, part in cash and merchandise, adds: “He was one of the richest and more accredited merchants from the city of Bordeaux. He had, to remain in rest, 6,000 pounds of income; by working, his funds and his intelligence produced him a considerable profit in trading,” etc. (Factum on the call for young ladies Marie and Françoise Valloux, summer. Bibl. publ. of the city of Bordeaux, Ju-rispr. n° 3,078, 2nd collection.)

of their request, which has been preserved to us, inspired other Jews to send a similar one. The petition of Lyon Petit, the David Petit brothers and Salon Dalpuget, followed the same path; but the jurats, consulted, concluded that the request was rejected, and the opinion of the business directors was found to be in conformity with that of the jurats?. This state of affairs lasted until 1753; At this time, some of these Avignon-born Jews were granted temporary permissions or patents to trade in the city; but they wanted more, and in 1757, they presented a petition to the king to obtain the right of citizenship and freedom of trade equal to the Portuguese Jews. They encountered the same opposition in the Chamber of Commerce. Finally in 1759, they obtained letters patent which admitted six families of theirs to

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all the privileges, franchises and freedoms enjoyed by both natural subjects and Portuguese merchants or new Christians established in Bordeaux {.

Thanks to this order, other Jews soon slipped into the city. Marshal Richelieu, governor of Guienne, took, on September 18, 1761,

1 tendency, C, portfolio 372. — The exhibitors ask to have the freedom to sell and buy, at the fair only, as well as all other merchants, all kinds of merchandise permitted, in accordance with the statutes and customs of the city of Bordeaux, without keeping an open shop, nor selling, outside of fair times, any kind of merchandise wholesale or in retail.

3 Register E of the deliberations of the Chamber of Commerce, folio 429 recto (August 27, 4750).

8 Register F of deliberations, folios 51 verso and 52 recto (December 17 and 22, 1757).

* Letters patent in favor of Jews or New Christians from Avignon, established in Bordeaux. Given at Versailles in May 1759. Registered in parliament on July 14, 1759. (In Bordeaux, at J.-B. Lacornée, etc.; 4 pages in-4.) — Detcheverry, History of the Israelites of Bordeaux, p . 78, T9.

a decree to expel them, and the newcomers, numbering approximately one hundred and fifty-two, had to move away. There was only an exception for a German Jew named Ephraim, to whom the marshal, by a second order of September 28, allowed to remain temporarily in Bordeaux, to fulfill commitments contracted with several foreign and local correspondents. , relative to a considerable supply of broken wine!. |

If Beaufleury is to be believed, Ephraïm, a German Jew, established for a long time in Bordeaux, had requested, for himself and his family, letters patent of naturalness conforming to those which had been given in favor of the six Avignon families. They were granted to him, with this restriction, however, that he and his family would enjoy them throughout his life, but that their effect would cease for his children after his death. It does not appear that these stipulations were observed; because, even before the end of the year 1761, Ephraim was informed that he would have to take the path of exile.

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In the letter written on this occasion by Marshal de Richelieu to Jurats, on November 20, 1761, appears Jacob de Perpignan, with Josué de Sasias, Rousse de Rouagre, Samuelle Rouget and another old woman, “all from the Avignon nation. » Jacob de Perpignan, established in Bordeaux for more than fifty years, had not been included in the privileges granted to the six families of Avignon Jews; he had been excepted from the ex-

1 Detcheverry, History of the Israelites of Bordeaux, p. 85, 86.
3 Beaufleury, Hist. of the establishment of the Jews in Bordeaux, etc., p. 54.
8 Detcheverry, Hist. of Israel. de Bordeaux, p.86, 87.

drive ordered by the decree of 1734, renewed in 1761 by a special order from the governor of Guienne. Louis XV wrote to the latter so that the Lord of Perpignan could continue to stay in Bordeaux with his family. “This grace,” says Beau-fleury, “was due to the public esteem which he always enjoyed, to the purity of his morals and the regularity of his conduct; but it did not satisfy his heart, because he feared that his children would be sought after his death. He also requested natural letters patent; they were granted to him, on condition of paying 3,000 pounds, applicable to the new foundling hospital in Bordeaux. They are also designed in the most honorable terms for him, etc. » These letters patent were registered at the parliament of Bor-deaux on May 2, 17761. | Three Jewish families, originally from Avignon, but established in Bordeaux, seeing themselves exposed to persecution by drapery and silk merchants, subsequently imitated the example of Jacob de Perpignan and were not
otherwise treated. In December 1775, they obtained letters patent of naturalness, with the responsibility of paying a sum of 3,000 pounds, intended for the construction of the Foundling Hospital, which was to replace the Saint-James hospital. *?, and on condition “that no one other than those who composed or composed

1 Hist. of the establishment of the Jews in Bordeaux, etc., p. 65.66. — Detche-verry, Hist. of the Israelites of Bordeaux, p. 81.

2 In letters patent, dated May 8, 1574, concerning the income of this hospice, it is ordered to distribute them not only "to the pilgrims coming and going to Saint-Jacques during the time of one day and one night, and to the

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food for their wives who will give birth at the hospital, during their

In the future, the three families of exhibitors will be able to claim the grace granted to them. » These letters patent were registered in the parliament of Bordeaux, on April 20, 1776, and followed by others confirming the privileges which Portuguese Jews had enjoyed in France since 1550, given at Versailles, in June of the same year, and registered on March 8, 1777°.

A piece from the previous year leads us to conjecture that the antagonism which existed between Portuguese and Avignon Jews did not extend outside the commercial sphere. An engineer, a member of the Portuguese colony, had imagined building a bridge over the Garonne, which could only be crossed from Bordeaux to Bas-tide with a thousand problems and not without danger: following the memoir published at this opportunity #, 1l looks like

diapers," but "to the food and maintenance of exposed children and other orphans. » (City archives, GG, hospitals and maladreries.).

'4 Beaufleury, Hist. of the establishment of the Jews in Bordeaux, p. 54, 55.

? Privileges enjoyed by Portuguese Jews in France, p. 33-A).

$ An ordinance of the jurats, dated June 5, 1754, renewed by another of September 1717, which established a rate for the passage, begins as follows: "For what was represented by the Prosecutor-Sindic of the city, that whatever care may have been taken to prescribe by several police ordinances, the rules which the boatmen, used to cross the river to the Bastide, are required to observe; nevertheless, every day we receive complaints about the non-execution of these orders: they claim to practice among themselves a turn for passage; they demand from passers-by much more than the tax imposed on them; finally, through criminal greed, they never count on having too many people in their boat, and load it with a considerable number of people," etc. (Cardboard printed in two pages in-4, by the widow of P. Brun.)

Project of a Mr. Silveyra, for the establishment of a Poxr on the River Garonne, built in front of the Porte Bourgogne, on boats or pontoons, to go from Bordeaux to the Bastide, and the passage of which, both below and above, will be accessible at all times, and will present 35 Arcades in view , which will each be 24 feet wide, 12 to 16 feet high, above the

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staying “with Sieur D’. Astruc, rue Bouhaut, in Bordeaux. »

Before this time, we see a well-known name appear today in finance. In July 1760, Jews from Bordeaux, preparing to travel to Paris, requested passports: they were David Lopes, Samuel Pereire and Abraham Astruc; in the three certificates presented to the jurats and transmitted to the Count of Saint-Florentin, they announced that they wanted to stay for a while in the capital to trade in silk and jewelry!. All Jews, in general, who came to Paris, could only stay there by means of the limited passports which were granted to them, and they were subject to a very special policy.

More comfortable in Bordeaux than elsewhere, the Israelites preferred to stay in a city where they were on an equal footing with the most notable citizens, and turned more readily to the side of Spain and the colonies.

They continued the same type of business as their ancestors, especially banking and armaments; and their capacity, as much as the success of their enterprises, ensured them a distinguished place in the world whose annals we have attempted to trace.

water level, at any tide. [In Bordeaux, at the widow Calamy, etc., 1776.] 17 pages in-4°.

4 Detcheverry, History of the [Sraelites of Bordeaux, p. 105.

CHAPTER XLVII

THE TREATY OF METHUEN; CONCLUSION.

Omission of the Memorandum drawn up by the Chamber of Commerce of Guienne in 1730; the Treaty of Methuen presented as having ruined Portugal; Was it so disastrous for Bordeaux, and were its effects immediate? — Bordeaux trade statistics at the beginning of the 18th century; state of imports of wines from France to the English customs, from 1686 to 1786. — Importance of the first two ten-year periods. — Time of the introduction of Portuguese wines into the British Isles; disastrous effects of ideas

prohibitives of Colbert and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; propagation of vitic in Portugal. — In the first years of the 18th century, the export of French wines in England there is no diminution; it is even increasing; treaty concluded with this country under the influence of Turgot's ideas. — Happy effect of this treaty for the pr

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Bordeaux perity; new economic ideas, renewed by Colbert, inaugurated by the French Revolution. — Montesquieu and Turgot long unknown in their country.

We have exposed in the greatest detail the vicissitudes of the Bordeaux trade, from the first century AD until the year 1730, the date of a remarkable work, which presents a faithful image of this trade at that time. ; but the Memoir of 1730 is silent on a most serious event, which was to have unfortunate consequences for the prosperity of Bordeaux, whose wines form the main wealth. We want to talk about the famous treaty of offensive and defensive alliance concluded on December 27, 1703, with Great Britain, by the care of its ambassador Paul Methuen!, treaty

1 This treatise has been published many times, notably by Martens, Collection of principal treaties of alliance, etc., 1st edition, supplement, vol. 1, p. #1; by Hertslet, Complete Collection of the Treaties and Conventions and reciprocal Re-gulations at present subsisting between Great Britain and foreign Powers, etc., vol. IE, p. 24; and by Jose Ferreira Borges de Castro, Colleccdo de tratados, etc, Lisboa, na Imprensa Nacional, 1856-1858, in-8°, t. II, p. 1953.

which brought Portugal into the great alliance against France, and which is represented as having paralyzed, for half a century, the industry, agriculture, commerce and navigation of a country formerly more flourishing than ours'. Was the blow that this treaty brought to the commerce of Bordeaux so disastrous and was it felt immediately?

edge? This is what we intend to seek.

Among the statistics, some of which are provided to us by the registers of the Chamber of Commerce?, we choose the reports of imports of wines from France to the customs of England during a century, from 1686 to 1786, in order not to concern ourselves only ten ten-year periods which alone fall within our subject.

The first two, that is to say those from 1686 to 1696, and from the latter date to 1706, have great importance, because, on the one hand, the revocation of the edict of Nantes, on the other hand, the maneuvers of Louis XIV and his wars undertaken to save James II, to whom he later gave asylum in Saint-Germain and the title of

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King of England, determined the British government to come to an understanding with Portugal and to conclude the Treaty of Methuen with it.

1 Adrien Balbi, Statistical essay on the kingdom of Portugal and the Algarve, etc. Paris, 4829, in-8o, t. I, p. 24. — This assertion by the author is refuted at length in a publication of the Bordeaux Chamber of Commerce, entitled: Memoir on the possibility of concluding a commercial treaty between France and England. Bordeaux, Suwerinck printing house, June 1844, large in-8; see p. 94100.

? State of the prices of various goods arriving from foreign countries in the port of Bordeaux, in the year 1715. (Second register of the memories of the Chamber of Commerce, folios 33 verso and following.) — Summary of the price of goods leaving Bordeaux in the year 1717 and those who entered there. (Ibid., folio 78 recto.)

It was from this time that Portugal was able to introduce, to our great detriment, its wines into the British Isles. The prohibitive ideas of Colbert and the emigration of five hundred thousand Protestant industrialists combined, moreover, to give superiority over our manufactures of all kinds to goods of English manufacture. This is how privileges were granted to Portugal and trade took place for the benefit of manufacturers across the Channel, while our sheets and silks, always admitted to the Peninsula!, were excluded from the markets of Lisbon and Oporto, and that the cultivation of vines spread rapidly, especially along the Douro.

1 See the Treaty of Madrid (January 14, 14595), art. 24, in Isambert's General Collection of Ancient French Laws, vol. XII, p. 266. — At the beginning of the last century, our sheets were in favor in Spain, especially because of the disposition of the Spaniards to dress in the French style: at least this is what two manufacturers from Sedan, the sirs Poupart and Catel, who requested the restitution of the exit duties collected at the offices of Poitou, and those of contablie collected in Bordeaux, on seven bales of cloth which they had sent to Spain, and this to the prejudice of the exemptions enjoyed by privilege for those interested in the Sedan factory. (Register of the Conseil de commerce F. 12.53, folio 205 recto; December 2, 1707. Cf. folio 213 verso: 23 of the same month.) A decision of the Council of State, dated March 3, 1739, granted the sheets of this provenance the possibility of duty-free transit, which did not exist even before for sheets from the South sent to Bordeaux merchants. (Register F. 12. 87, p. 129, April 7, 1740; and register B of the deliberations of the Chamber of Commerce, folio 81 verso, March 23

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1719. Cf. folios 85 and 86 recto.) At that time, the biggest deals of this kind took place in Bordeaux during the fair, and the factory inspectors resident in this city reported to the general controller on the contracts concluded. in March or October. (Register F. 12. 81, p. 668-670; August 26, 1754.) It is surely to facilitate transactions, already well hampered by obstacles of more than one kind, that at the approach of the one of these fairs, the Commercial Council deliberated on issuing a decree establishing, in Bordeaux, an office, for the purpose of inspecting all the woolen fabrics, etc., and of affixing the lead of the control. (Register F. 12. 81, p. 42; January 18, 4734.)

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It should, however, be noted that in these two periods from 1696 to 1706, there was no decrease in our wine shipments. Similarly, after the Treaty of Methuen, from 1706 to 1726, for example, we see no noticeable slowdown in these kinds of affairs, despite the calamities of 1709! and the considerable increase in the consumption of wines from the

Peninsula among our neighbors? ; a few years even

1 The parliament of Bordeaux wrote to Louis the misery of your people, it is the duty of your parliament to present it at the feet of your throne and to request from your justice relief proportionate to their needs. Wines form the main income of this province; the ease or ruin of the owners depends on their facilitated or suspended export; the cultivation of vines requires very considerable advances, and the sale of wines, always uncertain, is necessarily linked to the state of trade.

“What immense losses this trade suffered in the last war! and despite the embarrassment, the constraint and the poverty of your subjects, what patriotic efforts have they not made to pay the subsidies! Your parliament, Sire, cannot hide from you that the return of peace has not brought back the comforts: the commerce of this capital is still without activity, several vessels are in this port exposed for sale; their returns, for several years, have only brought shipowners a statement of their loss; construction has stopped; the opportunities are no longer the same; the colonies that remain are open to the greed of foreigners; the foodstuffs no longer sell, or the price obtained from them does not compensate for the costs. However, taxes are excessive, and your people are exhausted.

“The bad weather of the seasons in this province further aggravates the public calamity. All the fruits of the earth have been successively destroyed or altered; the winter of 1766 can be compared, in its effects, to that of 1709; half

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vines were uprooted as a natural result of the decline of commerce; the scarcity of wines has not even been able to procure sales, and, as an added misfortune, the frosts have just taken away the hopes of the next harvest. »

? “Portugal and Spain supply twenty thousand barrels of wine to England, France does not supply a thousand; however I am sure that the English prefer French wines to all others: the reason for this difference

show an increase, and, in fact, until 1786, French wines seem, throughout the century which ended around this date, to have continued to be in demand in Great Britain and in Ireland, contrary to the apprehensions of an administrator well able to judge things. It even seems that, since then, the export has only increased, and the determining cause of this progression can obviously be no other than the treaty concluded under the influence of the ideas of which Turgot had been the most glorious representative.

This treaty, so much reviled, so much slandered by the prohibitionists or protectionists of today (because there are still many of them), was a source of wealth for Bordeaux. It was this treaty, even more liberal than that of 1860, which strengthened our navy, already so flourishing during and following the American War.

The Constituent Assembly was faithful to this liberal policy in the tariff of 1791; but the war shattered his plans. The Convention, in hatred of England, hey- .

Ferent consumption is caught up in what we touched on above about exit rights and delay. There is another reason, which is the lack of trade regulations: our wines pay fifty pounds sterling, or four hundred crowns, per barrel, to enter England, while those of Por-tugal and Spain only pay twenty-one pounds sterling. » (Memory on wines in relation to land cultivation and trade, preserved in the Archives of the Gironde department, box 533.)

1 a The vines, said Mr. de Tourny, when he asked the Defense Council to plant them, the vines will soon ruin the whole of Guienne. This commodity is not an absolute necessity: the brandies that are made from these wines will never have a well-regulated course; and yet the taste for agriculture is lost, the population decreases. » (Historical essay on the administration of Monsieur le Marquis de Tourni, etc., by M. Marie de Saint-GeoYgez. In Brussels, M. Dcc. Lxxx11., in-8°, p. 16, 17. Cf. Bernadau, Le Viographe bordelais.

Bordeaux, 1844, in-8, p. 52.)

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ruined our trade in probitions; the old ideas of Colbert regained favor, and the revolutionaries seemed to take on the task of restricting commercial relations, instead of extending them, for the greater good of the nation, as Turgot had attempted and as the had demonstrated so clearly by Adam Smith.

In short, we cannot help but groan when considering Montesquieu and Turgot in the middle of the century which saw them born, and when thinking of the fate reserved for their ideas. One found in his meditations and his genius the truest notion of political freedom; the other, striking from . faced the prejudices received, applied with sagacity the doctrines which make nations prosperous today; and yet they were first misunderstood in their own homeland', to the point that it took nearly seventy years

t Intendant Boucher wrote, on April 18, 1727, to the controller general: “I received, with the letter that you did me the honor of writing to me on the 7th of this month, the petition presented by the sieur de Montesquieu, to request permission to plant thirty moor logs in vines that he purchased on December 24, and the memorandum by which he claims to justify that the decision of the Council, of February 27, 1725, which prohibits making new vineyard plantations in the generality of Guienne, is contrary to the good of this province and the kingdom.

“As Sieur de Montesquieu has a lot of intelligence, he does not bother to deal with paradoxes, and he flatters himself that with the help of a few brilliant reasons, it will be easy for him to prove the most absurd things. I beg you to excuse me from responding to his memorial and from entering into battle with him; he has no other occupation than to seek opportunities to exercise his mind.

For my part, I have more serious things that must occupy me, and I will content myself with telling you that before he had made this acquisition, and even before the judgment which prohibited the new planting of vines had been returned, it was the common feeling of the whole province that not only should we not allow new vines to be planted, but that it would have been desirable that we had uprooted at least a third of those which have been planted since 1709.

His personal interest today makes him change his language, and not his feelings, because I am convinced that he still adheres to the same principles, and that

to form a majority of followers in France. On the contrary, and immediately, many disciples grouped themselves around their name, as around

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a flag; they brought their ideas to fruition and became great men themselves, drawing inspiration from these great minds.

the memoir he presented to you is a mind game whose falsity he knows better than anyone. But he must not be listened to, and there is much less reason to grant him the permission he requests than to an infinity of people who would like to plant vines on land that they have owned for a long time; and as long as we deviate from the execution of the judgment of the Council to which you ordered me to hold hands by your letter of March 2, the little arable land or meadows which remain in this province, at least around this city, would soon be converted into vineyards.

"The Sieur de Montesquieu only purchased the land he wants to put into vines last December. If in fact they were only suitable for vines, he should not have acquired them, since he was not unaware of the provision of the judgment of February 27, 1725, which prohibits these types of plantations. He can put them in wood or put them to any other use that he finds more suitable, without being able to complain about the little income he will get from them, since this entire acquisition only costs him 60 pounds once paid. , and 2 export deniers and 4 sol de rente per newspaper. He also acquired seventy other newspapers in the same place, which he had also asked me to be able to plant in vines, and he only restricted himself to the thirty newspapers for which he is asking your permission today, only because that he recognized that the demand for a hundred newspapers would appear exorbitant; but he flatters himself that if he was allowed to plant thirty of them first, he could obtain the same permission for the rest, because it would no longer be appropriate to force him to plant beis in the surplus, because of the harm that his vineyard could receive. I have the honor," etc. (Archives of the department of Gironde, box 522. In the following are two memoirs, one of which seems to be that of Montesquieu.)

END OF VOLUME SECOND,

ADDITIONS ET CORRECTIONS

Volume 1, preface, p. 1v, at the end.

In a Discourse on the antiquities found near the priory of S. Martin lès Bourdeaux, in July 1594, p. 42 verso, there is mention of the sieur de Donzeau, private lieutenant, the same year, in the seneschal of Guienne. The name of the notary is therefore indeed Donzeau, like that of Alexandre and Jean Donzeau, who appear in acts received by their namesake, on February 21, April 2 and 18, and June 27, 1517. However, we will continue to write Douzeau.

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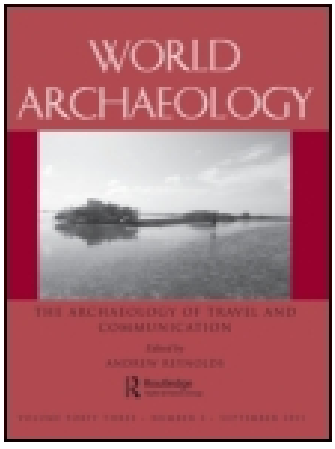

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The growth of the Mediterranean economy in the early first millennium BC

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The growth of the Mediterranean economy in the early first millennium BC

Susan and Andrew Sherratt

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One of the most crucial but poorly understood phases in the development of the Mediterranean economy is the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. During this period of fundamental social transformation, the command economies of the second millennium gave way to less centralized forms of economic organization which were to characterize a new period of accelerating growth that lasted for the whole of the first millennium BC (Hicks 1969: chs 2–4). The development of early Iron Age trading systems is vital to an understanding of the nature of the Ancient Economy, with its attendant controversies (Finley 1985; Lombard 1971).

The new pattern had already begun to take shape in the centuries before 1000 BC, in the processes which underlay the disappearance of the Bronze Age palace centres and the new social forces which were released by their dissolution (Sherratt and Sherratt 1991). Fundamental to this new pattern was the dissociation of trading activity in high value materials from the control of the state. While the Bronze Age coastal cities of Cyprus and the Levant had achieved a considerable degree of commercial autonomy within contemporary political power blocs, the continuing differentiation of commercial and political structures now came to characterize the internal organization of individual states themselves. This had important consequences for the nature of the documentary record, since trading activity was no longer reflected in state records and the literature of the ruling class, so that the economic history of the first millennium has been systematically distorted both by the nature of the evidence and the theories which have grown up to rationalize it (cf. Rowlands 1984). It is here that the evidence of archaeology can offer an important contribution to understanding the processes leading to the civilizations which European scholarship has canonized as 'classical' but which must themselves be situated in a wider matrix of contemporary economic and political activity.

The developments which differentiate the first millennium from that which preceded it were social, political and technological; yet these elements must not be seen as coincidental features with separate origins, but rather as complementary aspects of an unfolding pattern with its own internal logic. Before considering the chronological sequence of their appearance, it is worth noting the basic elements of the new pattern. In abstract form, these can be summarized as follows:

(1) In place of the bureaucratic and palace-centred diplomatic and trading networks of

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Bronze Age internationalism, mercantile city-states became the building blocks in a new economic framework. Temples, rather than palaces, became the symbols of communal consciousness and economic success; merchant enterprise, rather than state-controlled exchange, became the dominant mode of trading activity.

(2) The production of iron as a useful metal – first of all in Cyprus as early as the twelfth century BC – appears to have been part of the process of progressive commercialization in the east Mediterranean, and developed (like glass) in the competitive search for new added-value products in the later second millennium; but its effects on the nature of trade were to be far-reaching. The spread of iron-working inevitably subverted systems based on the acquisition and circulation of bronze; and since control of this system was fundamental to the character of Bronze Age polities, this alteration was an irrevocable step in preventing the re-emergence of these kinds of centralized economies. It also made control of precious metals even more important. This social aspect of iron-using was at least as important as its growing technological significance.

(3) New forms of political power gradually emerged in response to the erosion of direct control of economic activity. Territorial definition became important both at the level of the boundaries of city states and of larger entities, giving rise to new forms of empires based on direct politico-military control and involving new forms of regional surplus extraction and tribute.

(4) Tensions between land-rooted and commercial interests became more explicit. On a larger scale, this might be manifested in a complementary relationship between territorial empires and mercantile city states on their boundaries – and especially on coasts – through which foreign trade was channelled. This differentiation also occurred, however, within independent states and individual cities, where mercantile activity was often confined or separated from the main arenas of political power.

(5) As in the Bronze Age, overseas trading stations concerned with the acquisition of raw materials were established in less developed areas on the periphery of the urban world and now along the whole length of the Mediterranean, but even here initially independent trading posts ('pre-colonial movements') were often converted into formal colonies by the mother-cities which attempted to introduce elements of overt political presence. Their formal territorial definition allowed some of these colonies to evolve into autonomous polities.

(6) The general concern for political control within well-defined territorial boundaries affected the nature of warfare, both on land and sea. The defence of frontiers required new forms of military organization and technology, whether in the drilled citizen armies of small states or the large standing armies of empires. It was reflected in the increasing differentiation of warships from merchantmen, use of cavalry rather than chariots, and synchronized mass-infantry tactics. These required a growing volume of *matériel*. At sea, the need to counteract pirates preying on a growing volume of maritime traffic was a further incentive to maintain naval power.

(7) The more explicit definition of territorial polities created a new consciousness of ethnic differences, which was sharpened both by the increasing scale of commercial competition and by rival movements of colonization or imperial expansion – in some cases involving the forced movement or exile of populations. The spread of literacy (both within and between societies) helped to define and harden linguistic units and contributed to a self-conscious identification of ethnicity with language.

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(8) These developments altered the nature of slavery, which increasingly took the form of chattel slavery alongside the forms of household ('patriarchal') slavery practised earlier. Slaves became a commodity traded in large numbers and were applied to large-scale construction and industrial works, including agricultural work and mining. Slave populations might now be ethnically distinctive, often brought from considerable distances.

(9) The requirements of tribute, commerce and military expenditure (e.g. mercenaries) increased the need for stocks of bullion, which were acquired both by overseas exploration and the intensification of mining enterprises. The economic and strategic importance of supplies of precious metals led to intervention by the state and attempts to authenticate, regulate and control them through the formalization of coinages – standardized, guaranteed units of composition and weight, with the identifiable stamp of the state (cf. Hart 1986). This practice began in areas where silver production took place within the territory of the state (like Lydia and Greece), rather than in areas (like the commercially more advanced Phoenicia) where silver had to be imported. The importance of coins as opposed to the use of precious metal in conventional units of weight probably has as much to do with this latter aspect as with the needs of commerce, and too sharp a line cannot be drawn between 'monetary' and 'pre-monetary' usages.

(10) Although these features appeared only gradually during the early first millennium, and took different forms in different sections of the Mediterranean (though generally earlier in the east), they formed part of a progressive increase in scale which surpassed anything achieved in the Bronze Age. This can be seen not only from the speed of first millennium developments, the size of the units involved, and the appearance of capital cities (with populations in the range 30–100,000). These imply the movement of hitherto unparalleled volumes of material. In geographic terms, the expansion of activity throughout the Mediterranean opened up a new hinterland, especially in southern temperate Europe, which now began to take on the functions of a periphery. This enhanced the importance of Italy as a junction between Mediterranean maritime routes and land routes into Europe, leading ultimately to the emergence of Rome.

As in the second millennium, the process of expansion was by no means the simple progressive extension of a 'developed' economy; rather it had the character of a long-distance intervention, linking existing cycles of exchange along the length of the Mediterranean and initially concerned with a few, high-value products. As each area responded to the opportunities presented to it, however, the local differentiation of economic activity created complementary zones of different types of production to a much greater extent than in earlier times, with the emergence of new centres and supply chains. A complex series of competitive manoeuvres, involving bypass routes and shifting political alliances or imperial conquests, kept the pattern constantly fluid and mobile.

The following sections attempt to summarize the complexities of this process in the first half of the millennium, divided somewhat crudely into centuries, primarily in terms of its economic logic. This description is not intended to exclude other aspects of the process, such as religious and ideological ones, which relate to the wider problem of the contact of cultures. The fact that it is necessary to describe it in this way at all, however, is a result of the compartmentalization of scholarship which has often treated individual parts of the Mediterranean region as if they had developed in isolation (Wolf 1982: 3–19). This account is intended to redress the balance.

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The Levantine initiative: tenth and ninth centuries (Fig. 1a)

Although several of the features which were to be characteristic of the first millennium had emerged in the brief period of post-palatial trading activity centred on Cyprus in the twelfth century BC (Sherratt and Sherratt 1991: 373–5), the effective (though not total) collapse of inter-regional trade for part of the eleventh century marks the subsequent revival as a new phase. The speed with which this revival took place, however, indicates its dependence on what had gone before, and especially in the areas associated with maritime trade. Both Egypt and Assyria, while benefitting from the elimination of rivals, were hard hit by the collapse of centralized power, which brief military revivals did not reverse. The area which recovered most rapidly was the southern Levant (Philistia and Phoenicia), linked both to Cyprus and now also to the incense-producing areas of southern Arabia, via the west Arabian coast route. This southern Levantine focus was the core region of expansion at the start of the first millennium.

Its success lay in the combination of external connections with its own agricultural and manufacturing resources. Its manufacturing capacity (apparent already in the twelfth century, when it was closely connected with Cyprus) is evident in Philistia in the industrial production of textiles and olive oil at large installations such as those at Tell Miqne; their products included fine dyed cloth (Tyrian purple and royal blue) and the perfumed oil represented by small pottery and faience flasks. Transport amphorae reappeared at southern towns like Ashkelon and Lachish in the tenth century (Zemer 1977). Inland, the growth of the Kingdom of Israel was closely connected with overland trade on the north–south caravan routes to Arabia, whose importance is indicated in the Biblical account of the visit of the Queen of Sheba (Saba'). The linkage of inland and coastal resources (between Israel and Phoenicia) is indicated by the agreement between Solomon and Hiram King of Tyre (I Kings 6) for cedar-wood to build the temple in exchange for annual supplies of wheat and oil, and Phoenician ports gave access to Mediterranean sources of precious metals for which Solomon and Hiram maintained a joint fleet. Southwards sea traffic in the Red Sea was also potentially important, and an attempt to bypass the west Arabian land route is recorded in the account of the joint maritime expedition which Solomon and Hiram undertook down the Red Sea for the gold of Ophir (I Kings 9; Chronicles 8; Liverani 1987: 72–3).

The principal focus of Tyrian and other Phoenician traders, however, was the Mediterranean, and especially the main highway of east–west maritime traffic from Cyprus along the south Anatolian coast to the Aegean, and to Crete and the central Mediterranean – the artery of trade from the Bronze Age to the Medieval period (cf. Pryor 1988: figs 2 and 27). Cyprus was a key staging point in the westward contacts which it had pioneered in the closing centuries of the Late Bronze Age, and may again in the tenth century have added its own products in characteristic lentoid flasks. From here the links led to Crete, which was a stepping-stone to the west Mediterranean at least as far as Sardinia, where a ninth-century Phoenician inscription includes the word *tarshish*, refinery. The interest in the high value metals of this area (silver, and perhaps tin) represent a revival – or even a continuation – of the long-distance routes of the late second millennium pioneered by Cypriots. Cypro-Phoenician fine bronzework in both Crete and Sardinia demonstrates the sophistication of the exports now reintroduced to these areas.

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Trading stations in Sardinia gave access to the indigenous exchange cycles of the coastal west Mediterranean, linking peninsular Italy, north-west Africa, southern Iberia (and thus the tin of the Atlantic route), which could provide a variety of raw materials; activity of this kind could lie behind the high traditional dates for the 'founding' of Cadiz and Utica. Contacts with the proto-urban communities of Villanovan Italy, with their strong central European links, seem mostly to have been indirect and mediated through Sardinia.

Another route led by Rhodes to the Aegean, with a nodal point in the sheltered Straits of Euripos, between Euboea and mainland Greece. Here, below the tidal race of Chalkis, was a natural stopping-point for ships waiting to travel further up the east coast of Greece into the north Aegean, or to make contact with existing networks of exchange; its importance is indicated by the rich tombs at Lefkandi with their gold jewellery, fine cloth, Cypro-Levantine figured bronzework and perfume flasks and Egyptianizing faience trinkets. This community was apparently growing rich on passing traffic in search of high value materials like the silver of nearby Lavrion, acquiring foreign goods and metalworking techniques; and, as in the west Mediterranean, later traditional histories refer to Phoenician activity on Aegean islands such as gold-bearing Thasos.

The ninth century saw an intensification of this pattern, with the construction of artificial harbours at towns on the Levantine littoral like Tabat-el Hamman – a sign that larger cargo ships were once again coming into use. The northern Levant now became more important, as the revival of Assyria revitalized the coastal towns supplying goods from Phoenicia over the Syrian saddle and perhaps attracted Phoenician commercial settlement (Kestemont 1985); this area, too, joined the westwards seaborne trading ventures. Typically north Syrian metalwork appears at Lefkandi, while Euboean pottery cups and Attic kraters found in Cyprus indicate that some manufactured goods were now being brought back in return, in addition to valuable materials from the wider hinterland. By the end of the century Euboean cups could be found along with Cypriot wares in port towns in Cilicia and the Gulf of Iskenderun such as Al Mina. The Aegean may now have supplied other materials as well, such as iron which could have been produced in Euboea in exportable quantities (Bakhuizen 1976), and although direct evidence is lacking it is not improbable that its early production was concentrated in such centres of technical expertise. Greek textiles, too, are hinted at by geometric patterns in the pottery (Barber 1991).

The increasing volume of traffic on the east/west Mediterranean axis led to the growth of strategic points along the route. In Cyprus this intensification is manifested in the politicization of Phoenician links, through the foundation of a formal colony at the port-town of Kition, marked by impressive temples and perhaps associated with the exploitation of the copper mines at Tamassos. Other coastal towns like Amathus also prospered. Cypro-Phoenician flasks appeared in some numbers on Rhodes and Kos and also in Crete, and were soon followed by local versions (for rebottling unguents imported in bulk?), while the Phoenician inscribed bowl and gold jewellery from graves in the Tekke cemetery near Knossos have been held to demonstrate the presence there of eastern specialist craftsmen (Coldstream 1982). By the end of the century the port town of Kommos in southern Crete, with its finds of Levantine bulk-transport amphorae, had acquired a Phoenician shrine (Shaw 1989).

This stage of tenth- and ninth-century contacts – Niemeyer's (1984; Gehrig and Niemeyer 1990) '1. historische Stratum' – was characterized by a marked disparity

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between the renascent city-states of the east Mediterranean littoral and their maritime contact zone, even though growing local centres (like those at Lefkandi and Athens) seem to have been stimulated by the long-distance contacts of Levantine traders. Such contact points were typically established on islands, perhaps themselves on the edges of indigenous exchange systems. These mercantile movements belong to a pre-colonial phase of activity, which seems to have been a relatively fluid search for high-value materials with only the beginnings of a more formalized pattern. Piracy and the adventitious capture of cargoes and slaves is likely to have been part of the picture in the early days, as revealed in Homer's portrayal of the Phoenicians encountered by Odysseus. Nevertheless in the eastern half of the Mediterranean this was gradually beginning to give way to some renewed absorption of Near Eastern religious and cultural values, expressed in shrines and temples, the use of unguents in purification rituals and the syncretizing nature of Levantine artistic motifs (Rowlands n.p.): and perhaps also to some regional specialization in production – for instance in iron and copper – which was to be a characteristic of the following phase. However, the formalization of trading contacts through colonies and the growth of larger political units, and the consequent definition of ethnic labels, was largely a feature of the succeeding centuries.

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The joint venture: the eighth century (Fig. 1b)

The maritime network established in the first two centuries of the first millennium now grew in importance as the surrounding land areas were increasingly drawn into it: the continuing growth of Assyria drew trade and tribute from the Levantine cities, intensifying their quest for high-value materials further west; the emergence of city-states in the Aegean added new centres of production and demand for raw materials; indigenous foci in Villanovan Italy and southern Spain developed under strong external contacts (Frankenstein 1979). Long-distance traders now began to penetrate closer to the sources of their supplies, rather than simply contacting the edges of indigenous exchange cycles. The 'developed' area within which advanced manufacturing activities (textiles, perfumes) took place now extended as far as the Aegean, which could export its own manufactured products westwards; and both Aegeans and Levantines participated in trading missions and colonial foundations in the central Mediterranean, with Phoenicians leading the way further west. The complexity of the pattern increased as new players joined the game.

The growing importance of the Assyrian Empire led to the formation of secondary states on its immediate periphery: as well as the older competitor of Urartu and the Aramaean kingdoms of north Syria, the appearance of spectacular 'royal' burials at Gordion in Phrygia and Salamis in Cyprus (Rupp 1987) indicate the emergence of new polities whose dynastic rulers asserted their political presence with ostentatious items of Assyrian and Levantine elite culture: chariots, bronze and ivory thrones, and Urartian or north Syrian metal drinking equipment. From the later part of the century onwards, individual items from as far afield as the Caucasus, west Persia ('Luristan') and Babylon might now be found in the tombs and sanctuaries of the eastern Mediterranean.

This infilling of the political map of the east Mediterranean is symptomatic of the increasing density of east/west trade, which it must be emphasized was a *north*

Mediterranean phenomenon: the north African coastal route westward from Egypt to Tunisia, sometimes attributed to the Phoenicians (e.g. Schauer 1983: Abb. 2), is anachronistic for this period and was not regularly used before the later seventh century. Westward maritime traffic followed the south Anatolian coast from Cyprus to Rhodes, and then could either cycle anti-clockwise around the Aegean or continue westwards in two streams: either along the southern margin, through Crete and up the west coast of Greece to cross to southern Italy and Sicily, or through the Cyclades to Euboea and Attica. Here an alternative westward route was possible for small ships using the isthmus of Corinth to avoid the dangerous circuit of Cape Malea in the southern Peloponnese. The Cretan route was supplied by Phoenician installations such as Kommos; the latter route depended on a measure of co-operation with the native Greek communities. It may be that these routes were operated by merchants from different Levantine cities: the links between Euboea and northern Syria suggest the possibility that a chain of trading-partnerships had already been established, perhaps paralleled by a more metropolitan Phoenician involvement (via Kition, amongst others) on the south Aegean route (Winter 1979; cf. Boardman 1990: fig. 2). These complementary (though necessarily overlapping) spheres of activity were equally significant further west.

The Aegean must have seen a considerable density of traffic, in which both indigenous and eastern seamen participated without apparent rivalry. Indeed it is precisely in these circumstances that the transmission of aspects of oriental culture (ideas of ritual purification, mythology and its accompanying iconography, the use of alphabetic writing: Sourvinou-Inwood 1981; Morris 1992) took place, and were adapted to the needs of emerging political ideologies. The core area of Greek territorial state formation was the eastward-looking region of Euboea and the Saronic Gulf with its important trans-isthmian link (Chalcis, Eretria, Athens, Corinth, Argos); but equally striking are the 'international' sanctuaries at nodal points on the maritime routes (Lindos, Samos, Delos, Delphi, Pherai, Perachora, Olympia, amongst others: Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985). These combined the functions of establishments for the needs of sailors and travellers (some even including temple prostitutes) with foci of regional and supra-regional identity. The intimate relationship between religion and trade, noted already in connection with purely Phoenician installations like Kition and Kommos, here takes on a new dimension as part of a process of acculturation, by which Greeks first absorbed and then transformed these oriental elements into part of a growing pan-Hellenic consciousness – in which the religious centres of Delos, Delphi and Olympia played an especially important part.

The westward routes converged along the west coast of Greece to skirt the Ionian sea and avoid the long crossing to Italy; if Phoenician boats were larger, as seems probable, they may have been able to strike a more direct route towards Sicily than smaller craft suitable for hauling across the Corinthian isthmus – a practice well known in the history of long-distance trade (and used by the Varangian Vikings to move between Russian rivers on the route to the Black Sea). The Phoenician centres in the west Mediterranean clustered in the triangle formed by western Sicily, southern Sardinia and the Gulf of Tunis, their node at Utica/Carthage. Some of these had now acquired the status of formal colonies, but their interest was in trade rather than in the acquisition of territory. They provided access to the growing indigenous trading network – itself stimulated by earlier Phoenician intervention – which joined the Atlantic Late Bronze Age contacts through

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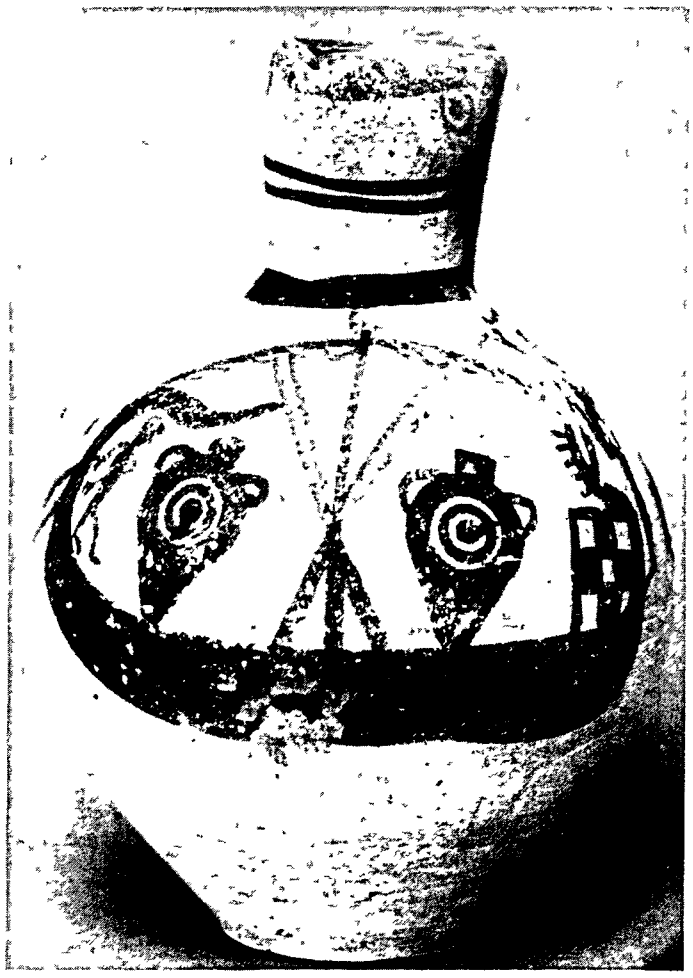

Plate 1 Schematic representation of a merchant ship loaded with transport-amphorae, on a late eighth-century Cypriot jug: British Museum photograph.

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southern Spain and the Balearics to northern Sardinia and the Tyrrhenian cycle (Ruíz Gálvez Priego 1986; Harrison 1988). Atlantic tin and the copper of the Rio Tinto sources fuelled this expansion (Rothenberg and Blanco-Freijeiro 1981). Phoenician trading posts (but not yet colonies) were established on the Andalusian coast itself, at Toscanos, Chorreras and Morro de Mezquitilla (Niemeyer 1984), and ironworking begins in the area at this time. An equally important element of new technology would have been cupellation for the extraction of silver.

Staging posts for Phoenician, Greek and north Syrian trade with Italy have not yet been recognized, though scattered imports, geographical logic and the siting of later Greek colonies would suggest their existence in Calabria (e.g. Francavilla Marittima) or eastern Sicily. The character of their activity within the Tyrrhenian area, however, has been illuminated by the settlement and cemeteries at Pithecusae on the island of Ischia in the bay of Naples (Buchner 1982; Ridgway 1971). These show a polyethnic trading community including north-west Syrians, Euboeans and elements of the native population. Imported objects include Levantine amphorae and unguent-flasks, numerous seals of steatite and

faience, together with Levantine Red Slip bowls and Greek (mostly Corinthian and Euboean) painted cups. Locally made wares include some with Aramaic inscriptions; the bronze dress ornaments are of local (Villanovan) types. Bellows-nozzles and slag testify to the local working of iron, possibly obtained from the rich sources on Elba in northern Etruria, and (as in Euboea itself at an earlier period) the introduction of this technology was an integral part of early trading activity. A scatter of imported pottery and seals occurs in tombs within Campania, Latium and Etruria; and the role of this typical offshore trading community was primarily to make contact with indigenous exchange systems. The position of this trading-station in Campania, far south of the focus of indigenous prosperity in Etruria (with its plentiful bronzework and close links both to central Europe and Sardinia), suggests that such activity was still being kept at a distance by powerful local interests. By the end of the century, dynastic rich tombs in southern Etruria testify to the growth of political power there, while the infrastructure of Aegean and eastern contacts had been strengthened by the foundation of Euboean settlements on good harbours in north-east Sicily and on the coast opposite Ischia at Cumae (just as Euboeans were also expanding in the Aegean, to the northern peninsula of Chalcidice). Soon other communities joined the western trail, infilling and leapfrogging along the route: Corinthians, Rhodians, Megarians and Cretans, with Achaeans perhaps exploring overland routes across Calabria; some of the Sicilian sites, with a temple and agora, can now be described as formal colonies (Boardman 1980).

The eighth century thus saw imperial expansion in the Levant, and economic expansion leading to state formation in the Aegean. Both Levantines and Aegeans tapped the resources of the central Mediterranean, using the advantages of capital concentration and technological expertise in long-distance sailing vessels to make contact with local trading systems, where the sail was probably not widely in use. The introduction to this area of new technologies of metal extraction and manufacture (especially silver and iron), together with supplies of novel mass-produced and bulk products (faience and glass, textiles, oil and wine) and the ideologies which they symbolized, gave traders access to supplies of rare materials such as silver or tin in demand for consumption in the more sophisticated economies of the east. This overseas trading activity retained some of its earlier informal character, with competition probably taking the form of rival trading partnerships rather than the conscious exclusion of whole ethnic groups. Nevertheless, a broad division is evident between metropolitan Phoenician (principally Tyrian) and other groupings, and the extension of political control through the foundation of formal colonies indicates a growing differentiation of interests and exclusive definition of routes. The constraints of geography now began to give particular opportunities to communities on constriction points, of which the Gulf of Corinth was to be particularly important.

The great bifurcation: the seventh century (Fig. 1c)

As the Assyrian Empire reached its height, the process of orientalization and the genesis of new states moved westward, to Italy and Spain: but in each case not simply to the south-eastern coasts where Phoenician and Greek contacts were strongest but to the indigenous centres of power which had independent links to a European hinterland. As

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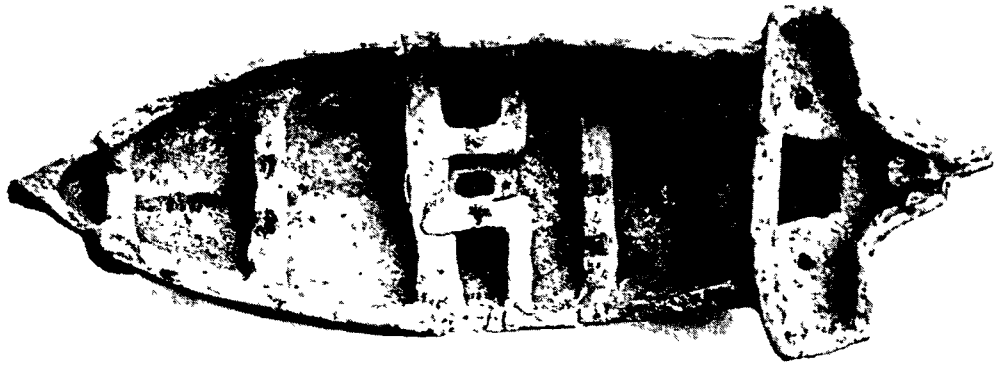

Plate 2 Seventh-century terracotta model of a large merchant ship, from Amathus, Cyprus (length 14cm): British Museum photograph.

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the frontier of urbanization moved west, so a new perhiphery began to be created and ironworking took hold in central Europe, with radical effects on societies still organized around the circulation of bronze. The demands of the Assyrian Empire for tribute from the Levantine cities continued to intensify their western enterprise, while struggles for territorial definition among the network of Greek city-states ensured a growing demand for bronze and iron.

In the maritime traffic which these core areas generated, a new element of competition now emerged. Distribution maps of eighth-century oriental bronzework such as Cypro-Phoenician bowls (Markoe 1985), candelabra with *blattüberfall* ornament (Matthäus 1992: fig. 10), or lyre-player seals show a continuous swath from the Levant to Italy, on the routes discussed above (and often in Aegean sanctuaries); seventh-century Phoenician bronze jugs, or bowls in the later orientalizing style (now more often of silver or gold), show an extended distribution in the west, separated from east Mediterranean finds by a large, Greece-shaped hole (Markoe 1985; Matthäus 1992: figs 11, 14). These patterns suggest that local production now replaced many previously exotic goods, and that Phoenicians were now perhaps being effectively excluded from trade routes across the Aegean, with territorially based ethnic consciousness taking a harder edge.

The seventh century also saw a growing integration of maritime and inland areas, and especially an articulation between Anatolia and the eastern Aegean seaboard reflected in the growth of Ionia and Lydia with their links along the Maeander and Hermus – the latter with a rich electrum source on its tributary the Pactolus. The Greek communities on the eastern side of the Aegean, in Ionia and Rhodes, expanded their role in the production of oriental types of metalwork, perfumes and textiles – and also in painted pottery, which was both a commodity in its own right as drinking sets (ornamented with figured textile patterns!) and a decorative container for organic products. Links with north Syria were not lost, and Ionian pottery was exported there in quantity to the exclusion of Cypriot wares. Equally important was the westwards trade, both to mainland Greece and – funnelled through the isthmus of Corinth – to consumers in Italy. The volume of traffic on this major

artery from the east Aegean provided an opportunity for the addition of value-added manufactures: either the relatively bulky products represented by amphorae with painted SOS decoration, or the labour-intensive perfumed oils and containers made in Corinth, which now rose to special prominence as a result of its unique position in this network of trading contacts. Corinth is likely to have developed metalworking and textile production, though it is pottery which is the most visible archaeological evidence of its industrial production and trade – especially the decorated alabastra and aryballoi used as perfume containers but also the less intensively studied amphorae (Salmon 1984). This area led the process of capital formation and advanced technological production on the mainland, following the lead of the eastern Aegean.

The Phoenician sphere in the western Mediterranean developed greater diversity, both through bulk production of commodities such as dyestuffs and fish preserves at coastal factories in Iberia and through the growth of the native state of Tartessos in the lower Guadalquivir valley (Harrison 1988). A similar process of growth occurred around Carthage, which became the advanced manufacturing node of an area which now developed an increasing economic autonomy. In Italy, states developed around the major cities in the core area of southern Etruria, and their indigenous shipping plied the Tyrrhenian routes both to exploit their own hinterland in Sardinia and Liguria and to interface with Phoenician and Greek colonial traffic. Northwards, their periphery was constituted by the Po valley and Slovenia, by which European high-value materials such as amber reached Etruria and the Mediterranean. A further area of penetration, this time by Greeks alone, was the Black Sea – a natural extension of the interest in the gold and silver sources of the northern Aegean, and perhaps with a phase of pre-colonial activity before the formal settlements by East Greeks on the metal-rich northern shore of Anatolia, with their links to the interior. This area was to become important in the next century, with the rise of the Iranian world and the further development of overland routes.

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Intensification and outflanking: the sixth century (Fig. 1d)

The pattern of the following century can be briefly sketched. As in earlier periods, the increasing scale of the Near Eastern economy was a powerful motor of growth throughout the contemporary world-system: the temporary dominance of Babylon and the rapid growth of the Median and Persian Empires brought a new scale of integration from the east Aegean to the Indus. Specialization in production at this time is graphically illustrated by Ezekiel's (Ezekiel 27: 12–23) description of the commerce of Tyre, 'merchant of the people for many isles', with its zonation of agricultural and animal products from a large Levantine hinterland (grain, oil, honey, resin, wine, wool, sheep, goats, horses, mules), bronzework and slaves from Anatolia and the Aegean, metals from the far west and exotica from the Red Sea (Liverani 1988: fig. 129). The new centres in the central and west Mediterranean were by this time producing and exporting their own commodities in bulk: Etruscan amphorae occur from Sicily to the Golfe du Lion (Cristofani 1986: pl. 11). In this century, too, an extensive central European hinterland appeared in the Hallstatt D period. The Aegean area passed an important threshold, in which cities were no longer agriculturally self-sustaining and had to be supported by imports of grain – paid for, in

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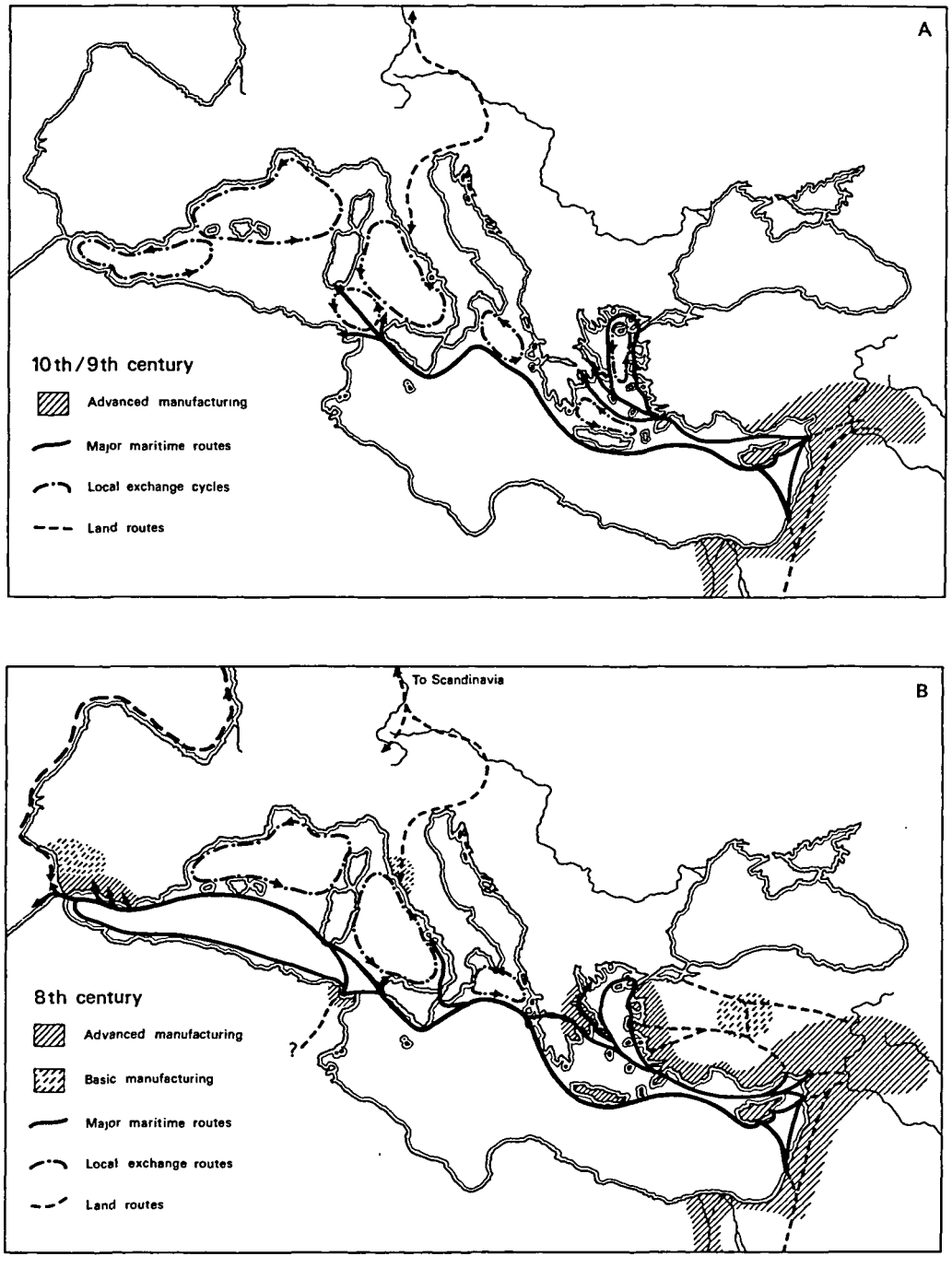
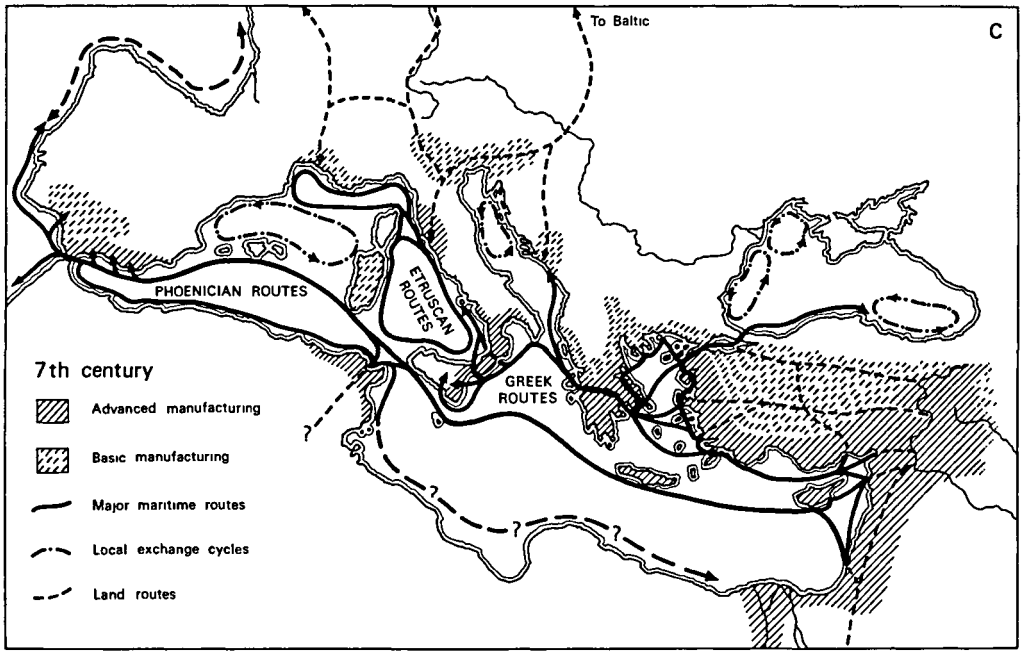
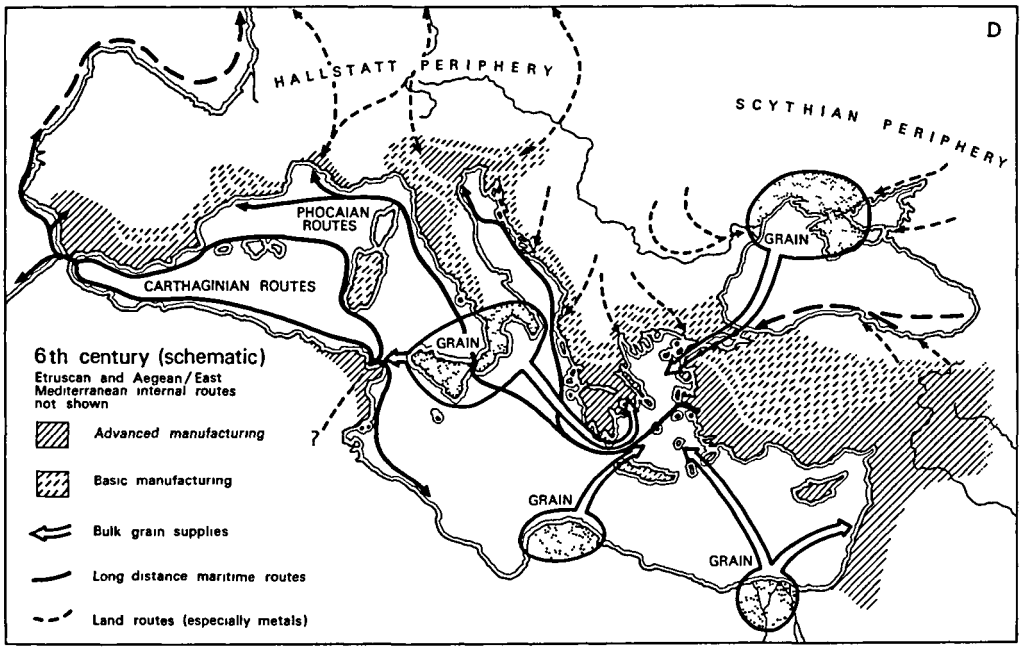


Figure 1 Comparative maps of the development of Mediterranean maritime trade and regional economic growth, 1000–500 BC. Map (d) is simplified by the omission of east Mediterranean and Etruscan routes, but indicates the growing regional specialization in production.





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part, by exports of silver. The larger vessels needed for such a scale of transport altered the nature of the maritime network.

The growing differentiation of the east Mediterranean economy as a whole required an increase in liquidity to balance the complexity of inter-regional exchanges; silver, now available in quantity, became not just an important high-value consumable but also a commodity in regulating flows of produce and accounting payments of tribute. Flows of bullion and the use of weighed units had been a feature of the expansion of urban economies from the beginning, and inscribed castings in unitary weights are known from the eighth century in north Syria (Balmuth 1971). Punched units of locally produced electrum (and soon afterwards gold and silver separately) were struck at Sardis in Lydia in the early sixth century, and comparable issues soon appeared on both sides of the Aegean in silver-producing areas; coins were also struck in Sicily, southern Italy and Cyrenaica by the end of the century. East Greeks, with access to north Aegean silver sources, could tap the breadbasket of Egypt, where the trading community at Naucratis (occupied from the late seventh century) could acquire surplus grain for cities with limited agricultural resources of their own. Further supplies could be obtained from agricultural colonies established in Cyrenaica and from comparable settlements now established on the Black Sea coasts. Athens, with the advantage of an indigenous source of silver (Lavrion/ Thorikos), could make use of the Sicilian colonies, which increasingly specialized in grain production.

The large vessels suitable for grain transport could no longer pass across the Corinthian isthmus and the westward passage now perforce used the route round Cape Malea. The effect of this new pattern of bulk transport is reflected in the striking shift in pottery exported to Italy in the mid-sixth century, from Corinthian and East Greek wares to Attic (Martelli 1985; Cristofani 1986: fig. 13), as economies of scale (rather than aesthetic criteria!) favoured these complementary manufactured cargoes. A further and equally significant twist to this topic is given by Herodotus' account of the Phocaean intervention in the west Mediterranean, which he says involved the use of warships (pentekonters) to penetrate around established interests and reach the Adriatic, Tyrrhenia, Iberia and Tartessos directly (Herodotus I: 163; Shefton 1982). Now, where necessary, overcoming opposition in naval battles, this movement outflanked Etruscan Italy by reaching the main outlets of central European trade directly, at the head of the Adriatic (Spina) and the mouth of the Rhone (Massalia), as well as contacting the Atlantic world in the far west. The chain of long-distance contacts ran continuously from the borders of Media to the Celts (Kimmig 1983; Nash 1985).

Conclusion: patterns of development

In 1000 BC most of the Mediterranean was effectively prehistoric; by 500 BC it formed a series of well differentiated zones within a world-system. The transformation did not take place by the passive diffusion of 'civilization', but by active intervention and response. Local maritime exchange cycles and routes of long-distance trade were already in existence, and the centres of future growth were already evident; but what articulated them into a single interacting system was the input of capital from the east. Large sailing

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vessels, and the economic organization which made them possible, drew together the fortunes of communities throughout the Mediterranean.

This maritime expertise and capital concentration came initially from Phoenicia, and Phoenician vessels were probably the largest ships plying Mediterranean routes until the later seventh century. Phoenicia was also characterized by other features of advanced urban economies: the use of silver as a medium of exchange, slavery and the labour-intensive manufacture of textiles and perfumes. The Phoenician trading diaspora created contacts with societies at very different levels of social and economic organization; temples and sanctuaries formed important meeting points between the different economic systems of Phoenician and indigenous groups. In the Aegean, close trading-partnerships along the main artery of contact with north Syria led to the adoption and cultural transformation of this pattern; in north-west Africa and Iberia, a colonial culture was established. Two areas of indigenous culture resisted this process and participated on their own terms: Etruria and Tartessos. Both were important termini of routes into the European hinterland, in central Europe and the Atlantic respectively. The Aegean area, too, established trading and colonial links with the west and increasingly in competition with the Levant; from the sixth century onwards it became increasingly concerned with grain supplies, using local sources of silver and a new pattern of colonial interests to support urban growth.

The geographical pattern which emerged was a primary zone of capital- and labour-intensive manufacturing, from the Levant to the southern Aegean, surrounded first by a zone of higher value agricultural products (oil, wine – especially in the north Aegean, e.g. Chios, Thasos) and then by a grain-growing belt in Cyrenaica, Sicily/ southern Italy and the Black Sea. Beyond this, separate centres of manufacturing, with their own supply zones, came into existence in Etruria and Tunisia, again with a complex pattern of competition as the more heavily capitalized areas of the east Mediterranean tried to outflank their control of the rich hinterland of temperate Europe.

Neither diffusion nor autonomy can adequately describe the nature of this process of growth; rather, the pattern of development can best be described as co-evolution within the extending limits and zonation of a growing world-system.

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Abstract

Sherratt, Susan and Sherratt, Andrew

The growth of the Mediterranean economy in the early first millennium BC

This article surveys the development of Iron Age trading systems in the Mediterranean. It contrasts the social organization of first millennium trade with that of the preceding Bronze Age, but also points to continuities in the patterns of expansion. Using archaeological and historical evidence, it outlines the growing scale of production and extension of the area where advanced technologies were employed. The routes of maritime trade are related both to factors of competition and to the size of shipping.

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The Role of Harbour Towns in the Re-Urbanization of the Levant in the Middle Bronze Age (1800-1600 BC). Perspectives from Eastern Cilicia and the Amuq Plain of Hatay

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This paper focuses on route networks and their impact on the development of Middle Bronze Age urbanization in the Levant, concentrating particularly on Cilicia and the Amuq Plain around the Gulf of Iskender in the southeastern corner of Turkey. It looks at socioeconomic developments in coastal and inland settlements that seem to have evolved progressively in such a way as to suggest that their distinctive relationships may have played an important part in the re-urbanization of the Levant in the Middle Bronze Age. This is a phenomenon that manifests itself in the revival of political and economic structures, and in the archaeological evidence for large-scale public buildings and fortification systems as indicators of complex and organized Middle Bronze Age settlements (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, 223; Dever 1987, 28; Klengel 1992; Matthiae 1997, 379) (FIG. 1).

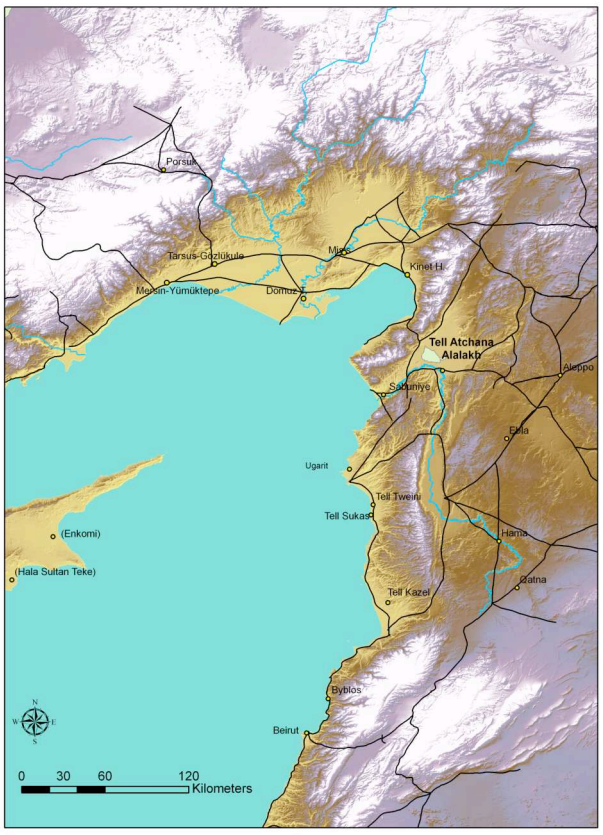

FIG. 1: SRTM map of the Northern Levant with major trade routes digitized from *Barrington Atlas of the Roman World*. Courtesy of Murat Akar & Ekin Demirci.

Throughout this paper, I will explore the often-neglected role of harbour towns in the development of re-urbanized cities in the interior. The model presented here stresses external relationships at different micro- and macro-regional scales, dependent on the successful exploitation of routes for economic and social purposes, which in turn led to the formation of connected, semi-dependent kingdoms. I shall limit myself to the Middle Bronze Age, which is a formative period for the connections between Late Bronze Age polities in the 16th-14th centuries BC, in which the overall nature of the economy can

be seen as a product of collective collaboration between symbiotic micro-zones, characterized by sociopolitical and economic interaction, flows of resources and ideas, and creation of identities. This, I would emphasize, is the final outcome, but its origins must be sought in the social complexity of the Middle Bronze Age.

Re-urbanization is characteristic of almost all Middle Bronze Age sites in the Levant. The factors that provoked the collapse of the Early Bronze Age centres, followed by the revival in the Middle Bronze Age of economically strong city-states, are still debated (Schwartz and Nichols 2006). The collapse is evident in depopulation and abandonment levels at the end of the Early Bronze Age, particularly at major centres in western and inland Syria, as well as in eastern Cilicia (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, 223).

The regeneration of Middle Bronze Age societies is indicated by large fortified cities and palace complexes in the Middle Bronze II levels of various sites (Kempinski 1992a; Burke 2004). These large-scale constructions undoubtedly indicate highly stratified societies with administrative systems, which required the successful use of resources to support their urban economies (Dever 1987, 152). In this respect, regeneration following disruption and collapse can be seen as part of a regular cycle of social evolution, often discernible in the archaeological evidence. The traces of these cycles can be seen in alternations between contexts rich in luxury materials and characterized by standardized production systems, and strata which lack central organization and are typified by small-scale units of production (Faust 2005). The reasons behind this sort of cycle were varied (Yoffee 1979), reflecting political and economic processes which, particularly in the case of Cilicia and the Amuq, were sensitive to ebbs and flows in external relationships.

The Mediterranean, with an area of 2.5 million square kilometres, is the largest inland sea in the world. As such, it is impossible to regard it as having any sort of homogenous cultural identity, despite the fact that the sea itself expedited the development of close connections that eventually developed into a dynamic set of interlinked systems.

> "The sea is also the foundation of our case for the distinctiveness of Mediterranean history: deeply implicated in the unpredictability of conditions of life, it is also of course the principal agent of connectivity." (Horden and Purcell 2000, 133)

In this respect, it is impossible to formulate any sort of progressive stadial pattern of social development that characterizes the development of regional and interregional interaction. Cultural and geographical boundaries were defined or transcended at various times by systems

of maritime and overland networks, which had resulting effects on the rise and fall of political entities and their exploitation of associated territories. In this sea-dominated landscape, Mediterranean economies and their political structures were based on continuity of supplies. The system was never exclusively orientated around production and economic self-sufficiency (Falconer 1994, 122); but instead the circulation and trade of goods and materials on different scales is the key to understanding this Mediterranean economy (Hayden 1994, 198). Exchange systems between and within the micro-regions of the Mediterranean (Horden and Purcell 2000, 123) played an important role in transforming communities in certain places into dynamic and complex economic centres, which at the same time were dependent on the existence of one another.

To start with, the main attributes of an urban centre need to be addressed from the point of view of the economic implications of the development of complex sites. As far as archaeologists are concerned, the commonly accepted criteria for the distinction of urban settlements are mostly physical: the size and estimated population, combined with the excavated evidence - despite the fact that in no region has anyone yet drawn up satisfactory criteria for establishing a threshold (Trigger 1972, 577; Grove 1972, 559). A second attribute, site function, depends on the existence of social institutions distinguishable in material and textual sources, and dealing especially with intra-site social and economic activities. The role of commercial contacts in the formation of urban centres in the Middle Bronze Age, on the other hand, does not yet appear to have been fully explained. Various models have suggested that the increased populations and sizes of urban centres depended upon the agricultural surpluses of their hinterlands, thus emphasizing the centrality of rural-urban relationships to urban survival, but no one has really placed much emphasis on the functional and symbolic roles of exchange systems. As for migration models (Kenyon 1962, 76), these can hardly be regarded as providing answers in themselves to questions concerning the formation of new political powers and identities, in the absence of any consideration of their economic underpinnings.

> "Trade implies an organization, a special administration, which regulates human activities both in terms of procurement and social relations. The degree of organization and its evolution may be understood in the light of these exchanges." (Renfrew 1975, 4)

Large quantities of non-local supplies were introduced into their economic and exchange systems to satisfy the material and symbolic requirements of these interactive communities.

We can briefly list some obvious examples. The rise in large-scale construction projects is directly related to the importation of timber supplies, especially when it comes to the extensive use of long wooden planks in the roofing and framing of mudbrick architecture (FIGS. 2-3). This heavy demand for timber in the more treeless regions of the east would have made cities dependent on the acquisition of these raw materials and would have led to the formation of specialized ports, Spezialhafen. These owed their existence to the handling of such special supplies from their hinterlands (Rühl 1920; Treumann 1997). The dependence on essential metal resources provides another example. These two particularly desired raw materials - timber and metal - were shipped by harbour towns on the Levantine coast, lying between Cilicia and the Amuq Plain in the Hatay, with their access to the rich sources of the mountain ranges of the Amanus and Taurus. Such interactions are well documented in the Egyptian records of the Early and Middle Kingdom, for instance in the case of Byblos (Jidejian 1968, 25). However, it was not only Egypt that witnessed such large-scale projects. Palace and temple complexes in inland Syria, with their massive courts, also testify to the importance of the trade in raw materials.

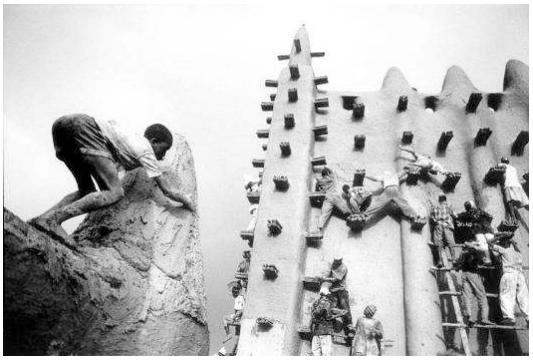

FIG. 2: The ritual refurbishment of the Grand Mosque in Djenné, a modern example of timber use in the framing of mudbrick architecture. Photo by Christien Jaspersan.

FIG. 3: Tell Atchana/Alalakh.Wood Impressions. Photo by Murat Akar.

With regard to the more specifically symbolic and political value of trade, the exchange of luxury goods and materials had special significance for conspicuous consumption among the elite, and acted as an important stimulus to the development of commercial contacts and the exploration of routes (Sherratt and Sherratt 1991). Even though much Bronze Age trade was conducted at palatial level, this in itself can also be seen as being responsible for a rise in individual enterprise, as well as for creating inducements to what would appear to be a 'black market' economy. The appearance of local variations in imported items in residential sectors might well be seen as a result of the acquisition of products not subject to egalitarian distribution. Archival sources from Middle Bronze Age Kültepe indicate the penalties for

trading forbidden materials, such as iron (*amūtu* and *aši'u*) (Larsen 1976). Such laws were, in all probability, introduced to prevent transactions that were already taking place, thus highlighting inequalities resulting from attempts to maintain the exclusivity of certain goods. Inequality, in fact, can be seen as an indirect motivator, a key incentive for the development of alternative strategies to secure supplies to satisfy demands.

In other words, trade was fundamentally linked to the development of social institutions which were oriented around the exclusivist aspirations of the elite classes, but at the same time it was also significant in the rise of individual enterprise, with consequent effects on society as a whole.

Located in close proximity to one another, the urban centres of the Levant were dependent on continuity of supplies through their economic and cultural connections. The rise in the number of harbour towns along the Levantine coast at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age must have resulted from, or been related to, the meeting of regional and interregional demands (Marcus 2002, 250; Raban 1988, 185). Both the palatial and private sectors were party to this, at a time when technological advances in sailing and shipbuilding would have been exploited in a highly competitive environment. In these circumstances, one can hope that further deep-water research, combined with luck, will eventually lead to the discovery of a well-preserved Middle Bronze Age shipwreck (Bass 1976; Margariti 1998),[1] which can contribute to our understanding of maritime trade in this period (FIG. 4) (Cohen 2002).

FIG. 4: Uluburun II, Replica of the Uluburun LBA shipwreck. http://www.360derece.info/. Photo by Murat Akar.

[1] The Şeytan Deresi shipwreck, found in Gökova Bay near Bodrum, is dated to the late Middle Bronze Age based on ceramics collected from the wreck.

The urban expansion of city-states in the Middle Bronze Age has frequently been linked with the arrival of new ethnic groups.[2] Somehow, the economic reasons behind these political changes in the Levantine context were neglected, and the arrival of new 'peoples' was seen as a sufficient explanation in itself for the brilliance of the new discoveries associated with this period. The question of ethnicities in this part of the world, of course, plugs into modern political sensitivities. Although from a long historical perspective the eastern Mediterranean has always been a highly interactive and cosmopolitan region, we have tended to interpret this outcome of the routes along which economic and cultural values passed, and were constantly defined and redefined, in terms of our modern preoccupations and preconceptions.

A particularly well-known phenomenon of this Middle Bronze Age period - which must have a bearing, directly or indirectly, on maritime activity in the northern Levant - is the foundation of one of the oldest textually documented trading centres at Kültepe, ancient Kanesh, where a colony of Assyrian merchants was active. Yet the implications of this for contemporary Mediterranean trade are rarely explored.

There is ample evidence that Kültepe had commercial relations with towns in northwest Syria, such as Ebla, whose interest in Anatolian copper is documented in the texts.[3] This connection may have been direct or indirect, depending on the choice of routes and intermediate transshipment points. From the written sources, we also know that tin and silver were exchanged along with copper, and the existence of sources of these in the Taurus Mountains would have given an important advantage to Cilician towns situated near the interfaces of coastal and inland routes in this commercial network (Yener 2007, 153, figs. 9-10). This reached its height in the late Middle Bronze Age, when the rise of major powers began to result in the appropriation of such micro-regional trade to the benefit of their own larger economic systems.

The excavations of the Kestel mine and the small Early Bronze Age miners' village at Göltepe in the Taurus Mountains in the 1980s initiated a lively debate concerning Bronze Age tin sources; and the claims of Kestel, versus Afghanistan, to have supplied tin in these early periods is still an ongoing issue (Yener 1989; Muhly 1993). Advances in scientific analysis,

[2] For a discussion of migration models, see Tubb 1998.

[3] The tablet Ktn/K 794 (published in Bilgiç 1992) is a letter sent from Ebla to Kanesh. It indicates that Ebla and Kanesh maintained good economic relations. Cf. also Kienast 1960, no. 342, 17: "Copper is available. Many Eblaites have come here, a huge amount of copper is weighed out for them in the palace...", which clearly indicates travelling Eblaites acquiring raw materials in Anatolia. See also Yener 2007, 153.

however, are now beginning to provide more information on this subject. The analysis of some tin ingots from the Late Bronze Age Uluburun shipwreck points to the source of the tin being in the Taurus Mountains (Pulak 2000). In addition, isotopic analyses of crucibles from the recent excavations in the workshop district of Tell Atchana/Alalakh again indicate a source within the Taurus range, thus emphasizing the importance of connections between the plain of Amuq and Cilicia (Yener 2007).[4] Strikingly, specimens of silver ore from Middle Bronze Age Kültepe and Assur fit into the Taurus range, thus pointing to the exploitation of Taurus metal resources in the Middle as well as Late Bronze Age, and their active role in providing metals for long-distance exchange (Yener 2007). The evidence of distinctive Amuq-Cilician ware (Özgüç 1955, 460, fig. 29) and Cypriot White Painted Pendent Line juglets (Åström 1989, 16, fig. 1, pl. 3:1, from Kültepe IB) in Kültepe contexts reinforces this. Whether it is a question of bulk or luxury commodities, Cilicia and the Amuq Plain seem to have played an important part in this Middle Bronze Age network.

Finds from Late Bronze Age contexts at Palestinian, Syrian, Cypriot, Egyptian, Aegean and Anatolian sites demonstrate a wide range of intensive mercantile interactions, which are visible mainly in pottery but can also be seen in the technologies, weaponry and ornaments that formed the aesthetic fashions of the era. Going back to the Middle Bronze Age, this material evidence, though still evident, is proportionately smaller in quantity. Various factors can account for this. There are still very few excavated Middle Bronze Age sites, and most of the major harbour towns have substantial overlying Late Bronze Age strata, leaving Middle Bronze Age occupational levels still in need of investigation. The recent excavations at sites like Tell el-Dab'a (ancient Avaris) in the Nile delta, Tell Kabri in northern Galilee, Arqa in northern Lebanon, and many others do, however, provide valuable evidence for the international outlook of late Middle Bronze Age levels. The substantial amount of Cypriot White Painted Ware from the southern Levantine coast testifies to regular connections with Cyprus (Maguire 1995, 54), while fragments of Aegean Kamares pottery have also been found at a number of sites along the Levantine coast (Merrillees 2003), indicating that exchange was already taking place on an international scale (Akar 2006). The appearance of late Middle

[4] A crucible found in the eastern part of the tell in the Late Bronze I workshop district was analysed by Seppi Lehner.

Bronze Age wall paintings at Avaris (Bietak et al. 2007) and Tell Kabri (Niemeier and Niemeier 1991) are clear examples of the products of this cultural interaction.

The large body of data acquired from the Southern Levantine coast is growing steadily with new excavations in Syria, the Amuq valley and Cilicia. Recent interest in coastal and trading settlements has provided crucial information for understanding this lively period and the commercial connections that seem to have played a major role in the appearance of the northern Levantine urban centres.

Starting with Cilicia, which is nothing if not seaward-facing, the role of this interface zone has long been associated with commercial centres like Tarsus at the western end of the plain, while the role of the eastern Cilician settlements around the Iskenderun Gulf has rarely been investigated or has simply been ignored.

After 18 years of archaeological investigation under the direction of Marie-Henriette Gates as part of a Bilkent University project, the site of Kinet Höyük on the shores of the Iskenderun Gulf is now providing extremely valuable information about the character and function of the site and region during the Middle Bronze Age. Due to the accumulation of later levels, the Middle Bronze Age remains were excavated only in the eastern terrace of the site. A burnt Middle Bronze Age stratum was excavated directly beneath mediaeval and Hellenistic levels, and its entire assemblage uncovered *in situ* (FIG. 5) (Gates 2000a; see also Gates 1998; 1999a; 2000b; 2002; 2004; 2005).

The exposure of the storage sections of an administrative complex, which is oriented north-south, indicates the mercantile role of the site. This complex was reinforced by a stone tower at its northern extremity; and, through several soundings excavated at 10 m intervals from the outer wall of the complex, we have now confirmed that the building itself was located on the eastern slope of the Middle Bronze Age citadel, and functioned as part of the city's fortification system (Akar 2006).

In the Middle Bronze Age, the palaces of the Levant as well as of Anatolia were embedded in the fortification systems and located in close proximity to the city gates. As embodiments of power, their location was visually strategic, as being the first large-scale monuments one would encounter on entering the city (Ussishkin 1986, 485). They also seem to have a direct relationship with the control of goods going in and out of the city.

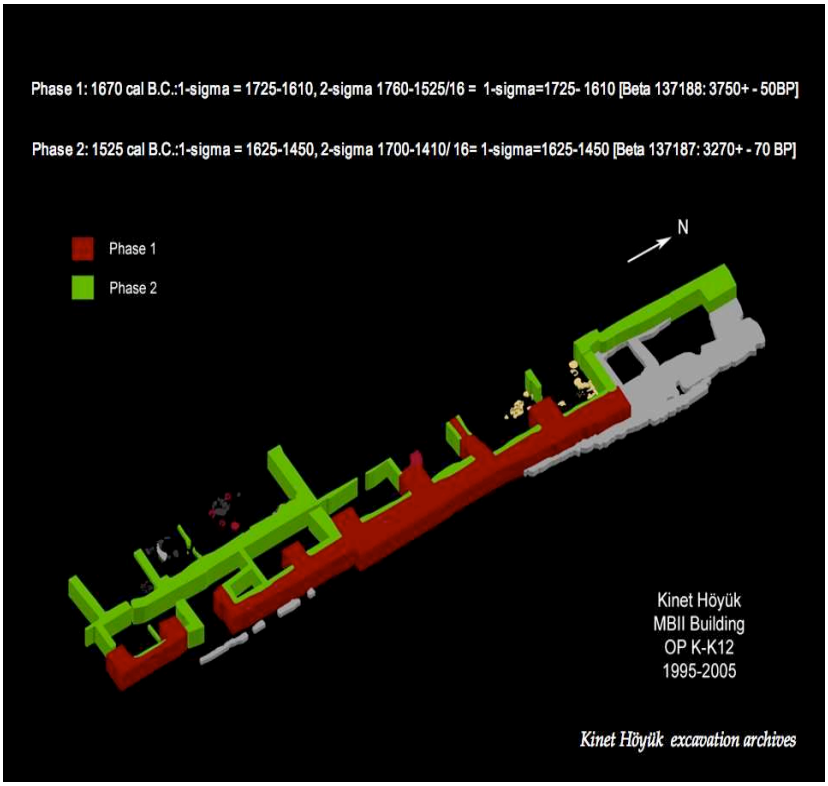

FIG. 5: Kinet Höyük MBII building. Modelled by Akar & Kocabryik.

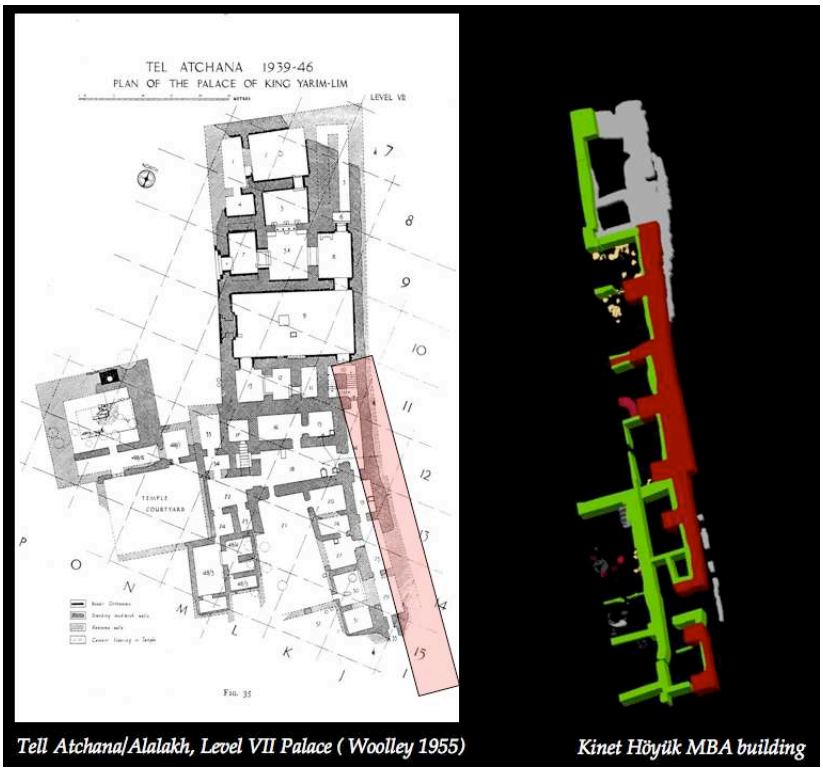

FIG. 6: Kinet Höyük MBA building and Alalakh Level VII Palace.

This layout is strikingly comparable to those of the well-known palatial complexes at Middle Bronze Age Levantine sites such as Ebla (Matthiae 1997), Alalakh (Woolley 1955) and many others (FIG. 6). To judge by its architectural design and its use of space, the extent of the Kinet building, which is over 50 m in length, exceeds that of some of these well-known palace complexes. Its symbolic significance is evident in its monumentality, and its commercial role in the large-scale storage facilities divided into separate narrow units.

Geographically speaking, the Amanus Mountains create a natural boundary between the Anatolian and Syrian cultural zones, with Kinet, according to its location, lying in the Anatolian zone. This cultural division is still evident today, when one can clearly observe the differences between the two sides of this mountain range. However, based on the variety of pottery and other objects recovered from the building, it is possible to suggest that Levantine fashions were adopted in the Middle Bronze Age culture of Kinet Höyük.[5] Most of the ceramic assemblage is of local production. However, to take the most common types, the ovoid storage jars, for instance, share elements of style with examples from Tell Mardikh/Ebla IIIA-B and Alalakh level X (Gates 2000a, 84), in much the same way as the architecture does. Even the Cilician Painted, otherwise known as Amuq-Cilician or Syro-Cilician ware, shares similarities with Levantine or Habur wares (Bagh 2003). The close similarities between these regional wares clearly indicate the amount of interaction, even though this is reflected through regional variations. Looking at other objects, the existence at Kinet of a duckbill axe mould (Gates 2005, 172, fig. 10)[6] and an example of a Syrian style mother-goddess figurine (Gates 2000a, 98-9, pl. 7, fig. 8) may show that interaction between the Syrian and Anatolian zones was not limited only to trade and exchange, but that foreign cultural elements were also integrated into the existing culture of this small harbour town in eastern Cilicia. Pottery and other artefacts can often be misleading in encouraging conclusions of this sort, since these are essentially portable. However, with the architectural evidence we are on a firmer footing in contextualizing this process of acculturation (Gates 1999b).

According to Arab geographers, mediaeval Kinet Höyük (Hisn-al Tinat, on the southeast corner of the Cilician littoral) was used for the shipment of timber from the Amanus

[5] See Stager 2001, 629, where he defines the role of harbours in socioeconomic terms as places where cultural and ethnic diversity can be minimized: "The effectiveness of the port power accrued from the capability of the economic systems to penetrate diverse ethnic, cultural and political boundaries and to interconnect them with a minimal use of force."

[6] For the distribution of this axe type, see Philip 1989

Mountains for export to Egypt, southern Syria and Tarsus (Gates 1999b). There is no reason to suppose that the site's strategic importance during the Middle Bronze Age was much different, when the expanding Levantine settlements required large amounts of timber for their large-scale construction projects. The Braudelian approach stresses the importance of harbour towns along the Mediterranean coast as transit points along a coastal highway to provide supplies to inland interiors (Braudel 1993[1966], ch. 5). This also explains the small number of imported materials in comparison with local resources at Kinet, since the primary reason for its existence was not trade as such, but the business of shipping goods (Gates 1999b, 309). Expanding cities were demanding raw materials, and this is why ancient builders tried to develop means to establish harbours even in the most inaccessible places, in order to ensure a continuous supply of merchandise (Raban 1988, 185). The increase in harbour towns in the southern Levant in Middle Bronze IIA-B adds weight to this statement, and above all stresses the importance of maritime traffic (Marcus 2002, 250; Broshi and Gophna 1986, 88; Gophna 1984, 24). This pattern of development is particularly clear in the northern Levant and coastal Cilicia, where the geographical boundary – the Amanus Mountains – restricted access between the Syrian plain and Cilicia. The mountain passes are difficult to cross and open to possible attacks, and this made sea trade more practical and less dangerous. In this context, Kinet's architectural evidence (in the form of the administrative building) and its functional attribution (a harbour town) give satisfactory criteria for defining the urban nature of the settlement. Even a small site such as Kinet in the 'marginal' zone of eastern Cilicia can and does demonstrate the urban patterns of Middle Bronze II in the eastern Mediterranean. And I think it owes its urbanization to commercial and predominantly external interactions.

The Cilician Survey carried out by Seton Williams in the 1950s provided a glimpse of the nature of settlement in the region (Seton Williams 1954). More refined surveys in the separate zones of Cilicia are now providing more scientific and accurate information about the settlement distribution patterns.[7] Although the available data are still problematic, some observations can be made from the accompanying maps (FIGS. 7-8). As part of a Master's thesis in the Department of Settlement Archaeology at the Middle East Technical University, Ekin Demirci has studied the changes in settlement pattern from the Middle to Late Bronze

[7] The improvements in computer-based applications provide a better understanding of the settlement patterns within micro-regions of Cilicia. For a new analysis of the Göksu valley, see Newhard et al. 2008.

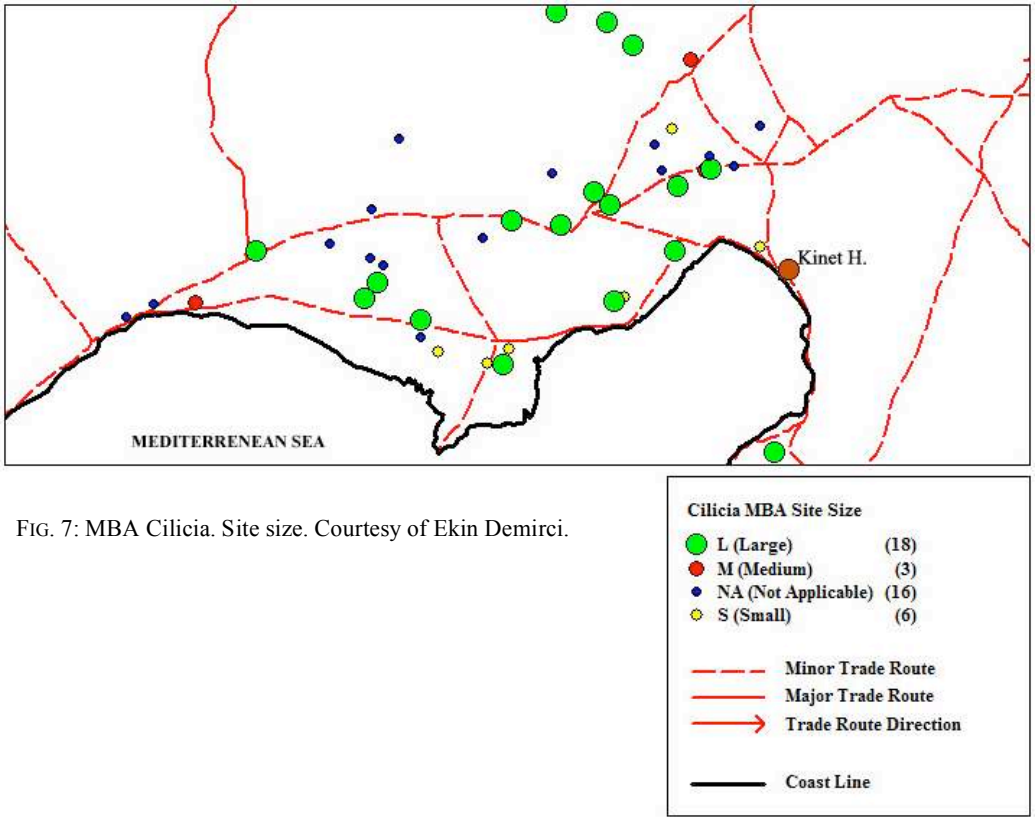

FIG. 7: MBA Cilicia. Site size. Courtesy of Ekin Demirci.

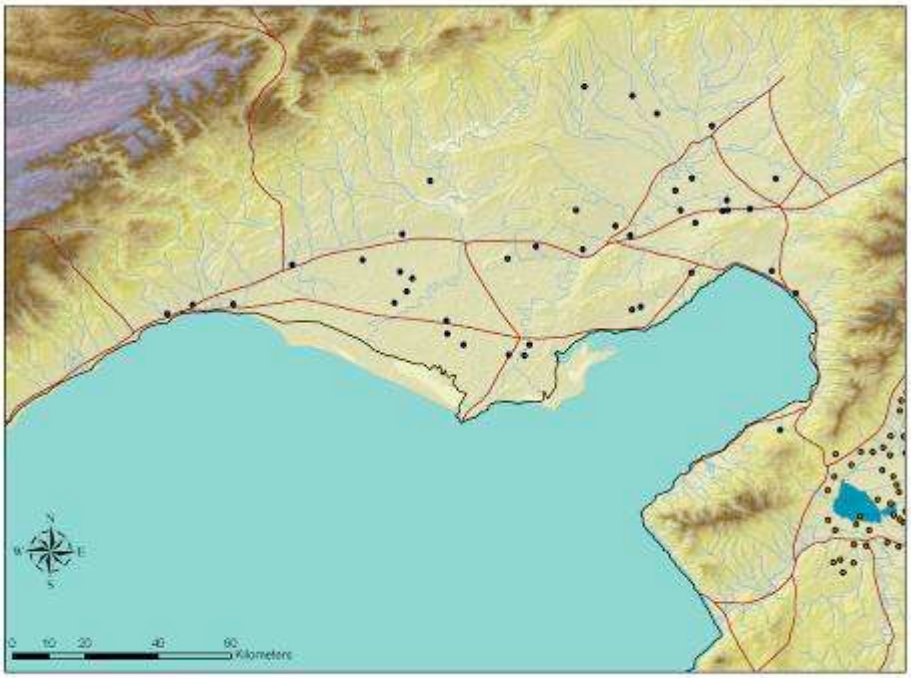

FIG. 8: SRTM image: Middle Bronze Age Settlements in Cilicia and the Amuq Plain with ancient coastline and routes digitized from the *Barrington Atlas of the Roman World*. Courtesy of Ekin Demirci and Murat Akar.

Ages in Cilicia (Demirci 2009).[8] Based on the results of this work several observations can be made:

1. There was clear continuity throughout the Bronze Age in Cilicia. The majority of the settlements were concentrated around the trade routes. There were no major changes in the passage from Early Bronze Age to Middle Bronze Age. The Late Bronze Age centres again followed the main trade route axis, but the settlements increased in number to almost double (from 43 to 80). This settlement pattern seems to underline the mercantile nature of Cilicia throughout the Bronze Age, with roadways following the coastline and passing through the mountain ranges, connecting it with central Anatolia and Syria.

2. Unfortunately, the alluvial accumulations of the Seyhan and Ceyhan rivers in the low Çukurova (Cilician plain) have buried a majority of the coastal settlements.[9] The significant change in the coastline is visible in the maps (FIGS. 7-8). This points up the necessity of geoarchaeological work in order to clarify the problems of geomorphological changes in this area. With sufficient evidence, as Aviva Taffet (2001, 133) has suggested, the Cilician coastal settlements may well be understood through predictive modelling, using the coastal southern Levant settlement distribution patterns as a model. A majority of the river estuaries will have provided likely locations for ports, linking the sea with inland centres (Blue 1997, 41).

Turning to the Amuq, the settlement patterns and distribution maps presented here (FIGS. 9-10) have been created from the Amuq Valley Regional Survey Database, and illustrate a completely different type of organizational system. This difference partly arises from the history of data collection. The pioneering work of Robert Braidwood (1937) has been further advanced by the new Amuq Valley Regional Project team under the directorship of K. Aslıhan Yener (2005). Geoarchaeological research carried out by Tony Wilkinson (Yener et al. 2000) has defined the tremendous impact the environment has had on settlement pattern changes in the valley.

[8] I am grateful to Ekin Demirci for sharing her database and GIS analyses with me. Her detailed study will be published elsewhere. In these thematic maps, the settlement locations and streams were digitized and embedded into 90m SRTM raster images (Shuttle Radar Topography Mission: http://edcsns17.cr.usgs.gov/EarthExplorer/). The Barrington Atlas of the Roman World (Talbert (ed.) 2000) was used to locate the ancient trade routes and the coastline.

[9] Geoarchaeological research carried out at such sites as Kinet Höyük (Beach 2006) and Tell Tweini (Al Maqdissi et al. 2007) indicates high aggradation levels along the Cilician and northern Levantine coasts during and after the Bronze Age.

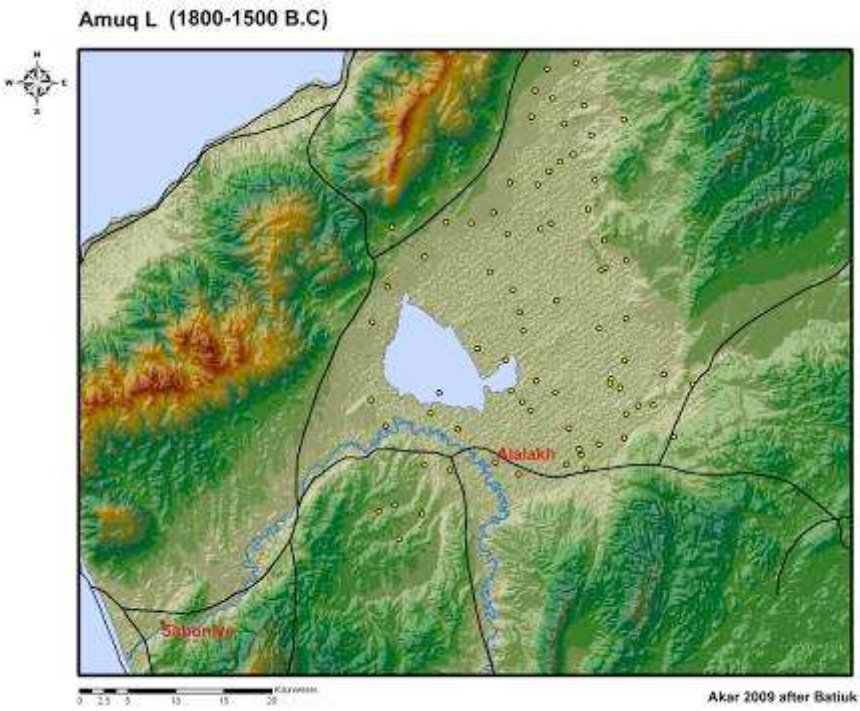

FIG. 9: Amuq L sites. SRTM map with coastline and routes digitized from the *Barrington Atlas of the Roman World*. Image processed by Akar after Batiuk and Casana. Courtesy of Amuq Valley Regional Projects.

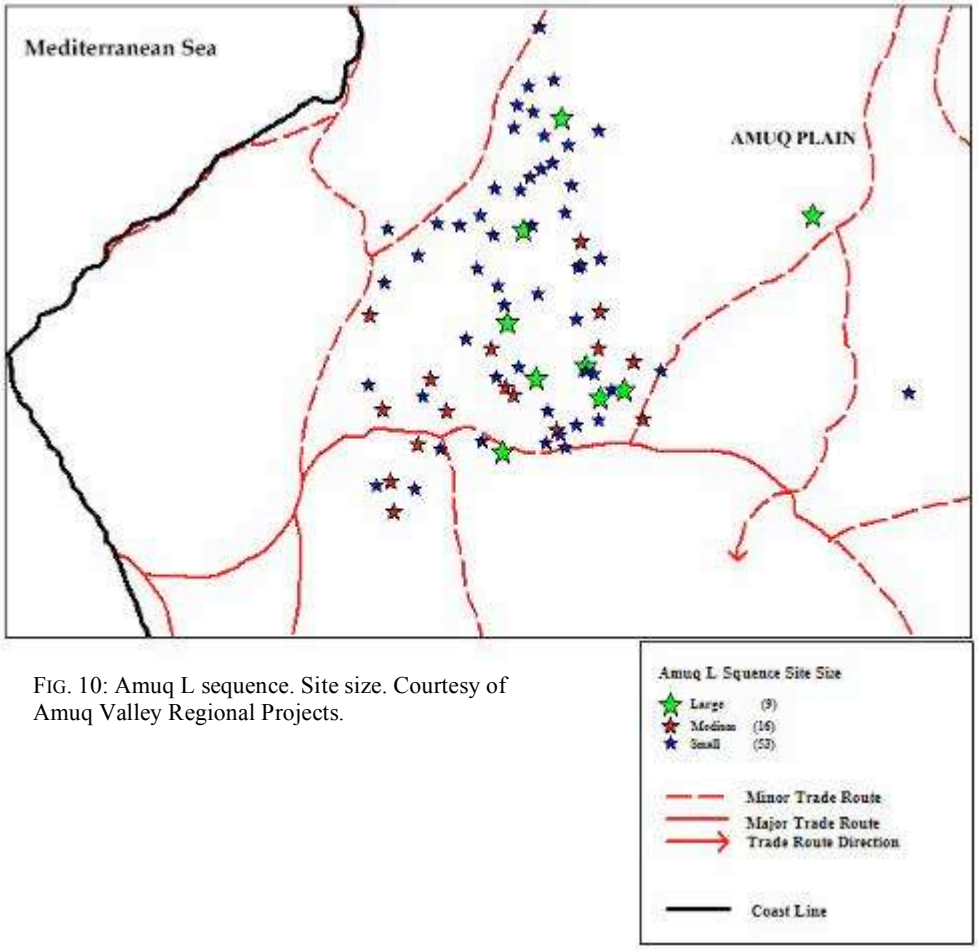

FIG. 10: Amuq L sequence. Site size. Courtesy of Amuq Valley Regional Projects.

The second reason for its difference lies in the Amuq Valley's organization for the purposes of controlling the hinterland, with the valley itself playing a key role as an intermediate trading zone connecting northwest Syria and central Anatolia. Its cosmopolitan and commercial outlook was reinforced by its connection to the sea via the Orontes delta. Today, driving along the main road from Antakya to Reyhanlı, one can see several mounds in quick succession. The density of occupation owes its existence to rapid changes in the riverbed of the Orontes. These geomorphological transformations were responded to by changes in settlement locations.[10] During the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, the valley was under the control of the Mukish kingdom with a territorial organization focused around a number of small agricultural centres nested within a central system (Magness-Gardiner 1994, 37; Zaccagnini 1997, 341). Alalakh,[11] as the capital city of the kingdom, was located at a very advantageous position with access to major land routes from Syria and Anatolia. Its connection with the coastal site of Sabuniye[12] at the mouth of the Orontes gave it the character of an inland harbour (FIGS. 9-10).

Already evident from the excavations of Sir Leonard Woolley are the Minoan style wall paintings of the Middle Bronze Age Level VII palace (Woolley 1955), and a cylinder seal impression with a scene of bull leaping (Collon 1994, 81), which indicate the cosmopolitan status of this town. Recent excavations, going down further into Middle Bronze Age contexts, are now providing more evidence about these systems of interaction. The appearance of Cypriot White Painted V vessels in the eastern part of the tell, separate from the palace area, provides evidence for very late Middle Bronze Age connections.[13] Similar material is now turning up at the contemporary settlement of Tell Tweini in the coastal Jebleh plain in Syria, where the commercial role of this harbour town is emphasized by very similar characteristics. Although the Middle Bronze Age levels at Tell Tweini have so far been excavated only on a

[10] The collection and analysis of data from the area has been developed progressively by members of the Amuq Valley Regional Survey team: particularly Jesse Casana and Steve Batiuk. I am grateful to Steve Batiuk for his endless help with the GIS processing of the data. A detailed analysis of the settlement pattern changes in the valley was presented as a PhD dissertation by Jesse Casana at the University of Chicago (Casana 2003). Further refined analysis of the survey pottery on the basis of that from the recent excavations at Tell Atchana, Tell Tayinat and Sabuniye will contribute to our greater understanding of the Amuq sequence.

[11] The Alalakh excavations are directed by K.Aslıhan Yener as part of a Koç and Mustafa Kemal University Project.: www.alalakh.org

[12] Excavations at Sabuniye have recently been initiated by Hatice Pamir as part of a Mustafa Kemal University project.

[13] The analyis of these and the Cypriot pottery as a whole from the new excavations at Alalakh will be published by Ekin Kozal, Çanakkale University.

limited scale, the fortification system surrounding the city reveals its role as a major regional centre (Bretschneider et al. 2004, 226).[14]

More excavation and survey in the coastal plains of the northern Levant and Cilicia will expand our knowledge of Middle Bronze Age commercial interactions. Current evidence already indicates the international nature of this period and its impact on the formation of Middle Bronze Age urban centres. This is visible in the intra-site patterns, including the monumental architecture and the variety of imported products. On a regional scale, it is visible in the accumulation of centres in proximity to major commercial routes. The Middle Bronze Age of Anatolia and the Levant seems to have witnessed the extensive exploitation of resources which flowed through connected sea and land routes. This kind of interdependency and the importance of commercial exchange should also be seen as the major reason behind the expansion of the Late Bronze Age empires, in which the control of routes and nodal centres was pivotal to imperial policies.

I would like to conclude with an aerial photo of Kinet Höyük (FIG. 11). The industrial establishment around the site - an oil and gas shipment terminal - displays a kind of continuity in the role of the region since the Middle Bronze Age. When this photo was taken, the Iraq war had just begun, affecting the economy of the district dramatically. The parking areas, which used to be filled with hundreds of trucks, were virtually empty, the oil tankers had disappeared from the docks, and the whole place was buried in silence. The disruption to the oil shipment business had had an impact on the local economy, and many bazaars, restaurants, barbers' shops, and other small traders (not to mention the oil and drug smugglers) who served the needs of the truck drivers had packed up and disappeared. Less than a year of crisis had wrought a drastic change.

FIG. 11: Aerial Photo of Kinet Höyük. Courtesy of Marie-Henriette Gates.

[14] The excavations carried out on the eastern flank of the tell, in Field C, have exposed a massive fortification wall, 100 m in length and preserved to a height of 5 metres. Although the date of the wall is not yet clear, the excavators have suggested that it was constructed in the Middle Bronze Age and continued in use during the Late Bronze Age.

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II.—WHY WERE THE JEWS BANISHED FROM ITALY IN 19 A. D.?

Historians have been aware that Tiberius, probably at the instance of Sejanus, had the Roman Senate banish the Jews and take other severe measures against them; but nobody has explained the action. It appears indeed to be regarded as a matter destined to remain a mystery for want of sufficient information.

The data are in fact scanty; a careful study of them may however extract the explanation which every student of history must desire. The affair is mentioned by a number of ancient writers, but practically we are dependent on the reports of Josephus and Tacitus.

We begin naturally with Josephus, whose account is more detailed. After relating the sad events which befell in Judea during the governorship of Pilate, he says (Ant. 18. 3. 4): "About the same time another dread calamity threw the Jews into confusion, and certain transactions not devoid of disgrace befell in the sanctuary of Isis at Rome. After I shall have recorded the bold attempt of the devotees of Isis, I will direct my story to what occurred among the Jews." He then recounts the outrage committed by one Decius Mundus, a Roman knight, upon Paulina, a Roman lady of high rank and exemplary character, who was the wife of Saturninus, a man of like rank and character. This Decius, consumed with a guilty passion for Paulina, had sought without success to seduce her by bribes to satisfy his desires. Failing in this he had resolved to terminate his life by starvation, but was dissuaded from his purpose by one of his freedwomen, who promised to procure for him the object of his passion. The terms agreed upon, the procuress, knowing that Paulina was a devotee of the Egyptian cult, conspired against her honor with certain priests of Isis, who reported to the great lady that they had had a revelation from the god Anubis bidding her come to the sanctuary to dine with him and enjoy his embraces. The devout Paulina, overjoyed at this signal proof of the divine favor, after obtaining the consent of her husband, repaired to the shrine, where she spent the night

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in the arms of the supposed god. Taunted subsequently by Mundus with having granted him in the guise of Anubis what she had previously refused, she disclosed the horrid imposture to her husband, and he in turn reported it to Tiberius. The Emperor, after due inquiry, ordered the temple of Isis demolished, the cult-statue of the goddess cast into the Tiber, the priests and the procuress crucified, and the guilty knight banished.

This narrative concluded, Josephus resumes, "Such were the insolent deeds of the priests in the temple of Isis. Now I return to relate what befell the Jews at Rome at this time, as my account promised before." Thereupon he recounts the tale as follows. A worthless Jew, a fugitive from justice in Judea, conspiring with three equally worthless accomplices and giving out that he expounded the wisdom of the law of Moses, persuaded one Fulvia, a Roman lady of quality who was a proselyte to Judaism, to contribute purple and gold for the temple at Jerusalem; but the men diverted her gifts to their own uses. Tiberius, informed of the matter by Fulvia's husband, who likewise bore the name of Saturninus, ordered all the Jews banished from Rome; and the consuls drafted four thousand of the men and sent them to Sardinia, inflicting severe punishment on a large number who refused to serve in the army lest they be compelled in the service to violate the Jewish law. Thus the Jews were banished from Rome because of the wickedness of four men.

On reading the account of the Jewish historian one gains the impression of a great calamity visited upon a people for a trifling offense. If one doubts the sufficiency of his explanation, —and modern historians have of course doubted it,—one may perhaps conclude that the real cause of these severe measures was the deep-seated animosity against the Jews fostered by their reputation for exclusiveness and their assumption of superior righteousness: a parallel on a vast scale to the ostracism of Aristides. Nevertheless one instinctively questions whether Tiberius, who by Josephus's own account instituted an inquiry before taking the measures of state consequent on the affair of Paulina, could have acted in the case of the Jews without reasons which seemed to him good and sufficient, even if urged to drastic action by Sejanus and others who may have been swayed by prejudice. We shall presently see that the very narrative of Josephus suggests something more than appears upon its face.

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We seek in vain for further light on the affair from other Jewish sources. Philo does indeed refer to the matter without giving any information. *In Flaccum,* c. 1, he merely mentions Sejanus as one who has persecuted the Jews: unfortunately the portion of this work which dealt with him has been lost—possibly destroyed of set purpose. In his *Legatio ad Gaium,* cc. 23-24, he does not specify the charges brought against the Jews, but lays stress on the circumstance that but few were implicated in the affair, thus confirming, though in terms less precise, the statement of Josephus that there were only four offenders.

Of Roman writers Suetonius also (*Tiberius,* cc. 35-36) yields nothing of importance because of the vagueness of his statement, which is moreover to all appearances based on the account of Tacitus. In fact Josephus alone mentions the charge against the Jews. Nevertheless it is not unimportant to consider the narrative of Tacitus. We have observed how closely Josephus links the cases of Paulina and Fulvia, though the connection between them indicated by the Jewish historian is merely that of coincidence in time and the parallel is apparently drawn with a view to contrast the insolent outrage of the Egyptians with the venial offense of the Jews.

The Roman historian, too, links the Egyptians and the Jews together in this matter, but quite contrary to what Josephus suggests clearly imputes the greater blame to the latter. Moreover he obviously considers the question as one of unholy rites, which he must have regarded as essentially the same, since he identifies them outright. Indeed, Tacitus not only connects the case of the Jews with that of the Egyptians so intimately as to suggest their practical identity, but he also brings both into the closest relation to the measures adopted by the Roman senate to restrain the licentiousness of women. "The same year," he says (*Annals,* 2. 85), "the licentiousness of women was curbed by severe decrees of the senate, and measures were taken to prevent the venal prostitution of any woman whose grandfather, father, or husband was a Roman knight; for Vistilia, the daughter of a praetor, had made public profession of prostitution before the aediles pursuant to an ancient custom which regarded the confession of shame a sufficient penalty for the unchaste. Her husband Titidius Labeo was brought to question, why in view of his wife's manifest guilt he had failed to enforce the

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legal penalty. As he excused himself by pointing out that the term of sixty days allowed for the institution of legal proceedings had not yet elapsed, it was held to suffice if Vistilia were dealt with: she was accordingly banished to the isle of Seriphos. The question also of expelling the Egyptian and Jewish cults was laid before the senate; and it was decreed that four thousand freedmen tainted with that superstition, who were of the proper age, should be deported to Sardinia in order to put down brigandage there, with the thought that if they perished because of the severity of the climate it were small loss; the remainder should depart from Italy unless before a given date they renounced their unholy rites."

Since the total number of four thousand men drafted into the army. according to Tacitus, is precisely that mentioned by Josephus as the Jewish contingent, this passage makes it clear that the measures of the senate were directed chiefly—almost exclusively—against the Jews. The Egyptians here cut an unimportant figure. The action is brought into relation with the steps taken to curb the licentiousness of women, but is clearly distinguished from those concerned with venal prostitution, and connected with religious rites which the historian denounces as unholy. So far as Tacitus may have had in mind the story of Paulina, which we get from Josephus, it is clear that she was not guilty of venal prostitution; which agrees with his distinction. Her case was one of prostitution, indeed, but of a different sort, connected with unholy rites. In the eyes of Tacitus, and presumably in the eyes of the Roman authorities, the Jewish rites were identical with the Egyptian. Moreover, the account of Josephus makes it clear that the cases of Paulina and Fulvia in so far resembled that of Vistilia as they also were Roman ladies of equestrian or senatorial families, whose licentiousness the various measures were intended to curb.

Vistilia was guilty of venal prostitution. Paulina was guilty, however excusably, of religious prostitution. Regarding Fulvia we are left in doubt, because Tacitus, while treating the Egyptians and Jews as practically identical, does not specify the charges in either case, and Josephus, while linking them closely together, represents the offense of his co-religionists as extremely venial. Nevertheless the presumption is obviously very strong

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that in the eyes of the Romans the affair of Fulvia was not unlike that of Paulina. Have we, then, no means of determining the charges preferred against the Jews and accepted as established by the Roman authorities?

We have seen that Josephus represents the offense of the Jews as consisting in the misappropriation by certain Jewish impostors of gifts solicited from Fulvia with the understanding that they were to be sent to the temple at Jerusalem. It may possibly occur to someone that in accordance with the decrees of Augustus (Josephus, Ant., 16. 6. 2-5) such conduct might be interpreted as sacrilege. This explanation would, however, be certainly at fault, because the decrees in question had in view the possible seizure of Jewish contributions by Greeks, individuals or states, and provided that the guilty should be delivered over to the Jews for punishment. To the Roman mind, we may add, such sacrilege—even granting that it would have been so accounted—practiced by a Jewish outlaw against the 'unholy sanctities' of the Jewish 'superstition' could scarcely have sufficed to justify the authorities in taking measures so drastic and embittered.

Now Josephus says that the contribution of Fulvia consisted of gold and purple for the temple at Jerusalem: to what use they were to be put, he does not say. Every student of Hebrew antiquities, however, must recognize at once that the gold and purple were intended for the hangings of the temple. This fact, as we shall see, when duly considered, affords the necessary clew; for if one examines the history of these hangings and notes their inevitable suggestions to the minds of Asiatic and European peoples of antiquity, the interpretation put upon the solicitation of such gifts is not difficult to comprehend.

The Priestly code represents the hangings of the temple as derived from those of the 'tent of meeting' constructed by direction of Jehovah for the housing of the ark of the covenant during the journeyings of Israel in the wilderness. Modern scholars are agreed, however, that the 'tent of meeting' is in fact nothing but a fictitious replica of the temple supposedly adapted to the nomadic life of the desert, though its construction is such that it could not have been used as the story represents. Nevertheless, before there was a temple proper there was in fact

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a 'tent of meeting,' probably not unlike the sukkah [1] of the festivals that furnished the concrete basis out of which Hebrew legend reconstructed the mythical account of the Exodus. It might be shown, if one chose to avail oneself of the requisite space, that the tent of the hag was in earlier times the tent of *rendez-vous* or of assignation, in which the people at their festivals met by appointment the divinity or his representatives. Such tents of assignation are still in use in the pilgrimages of Islam at Mecca, and are known to have been constructed and afterwards burned on the 'tent-day' of the triduan festival of Isis at Tithorea in Phocis. The context of Pausanias, to whom we owe our information (10. 32. 14-18), suggests that the same was true of the rites of Isis held at Coptus in Egypt. The tent of meeting or assignation was often connected with the shrine of the god, most commonly on its roof, whence hierodules received the name 'prostitutes on the roof.' Whether at Rome, in the case of Paulina, the meeting occurred in the upper chamber or in some other, we do not learn from Josephus. Even now a sukkah may be attached to a synagogue, though its primitive use is doubtless forgotten. However, the union of Paulina with Anubis in the chamber of the temple of Isis was unquestionably regarded by her as a rite of initiation of a certain degree. In fact, as I hope to show on another occasion, initiation was in ancient times always in form either a nuptial or a prenuptial rite, in which the divinity might be represented by a human substitute. Hence there cannot have been anything irregular about the case of Paulina except the intrusion of an unauthorized representative of the god in the person of Mundus, who procured the privilege by bribery. So much for the 'tents' or hangings of the temple.

As may be shown by numerous instances from various lands, the weaving of these tents or hangings fell to the female hierodules, who were sometimes entrusted to the safe-keeping of male hierodules or eunuchs. It will suffice here to cite an example from the Old Testament, which shows that the practice was not

[1] The 'tent (אֹהֶל) of meeting' did not differ essentially from the sukkah, as is shown by Hosea 12, 9. The 'tent' was conceived as an upper chamber resting upon the house of Jehovah (Exodus 26, 7); cp. the temple of Bel, Herod. 1. 181.

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unknown in Israel. Among the reforms of King Josiah it is recorded (ii. Kings 23, 7) that "he brake down the houses (tents) of the sodomites, that were in the house of Jehovah, where the women wove hangings (tents) for the Asherah." These 'women' were unquestionably hierodules or temple prostitutes, entrusted to the safe-keeping of eunuchs.[2]

It will be urged by way of objection that whatever might have been true of ancient Israel, so long as the influence of the cults of the Baalim made itself felt, such conduct as is here supposed to have been imputed to the Jews in the case of Fulvia was unthinkable in Judaism at the beginning of the Christian era. Had not the reforms of King Josiah, and the Deuteronomic and Priestly codes intervened and effectively purged the temple at Jerusalem? It is not necessary for our argument to prove that the ancient practices actually were continued: it would equally well suffice if it were merely shown that they were familiar enough from other Semitic cults to lead the Roman authorities to interpret the advances of the Jews to Fulvia as solicitation to become a temple prostitute. But it is in fact a questionable assumption that the abuses against which the Prophets inveighed and the Law provided penalties were ever wholly done away before the destruction of the second temple; for even if the efforts at reform had succeeded, there were many circumstances that tended of necessity to re-introduce practices not consonant with the loftier ideals of the Jewish people. It may be questioned whether orthodox Judaism ever for long dominated the population of Palestine. Judaism was a church among many dissenters, not a few of whom were reckoned as its members. Since the enforced conversion of the Idumaeans in the time of John Hyrcanus there must have been large numbers of professed Jews who continued the ancient heathen practices within or without the temple at Jerusalem. Truly there were many called Jews who were not the chosen people of Jehovah.

[2] For the existence of hierodules in Israel see Stade, Bibl. Theologie des Alt. Testaments I, pp. 133 sq. He omits, however, the significant passage (Num. 31, 40) about the thirty-two virgins who fell to Jehovah from the spoil of the Midianites. They cannot have been regarded otherwise than as hierodules. The passage is, however, recognized as a very late addition to P. Hence the fact that hierodules in the service of Jehovah are here taken as a matter of course is perhaps the strongest evidence of the persistence of the institution in Judaism.

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These are general considerations deserving of being duly weighed; but it is not necessary to rest the case here, as there is specific evidence of the greatest value. The non-canonical Christian gospels of the nativity supply testimony which cannot well be impugned on the ground of bad faith or prejudice. A quotation from the *Protevangelium of James* (cc. 10-11) will suffice to show that the practice of pre-exilic times was not thought to be impossible in the time of Augustus. "And there was held a council of the priests," we read, "saying, Let us make a veil for the temple of the Lord. And the priest said, Call me undefiled virgins of the tribe of David; and the servitors departed and sought, and they found seven virgins. And the priest bethought him of the child Mary, that she was of the tribe of David and undefiled unto the Lord, and the servitors went and brought her. And they led the virgins into the temple of the Lord and the priest said, Determine me by lot who shall weave the gold, and the white, and the byssus, and the silk, and the blue, and the scarlet, and the true purple. And the true purple and the scarlet fell to the lot of Mary, and she took it and went to her house.[3] And at that time Zacharias was dumb, and Samuel served in his stead until Zacharias spake. And Mary took the scarlet and span it. And she took her pitcher and went out to fill it with water;[4] and lo, a voice, saying, Hail, thou that hast found favor, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women. And she looked round to right and left, wondering whence the voice came. And she went away trembling to her house, and rested the pitcher, and seated herself on her chair, taking the purple, and drew it out. And lo, an angel of the Lord stood before her

[3] The word is *oĭkos*, but it may well mean tent: cf. the בָּתִּים of the sodomites, ii. Kings 23, 7, the same word as is used for the 'hangings' of the Asherah. Gen. 27, 15 it means a tent (LXX. *oĭkos*). Pseudo-Matthew represents Mary and her five virgin companions as lodging in the 'house' of Joseph, whom the non-canonical gospels represent as a priest, chosen for this service by a device modelled on the procedure in the case of Aaron.

[4] Myth and legend know no insignificant details; whatever they relate is included because it has a meaning, though we may not be able in every instance to determine it. It is probable that the water was to serve for the bridal bath. Mary was to be the bride both of God and of Joseph.

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saying, Fear not, Mary: for thou hast found favor before the Lord of All; and thou shalt conceive according to His word."

Can any one question that this account represents Mary as a hierodule, the bride of the Lord of All, meeting Him or His angel in her 'house' in the temple at Jerusalem? Observe that it was while she was there engaged in spinning the true purple for the veil of the temple that there was brought to her by a messenger of the Lord the beatific annunciation of the divine favor which was to make her indeed the virgin bride of the Lord of All and the mother of the Saviour. Whether or not such a thing actually occurred from time to time in the temple at Jerusalem, we need not pause at present to inquire. It requires no proof that devout Christians of Syria, many of whom must have been converted Jews, during the second century of the Christian era not only conceived it as possible, but founded their faith in part on the belief that in the case of Mary it was a literal fact.

One readily sees that the story of Paulina, as related by Josephus, and that of Fulvia, as we are thus enabled to reconstruct it, are quite as closely parallel as our analysis of the historical data would lead us to expect. The connection of Fulvia with the purple[5] destined for the temple at Jerusalem suggests the character of the hopes which may well have been held out to her by the Jewish impostors. At all events there was abundant justification for the interpretation of their conduct if Tiberius regarded it as solicitation to turn temple prostitute.

If we take this view of the affair of Fulvia we have an adequate explanation of the data. The measures of the Roman authorities and the practical identification of the Egyptian and Jewish rites in the account of Tacitus become intelligible. There remains the cause for the persecution of the Jews alleged by Josephus. On the view here suggested the statement of the Jewish historian is indeed inadequate, as every thoughtful reader must have found it; but it gives at least a part of the truth. If Josephus did not tell the whole story, it may be that he was

[5] Pseudo-Matthew, c. 9, enlarges on the significance of the purple. Because it falls to Mary her companions tauntingly call her the queen of the virgins; but an angel appears and declares that the purple is a prophecy, not a subject for taunting. The prophecy is fulfilled by the angel of the annunciation.

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unwilling to relate details which must inevitably compromise his people; but it may be, also, that he honestly held that the sole offense actually proved against his guilty co-religionists was that of misappropriating the contributions solicited from Fulvia for the behoof of the temple. Be that as it may, the Roman authorities, interpreting and weighing the evidence, might with good reason have felt justified in regarding the cases of Paulina and Fulvia as at least in intention parallel, and might deem the Jews more obnoxious than the Egyptians because of their well known zeal in proselytizing the women of Rome.

W. A. HEIDEL.

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Helena Augusta, the Cross and the Jews Questions about the mother of Constantine the Great

By JOSEPH VOGT Tübingen*

For Dr. Karl Groß, the HH Old Abbot of Ettal, in memory of the Würzburg studies

There is no lack of literary information about Helena, nor of pictorial representations.
the Empress Mother1. But it is striking that we do not receive sufficient information about her origin, family and homeland. Even the authors who have written her wonderful
The panegyrical glorification of her work in the last years of her life leaves the question of her parentage unanswered, such as Eusebius, vita Constantini 3, 41-47 (ed. F. Winkelmann) and Ambrosius, de obitu Theodosii 41-49 (CSEL 73, 369 M.). She was an innkeeper when the successful Roman emperor Flavius Constantius took her in, probably in one of the Balkan provinces. This union, which was perhaps a concubinage, produced a son, Constantine; he was born in Naïssus, probably in 285.2 When his military career required it, Constantius dismissed his Helena. At the latest in 285.

In 289 he married Theodora, the stepdaughter of Emperor Maximian, and in 293 he was appointed Caesar as Maximian's adopted son and considered for succession to the Western Empire as part of the order of government and succession given by Emperor Diocletian.

Helena only returned to court when her son Constantine was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers in 306 in opposition to the Diocletian system. Over the years she gained great influence. Like Fausta, Constantine's wife, she was given the title nobilissima femina, and her image appeared on bronze coins and then on gold coins. These coin images and even more so the ceiling paintings of the former imperial palace found in Trier after the war allow the personalities of the imperial women Helena and Fausta to be clearly recognized3. The portrait of the Empress Mother in the Trier frescoes, which probably date from 321, is presented in robes.

and hairstyle as in the jewelry box the first lady of the court as a
Personality, whose oriental demeanor, aquiline nose and large eyes give the impression of inner concentration. In the following years, Helena gained even more prestige. After the decisive victory of her son

* I would like to thank Oskar Köhler for his friendly criticism of my manuscript.

1 I refer to the small monograph by J. Maurice, Sainte Hélène, L'art et les saints 28 (Paris 1930); also to A. ÿ. M. Jones-JR Martindale -J.
Morris, Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, I (Cambridge 1971) S. 410 f.; M. R.
Alföldi, Helena nobilissima femina. On the interpretation of the Trier ceiling paintings, in: Jb. f.
Numism. u. Geldgesch. 10 (1959/60) p. 79 M.

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2 See J.Vogt, Disputes about Constantine the Great, in: Mitt. D. Archäolog. Inst., Rom. Abt. 58 (1943) S. 190 M.

3 MR Alföldi (as in Anm. 1) and The Constantinian Gold Proclamation (Mainz 1963) see S. 101, 127 f., 144 f and Taf. 10, 38, 39; PM Bruun, Constantine and Licinius AD 313-337 (Roman Imperial Coinage VII 1966) S. 26, 45, 539; J. Vogt, Pagans and Christians in the Family of Constantine the Great, in: A. Momigliano (ed.), The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century (Turin 1968) S. 54 f.

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At Chrysopolis in 324, which resulted in sole rule over the entire empire, Helena was given the name Augusta together with Fausta; her sole adornment with the diadem still indicated her mother's superior rank. In her old age, Helena began the pilgrimage in 326, when her son set about making Jerusalem and its surroundings Christian, and played a key role in making Palestine the holy land of Christianity.

In the east of the empire, the emperors Maximin and Licinius had maintained the state's fight against Christianity for many years. Constantine now had to push through his program of uniting the Christian church with the state all the more energetically against the firm positions of the pagans. In Palestine, a confrontation with the Jews also seemed necessary. The Jews had been forbidden to set foot on Jerusalem soil since the suppression of their rebellion under Emperor Hadrian, but they remained here and there in smaller towns in the area, which for them remained the promised land. Since the proclamation of the new message of the Risen Christ and since the martyrdom of Stephen, the Christian mission had pushed back the synagogues throughout the country; the communities under episcopal leadership had gained a firm position. Just as Jews from the Diaspora had come to Palestine since ancient times to visit the Temple and see the graves of their ancestors, Christians had also come since the 2nd century to view the scene of Jesus' life and death and to pray at the holy sites; the tradition of these places has not been lost. Now the intervention of the Christian emperor had to make the Holy Land the object of general veneration4. As Eusebius BC 3, 25-45 tells us,

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Constantine had churches built at the site of Jesus' death and resurrection, then over the grotto of the birth in Bethlehem and the Ascension on the Mount of Olives. Helena paid particular attention to the churches in Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives during her pilgrimage. Her work in the Holy Land has been recognized as proof of her pious attitude and also of her generosity.

From this report of the good works of the Empress Mother, Eusebius goes on to report Helena's death after her return to her son as a return to a higher life and her burial in the imperial city of Rome (BC 3, 46 f.). He praises the piety of the ruler, who now had churches built in his new capital Constantinopolis and had the sign of the Redeemer (ÿÿ ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ) made of precious stones installed on the gilded ceiling of the hall in the palace (3, 48 f.). Is it not strange that Eusebius does not mention this sign of the cross in his report on the Christian design of Jerusalem? His detailed description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre has not given modern research sufficient information to explain when and where this cross, which was later venerated in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was kept.5 Did not the Christians who, on the orders of the emperor, tore down the Temple of Aphrodite in Jerusalem and built the church on Golgotha, the place of Jesus' death, have to ask about the instrument of death, the cross? During the time of persecution, they had begun to venerate the graves and the instruments of suffering of the martyrs, and it had always been a matter of piety for the pagans to keep the tools and

To preserve the weapons of the heroes.

4 B. Kötting, Peregrinado religiosa, in: Research on Folklore 33-35 (1950) p. 57 M., 83 M.

5 A. Grabar, Martyrium, Paris 1946, I Architecture p. 234 M. ; E. Wistrand, Konstantin's Church at the Holy Grave in Jerusalem, in: Acta Univ. Gothenburg. (1952) 1, S. 4 M.; A. Parrot, Golgotha and Saint-Sépulcre, in: Cahiers ardiéol. bibl. 6 (1955) S. 38 M.; ÿ. Bagatti, The Church of the Gentiles in Palestine, in: Publications du Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Coll. minor 4 (Jerusalem 1968) S. 43 M.

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The question of the Lord's cross must have been a great concern for the architects of Christian Jerusalem. From the very first hour of the separation from the synagogue, the cross was the sign that announced salvation to Christians, but showed the Jews the iniquity of their sentence and the depravity of their unbelief. The first martyr Stephen pointed out that the Jews had already persecuted the prophets in earlier times and that they had now become traitors and murderers (Acts 7:52). In the theology of the Apostle to the Gentiles, the death on the cross was understood as the overcoming of the evil enemy, the sign of the cross as the mark of victory over the demons.

In his first letter to the Corinthians he announced the new revelation of God: “The Jews demand signs, and the Greeks seek wisdom. But we preach Christ crucified, a stumbling block to the Jews and foolishness to the Greeks, but to those who

"To the Jews and Greeks who are called to be called to be Christ, we preach the divine power and divine wisdom" (I Cor. 1:22-24). Now the proclamation of the message went beyond the Jews to the Hellenes and Romans of the wider world, without them being required to accept the old law. For the Jews, the last letter of their alphabet, the sign Tav, whether written standing (+) or lying down (X), indicated the Lord's property, while for the Christians the sign of the cross became the symbol of salvation: they marked their foreheads with the sign of the cross, giving with this signal + a reference to the name of the Redeemer7. In the theological controversies between Christians and Jews, the contrast was presented with all its sharpness, especially in the understanding of the crucified. In Justin's dialogue with Tryphon, the Jew describes the crucified as a rebel, as a cursed one; the Christian confesses the oath given in the mystery of the cross. divine calling (dial. c. Tryph. 130 -

ree. Ardiambault p. 262 f.); Tertullian explains the terrible fate of Israel from the crucifixion of Jesus (adv. Jud. 13 - CSEL 70, 314 M.); for Origenes, the death of Jesus is the surest sign that the people of Israel have been rejected by God; the Jews are raging, as he writes,

their anger against the Christians (c. Cels. 6, 27 - GChS II 2 p. 97; homil. 1 in ps. 36 - PG XII 1319 M.). Conversely, in the Talmud, Christianity is portrayed as the enemy of the first degree; the crucifixion of Jesus is explained as the death penalty of the Romans, which exonerates the Jews. However, there are also indications that individual Jews declared that a confession of guilt by their people was necessary8.

There can be no doubt that in the storm of Diocletian's persecution and then with the Christianization of the state, the antithesis between Christians and Jews became even more acute. And it is always the crucifixion that opens the abyss. In his Church History, Eusebius wants to report, among other things, on the

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Misfortunes which have befallen the whole Jewish people after the assassination of our Saviour (Heb 1, 1, 2; 2, 6, 8; 3, 7, 1), and the Emperor Constantine

6 M. Hengel, Jesus and Paul, in: Zeitschr. f. Theol. u. Kirche 72 (1975) p. 151 M.

7 M. Sulzberger, The symbol of the cross and the monograms of Jesus among the first Christians, in: Byz. 2 (1925) p. 337 M.; FJ Dölger, Contributions to the history of the sign of the cross, in: Jb. f. Ant. u. Christ., from volume I 1958 to X 1967, on the use of the sign in literature, especially VIII

1965/6 S. 7M.; PE Testa, The symbolism of the Judeo-Christians, in: Publ. dello Studium Bibli- with Franciscanum 14 (Jerusalem 1962) pp. 241 M.; E. Dinkier, Signum crucis (Tübingen 1967).

8 On the cross and crucifixion in the Jewish-Christian encounter, see J. Parkes, The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue (London 1934, reprint New York 1974), esp. p. 98 M.; K. Thieme, Kirche und Synagoge. Der Barnabasbrief und der Dialog Justins des Martyrs (Ölten 1945), esp. p. 71 M.; M.Simon, Verus Israel, in: Bibl. des Ec. fr. d'Athènes et de Rome 166 (1948.1964) pp. 90 f., 190, 239 M.; M. Avi-Yonah, Geschichte der Juden im Alter des Talmud (Berlin 1962).

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the communities whose bishops had not been able to attend the synod, which had set a different date for Easter than the Jews, sent a letter in which it was stated that the Jews had stained their hands with the sacrilegious crime and that the Christians had nothing in common with this hated mob (v. C. 3:17-20).

Is it not puzzling that, in this difficult confrontation between Christians and Jews over the cross, nothing is said about the cross, nothing about a search for the symbol of victory, in the contemporary reports on the building of Christian Jerusalem?

However, it was only a short time before the wooden cross was seen in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and before reports were given about its discovery ... If nothing of the cross had been found and shown at the consecration of the basilica on the Golgotha rock in 335, we hear just 15 years later that the cross was to be seen in this church.

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and that particles of this wood were widely distributed throughout the lands. Bishop Cyril of Jerusalem gave his catechetical instructions in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre between 348 and 350. There he speaks about the redemptive act of the Crucified and cites as proof "this holy Golgotha, on which we are now gathered for the sake of Him who was crucified on it. Almost the whole world is now filled with the wood of the cross" (Cat. 4, 10 - PG 33, 468 f.). "In these speeches he repeatedly refers to the testimony of the cross that can be seen in Jerusalem and whose particles are spread throughout the world (Cat. 10, 19 and 13, 4 - PG 33, 685 f., 776 B)9. This news of the widespread distribution of relics of the wood of the cross

is confirmed by African inscriptions. Inscriptions from Rasguniae (Rougie) and Tixtre (Toc-queville), in Roman Africa, refer to particles of tigno crucis found at the site; the text from Tixtre is dated to the year 35910. Cyril did not only refer to the wood of the cross in his teachings on the mystery of redemption. In a letter addressed to the Emperor Constantius, which most probably dates from the year 353, he states that under the beloved Constantine of blessed memory the wood of the cross was found in Jerusalem; but under Constantius, who surpassed the piety of his father, the miraculous signs did not come from earth but from heaven: the sign of victory of our Lord and Saviour, the blessed cross, shining with rays of light, was seen in Jerusalem11. This rediscovered cross of the Lord gained prestige and miraculous power in the state of the Christian emperors. Thus, in his writings, Emperor Julian was able to raise the accusation against the Christians that the Christians had abandoned the old pledge of Roman rule, the shield of Mars that had fallen from heaven, and instead worshipped the wood of the cross (Cyrill Alex. c. Jul. 194 CD - PG 76, 796 f.)12. Julian probably had a relic of the cross in mind when making this accusation.

He then explains that the sign of the cross is made on the forehead and written on house walls, but the wood (ÿÿÿÿÿ) he mentions must be the counterpart to the

9 A. Frolow, La relique de la vraie croix (Paris 1969) S. 55 f.; ÿ. Leoni, The Cross and its sign. Veneration of the sign and cult of the relic in Christian antiquity (Verona 1968) S. 143 M.

10 E. Diehl, Inscriptiones Latinae christianae veteres I 1822 (Rusganiae), 2068 (Tixtre). Cf. J. Straubinger, The Legend of the Cross, in: Research into Christian Literature and Dogma, 11, 3 (1912), p. 105 f.; C. Cecdielli, Il trionfo della croce (Rome 1954), p. 172.

11 PG 33, 1165-1175, esp. 1168 f.; also J.Vogt, Reports on the Appearances of the Crucifixion from the 4th Century, in: Annuaire de l'Institut de philol. et d'hist. Orient, et Slav. IX (1949) p. 596 M.

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12 lui. imp. libr. c. Christ, ree. CJ Neumann (Lpz. 1880) 194 CD (p. 196). - On the belief in pledges, cf. K. Groß, The pledges of Roman rule, in: Neue Deutsche Forschungen 41 (Berlin 1935).

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The abandoned ancile must be a specific sacred object. Understood in this way, Julian's argument that the Christians went over to the dead Jew also becomes clear.

A few years later, probably in 389, John Chrysostom describes it as an act of providence in a sermon that Pilate had inscribed the Lord's cross with the inscription, because this inscription made it possible to distinguish the cross of Jesus from the crosses of the robbers (in John hom. 85, 1 - PG 59, 461)13. The preacher clearly remembers that all three crosses were found at the same time. Regarding the veneration of the Holy Cross in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, we have the testimony of the pilgrim Aetheria for the time around 394, who tells us that the relic of the cross is displayed on certain holidays for the veneration of pilgrims (Peregrin. Aetheriae 36, 5; 37, 1 - CSEL 39, 87 f.)14. The information about the beginnings of the Roman basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusaleme takes us certainly to the 4th century, and this information leads us further to Empress Helena: the basilica in which a relic of the Holy Cross was exhibited arose from the Palatium Sessorianum, which belonged to the Empress Mother, as the Liber Pontifîcalis I p. 179 states: fecit Constantinus Augustus basilicam in palatio Sessoriano, ubi etiam de ligno sanctae Crucis domini nostri Jesu Christi in auro et gemmis conclusit, ubi et nomen ecclesiae dedicavit, quae cognominatur usque in hodiernum diem Hierusalem. It is possible that the Liber Pontifîcalis here, as occasionally, confuses the Emperor Constantine with one of his sons. If this is true, the beginning of the basilica and the veneration of the cross offered there must still be dated to the time before 361

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From these testimonies it can be concluded that the veneration of the cross in Jerusalem and the distribution of relics of this cross are certain during the reign of Constantius. From the information given by Cyril in his catechisms it can even be concluded that the cross was discovered before the year 340. Could it really have occurred in the three years between the death of the Emperor Constantine (337) and this terminus ante (340), or should we still consider the discovery under Constantine? Around the turn of the 4th century, the cross was discovered in the year 340.

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In the 5th century, various miracle stories in the style of aretalogy appeared, which show the Empress Mother Helena searching for and finding the cross and introducing it to general veneration.

At the beginning there is Ambrose. In his speech de obitu Theodosii, delivered on the death of Emperor Theodosius in 395, he comes to speak towards the end (40 marks) about how Theodosius will now meet the first emperor in heaven who has accepted the faith; it is clear that the speaker wants to address the successors of Theodosius.
dosius pointed out the exemplary work of the Constantinian house16. Ambrosius
reports that Constantine's mother undertook to secure divine help for her son; she went to Jerusalem and searched the place where the Lord suffered in order to find the trunk of the cross. "How can I consider myself redeemed when redemption itself is not seen?" - so says Helena (43). Yes, in her speech she contrasts herself with Mary: just as she had made the incarnation of God possible, she now wants to announce redemption herself, she wants to raise the banner from the rubble (44).

Then it goes on to say that Helena was looking for the inscription that Pilate had put on the cross, that she had found this inscription and thereby the true cross.

13 Frolow (see note 9) p. 158; Leoni (see note 9) p. 124.

14 Kötting (wie Anm. 4) S. 94 f.; Frolow (wie Anm. 9) S. 57 f., 161 M.

15 R. Krautheimer, Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae, I (Vatican City 1937)

S. 165 M., bes. 193.

16 Ch. Favez, The episode of the invention of the cross in the funeral oration of Theodosius by

Saint Ambrose, Rev. Et. Lat. 10 (1932) S. 423 M.

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she found the nails of the cross, had one nail made into a horse's bit, the other into a headband, and sent both to her son, who took everything over and passed it on to his descendants. "Thus the rulers who were previously persecutors are now heralds" (48). Apologetically it is summed up: "That is why the Church wishes for happiness, that is why the Jew is full of shame, and not only full of shame, but also full of pain,

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for he himself is the cause of his confusion": in the face of the remedies that have now been found, he confesses himself to be defeated (49). As a result of the good deed of the Empress,
Mother therefore takes on the role of protecting the rulers and protecting the subjects.
Admission of the Jewish defeat. This dogmatically weighty statement makes it entirely understandable that Ambrose, at the beginning of his Aretalogy, praises Helena as the noble woman who found more to give to the emperor than she received from the imperial house (41).

Only a few years later than Ambrose's speech comes the short report on the discovery of the cross in Rufinus's Church History (He 10, 7 f.) 1 7 : Helena searches for the place where Christ hung on the cross by questioning the inhabitants of Jerusalem; she finds three crosses and also the inscription, and the true cross is only proven when a terminally ill woman is brought back to life by touching the wood. Theologically stronger is the letter written by Paulinus, a student and friend of the poet Ausonius, who lived in Nola in Campania, probably in 1444.

J. 403 to Sulpicius Severus18. Paulinus sends his friend a relic of the cross that the pious Melania brought him from Jerusalem, and connects his gift with the miraculous report of the revelation of the cross. At the beginning, the Jews are accused of doing everything to destroy the faith in Christ, as well as the pagans who built temples in Jerusalem and Bethlehem (3). Only Constantine brought about a change: "He deserves to be at the head of the

Christian ruler - more through his mother's faith than through his
own faith" (4). Enlightened by God, Helena asks her son for a free hand in identifying the holy places; in Jerusalem she asks wise and pious Christians, but also Jews, the most knowledgeable men from this community of unbelief, and receives unanimous testimony about the place. There she has three crosses dug, finds them and proves the true cross by touching the wood with a dead man, who immediately comes to life. Thus the secrecy of the cross by the Jews and the hiding of it by the pagans were overcome; the basilica was built on the site of the suffering, which preserves the cross. In this report too, the mother's faith is the

driving force to seek and find the cross.

We can refrain here from describing the legends of the Kreuzau Mindung that arose in the following centuries.19
The key to these great legends is the initiative of the Empress Mother and her relationship with the Jews. In the legend

of Judas-Cyriacus, Helena accuses the Jews of deicide, she asks learned Jews about the location of the cross and determines the true cross by raising the dead; and now Judas is converted and becomes Bishop of Jerusalem as successor to Macarius. In the New Year's Eve legend it is said that when Helena received the news of her son's conversion, she was close to accepting the Jewish faith,

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17 GChS V, II 2, 969 f.; Leoni (as note 9) p. 127.

18 CSEL 29, 271-274; Frolow (wie Anm. 9) S. 55 f.

19 Straubinger (as note 10); Leclercq, Diet, d'ardi, dirét. et de lit. III 2, 2683 M.; cf. audi

A. Coen, Di una leggenda relativa alla nazità e alla gioventù di Constantino Magno, in: Arch. d. Soc. Rom. di Storia Patria 4 (1880) p. 1 M., 5 (1882) p. 33 M.; E. Ewig, The image of Constantine the Great in the first centuries of the Western Middle Ages, in: Hist. Jb. 75 (1956)
S. 12 M.

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and almost regretted that he had become a Christian and not a Jew. In the end, she was persuaded to be baptized by a miracle that took place before her eyes20.

As is generally the case in the realm of miracle stories and legends, the question is also valid here whether these stories could contain any reliable, perhaps even significant, historical information. What about the initiative

the Empress Mother in Jerusalem, with her turn to the Jews?

Our authoritative historian Eusebius seems to know nothing about the erection of the cross. Unless we may consider the glorification of the cross towards the end of the great speech which Eusebius gave on the 30th year of the emperor's reign (Triak. 9 ed. Heikel p. 221).
imperial buildings in Jerusalem a restrained reference to the cross:

Where the redemption is attested, Constantine decorated a very large house of prayer and a holy temple to the redeeming sign (ÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ) with rich and elaborate gifts and the great Redeemer's victory marks over death (ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿ ÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ) beautifully decorated beyond all expectations; he had done all this by proclaiming the saving sign to the whole world" (ÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ). Even if a listener or reader had thought of the cross when hearing these words21, there is no mention of the sign and only right of the emancipation by Helena. The praiseworthy report on the activity

the Empress Mother in Palestine v. C. 3, 41-45 reveals a certain restriction of her actions in the Holy Land; several new interpreters have spoken of a well-considered silence of Eusebius in matters of the Cross22. Helena

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As we have already seen, he praises Helena for her participation in the building of churches and for her charity towards the population; she was free to dispose of imperial funds. However, it is stated with absolute clarity that the order to build churches in certain places came from the emperor himself23. This also applies to the churches in Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives, in whose consecration Helena took a special part; he says (v. C. 3, 43) that Helena consecrated these temples “as proofs of

her piety" (ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ) "the God she worshipped" (ÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ). Perhaps one could conclude from these words that it was only through these actions that the Empress Mother publicly acknowledged this God, for whom her son had now also newly won the land of Palestine. That she followed her son in her religious decision is clear from the words with which Eusebius, after reporting on the death and burial of the noble woman, glorifies the bond between the emperor and his mother (v. C. 3, 47): the ruler is to be praised as particularly happy because of his reverence for his mother, for “under his influence she, who had not been one before, became a

20 Mombritius, Sanctuarium, II (Paris 1910) p. 514 M.; see also W. Levison, Konstantinische Schen- kung und Silvesterlegende, Mise. Fr. Ehrle II (Rome 1924) p. 173.

21 Now and again this Eusebian ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ has been understood as a designation for the cross, as by EM Clos, Kreuz und Grab Jesu (Kempten 1898) pp. 83 and 91 f.

22 For a detailed discussion of Eusebius' "silence," see A. Schlatter, The Church of Jerusalem from the Years 70-130, in: Contributions to the Promotion of Christian Theology II 3 (1898), p. 63 f.: "Eusebius hardly told the story. He did not want to confess to everything that had happened in Jerusalem, and he did not want to contradict it either." Similarly, see J. Jeremias, Golgotha (Angelos. Supplements 1) (1926) p. 14. Neuer- dings Cecchelli (as note 10) p. 174 f. (»Ii silenzio eusebiano. . . è grave«); Leoni (as note 9) p. 155 M.

23 L. Lassus, The Emperor Constantine, Eusebius and the holy places, in: Rev. de l'hist. des relig. 179 (1967) S. 135 M.

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"So pious servant of God that one could have believed that she had been a disciple of the Savior of mankind from childhood" Here is the verdict of Eusebius One thing is clear: it was Constantine who won his mother over to the Christian faith, and he succeeded as wonderfully as if she had been taught by Jesus himself since childhood. This astonishing comparison raises the question whether The young Helena, for example, belonged to the children of Israel and was only later won over by her son, who had already found his way to the Christian Church, to this piety, to the true ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ, in which Christians and

Jews came together24.

Helena was of Jewish origin? If this is true, then the conversion through the son takes on a different face, and Eusebius' "silent" report deserves a different explanation than has been given so far. First of all, it should be remembered that, especially around the middle of the 4th century, the turn from Judaism to Christianity was not uncommon. We learn that a confidant of Patriarch Hillel II converted and attempted to revive the Christian community in Galilee.25 Eusebius himself reports how, during Constantin's undertaking to give the Christian sites in Palestine the consecration they deserved, the place near the oak of Mamre, where in ancient times the Lord had appeared to Patriarch Abraham, was also freed from idolatry at the instigation of Eutropia, the emperor's mother-in-law (BC 3, 51-53). Constantine explained his intervention at this place with the "appearance of the prophets" (v. 3, 51-53). God, the Lord of the world," and Eusebius says - following earlier interpretations of the Holy Scriptures - quite generally, "that the same

Saviour, who recently appeared to the world, has already shown himself to pious men of Palestine in a theophany at the oak of Mamre from ancient times." A good expert on the Constantinian century has suggested that in this statement of Eutropia
and then by Constantin himself without any doubt consultation from the Jewish side took place have26.

Perhaps we may go a step further and ask whether this imperial decision was not influenced by the connection between Christianity and the faith of the patriarchs, which was firmly established by Eusebius, and the critical devaluation of Judaism that this entailed. It has recently been clearly shown how Eusebius, in his great theological works, justified the assertion, already echoed by Justin and Tertullian, that Christianity in its origins goes back to the people of the Hebrews, to the pre-Jewish era of the patriarchs, and that, on the other hand, the interim period of the Mosaic Law - the actual Jewish religion - was destroyed by the destruction of the Templars.

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pels had been overcome by the Romans27. We know that this eusebisthe separation between Hebrews and Jews, which on the one hand connects the Hebrew forefathers with the eternal Logos and on the other hand enables the rejection of the Jewish religion.

was essentially completed in the Praeparatio Evangelica and the subsequent Demonstratio Evangelica around the year 324, and one can even say that Eusebius introduced the Hebrew sages Abraham, Isaac and Jacob to the

24 Zu pious Bertram, Th Wb NT III 124 M.

25 Avi-Yonah (wie Anm. 8) S. 170 f.

26 A. Piganiol, The Emperor Constantine (Paris 1932) P. 168.

27 H.Berkhof, The Theology of Eusebius of Caesarea (Amsterdam 1939) p. 42 f., 114 f.,

D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, Eusebius of Caesarea (London 1960) S. 169 M.

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Jews28. The same Eusebius celebrated Constantine's victory during these years as the victory of the Christian Church and interpreted the ruler himself as the executor of the divine will, just as the emperor now understood himself. Now and then one would like to believe that Constantine counted himself among the Hebrews; it has even been suggested that when he was forced to kill his son Crispus for adultery in the imperial house, he saw himself as the successor of Abraham, who had been prepared to sacrifice his firstborn29.

It is obvious that this Hebrew Constantine - just like his theological interpreter Eusebius - understood the crucifixion as an act of the rejected Jews. In this theological view, the grave and resurrection were the essential events of salvation; the cross itself could be formally repressed. It may be that Constantine did not think of the cross in his work of transforming Jerusalem, just as Eusebius seems to have ignored it. But it is also conceivable that

Jews who became Christians at this historical moment understood the crucifixion as the terrible crime of the Jews, as it was in the controversy

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between Christians and Jews, and that they declared that the retrieval of the wood of the cross and its cultic veneration were necessary to atone for the guilt. Then it is not impossible that Jews who were ready to convert helped in the search for the cross that the Jews had hidden in the time of Pilate, as is already said in Paulinus' story. And if Helena was of Jewish faith by birth, then it would be obvious that she could not count herself among the Hebrews as unhesitatingly as her son, who followed the theologian Eusebius, but that she wanted to make amends for the crime and embrace the cross. If she even thought of making all living Jews into Hebrews in this way and thus winning them over to the Christian church, then this must have contradicted her son's politics as much as Eusebius's theology, and perhaps this was a sufficient reason to remain silent about this mysticism of the cross. Silence then came less from ignorance than from not wanting to know.

But do our sources allow the possibility that Helena was originally Jewish? To put it bluntly: the little information we have about her does not exclude this possibility. The name Helena is found in the Roman

In the society of this time, like most Greek names, they belonged primarily to the class of slaves and freedmen; when Greek names are encountered in the senatorial nobility, the bearers are mostly Orientals30. We know that our Helena became the lover of Constantius as an innkeeper (stabularla); the tenants of the inns, guesthouses and taverns, as well as the people employed in these establishments, were often of Greek and Oriental origin. Among the names known from inscriptions of this professional class we encounter the names Hedone, Helpis and Hermes31. As we have already seen, the portrait of the Empress Mother also points to the Orient: the delicate woman with the fine head has the energetically curved nose - a characteristic that

28 J. Sirenli - E. des Places, Eusèbe de Cesaree. The evangelical preparation. Book I, in: Christian Sources 206 (Paris 1974) P. 8 M.; to the Invitation to Liver VII of G. Schroeder, in: Sources dirét. 215 (1975) S. 126 M.

29 C. ÿ. Cochrane, Christianity and Classical Culture (Oxford 1944) S. 207.

30 H. Solin, Contributions to the knowledge of Greek personal names in Rome, I, Comment. Hum. Lit. 48 (1971) P. 121 M.

31 T. Kleberg, Hotels, Restaurants and Cabarets in Roman Antiquity, in: Bibliotheca Ek-mania 61 (1957) S. 74 M.

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then also the portrait of her son32. If Helena came from a Jewish family, then it is also possible that she was given the name of a famous personality in Judaism: the name of the daughter of King Izates of Adiabene. Josephus reports that she was won over to the Jewish religion by a Jew who was at court and then converted together with her son; later - probably around the year 40 AD - she moved to Jerusalem and built herself a palace and a mausoleum there321.

Of the information about Helena's homeland, the tradition recorded by Procop (de aedif. 5, 2), which states that she came from the small town of Drepanon in Bithynia, is somewhat reliable. We know that this town was given the name Helenopolis by Constantine, and we learn that the grave of the martyr Lucian, the learned presbyter of Antioch, who was also venerated by Helena, was in Drepanon33.

This Lucian had been the teacher of Arius; Eusebius of Nicomedia also counts himself among this famous school. Eustathius, who had been Bishop of Antioch since 324, wrote in the ongoing Christological dispute against the Arians; when he then -

When Constantine was deposed by the Antiochene Synod of Bishops probably in 328, this was because of his offensive lifestyle, but according to the testimony of Athanasius (hist. Arian. 4) because of insulting the Empress Mother Helena3 4 . Could the bishop, who was accused of having dealings with prostitutes, have perhaps referred to the innkeeper, whose profession was occasionally associated with prostitution? In 326, when Constantine himself increased the punishment for the crime of adultery by law, he also included innkeepers (dominae tabernae) in this law, while innkeepers (ministrae) were not affected by the law because of their vilitas vitae35. OMBerically, this decree, which was issued to preserve the honor of the stabulariae, was also an act of appreciation of the Empress Mother with regard to her origins, a sign of the veneration that she received in a special way during these years of the reorganization of the Holy Land. When Helena

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dared to search for and create the cross as a warning to convert the Jews and to find neither the approval nor the opposition of her son in this undertaking, this corresponds to the special nature of her position as defined by Constantine: the elevation of her dignity and the distancing of Augusta from political power. This unique cult of her son was also evident in the honor bestowed upon the Empress Mother after her death, probably in 329.

After she had died in the presence of her son, she was taken to Rome to a mausoleum that Constantine had probably originally built for himself36. It was a kind of Christian apotheosis, since the revered lady was now far from the new

capital, far from the center of political power.

32 MR Alföldi, in: Z. f. Numism. u. Geldgesch. 10 (1959/60) p. 79 M. with pl. IV-VII; this, The Constantin. Gold coinage p. 144 with fig. 8 and 9 and pl. 10 fig. 152-159, pl. 38 and
39.

321 Josephus, ant. Jud. 20, 49 f. 71. 95, bell. 5, 55. 119. 147; also W. Otto, RE VII 2836 f.

33 Ruge, Art. Drepanon RE V 1697.

34 E. Schwanz, On the History of Athanasius, in: Nachr. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Gött., Phil.-hist.
At

(1908) p. 356 f.; H. Lietzmann, History of the Ancient Church, III (Berlin 1938) p. 114.

35 Cod. Theod. 9, 7, 1. J. Vogt, On the question of the diristl. influence on the legislation of Constantine the Great, Festschrift f. L. Wenger, in: Munich Contributions to Papyrology
u. antiquity

Rechtsgesch. 35, II (1945) p. 135.

36 FW Deichmann - A. Tsdiira, Das Mausoleum der Kaiserin Helena, in: Jb. d. D. Archael.

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Helena Augusta, the Cross and the Jews

If we take a look at the century marked by the Constantinian turn, at the imperial legislation and at the theological position of the important church fathers of this time, we find the statement that the Jews as

rejected people, while the Christians are to be understood as the true Israel, now as the universally ruling people37. And yet - rarely enough - the idea also arises that

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Even the Jews are included in the divine work of redemption. After the Council of Nicaea, Constantine severely condemned the Jews in speeches, letters and laws.

When the date of Easter was set (BC 3, 18 f.; see above p. 214) they were accused of being patricides and lord-killers. However, religion was not banned, only Jewish proselytism was restricted38. Christian influence can also be seen in the law of Constantine, which came into effect in later years and which prohibited the execution of the death penalty by crucifixion and leg-breaking (Aurel. Vict., Cass. 41, 4; Sozom. 1, 8, 13). One would almost believe that this law arose from the veneration of the crucified Saviour in an age which generally practised such cruel forms of execution. In sharp contrast to such piety towards the cross, indeed to the Christian faith in general, stands the Emperor Julian's devotion to the God of the Jews and to his people. This Neoplatonist found a way to recognize the God of Israel as one of the many national gods and undertook to refute Christianity in a very massive way by bringing the Jews back to Jerusalem and rebuilding the temple. Of course, this attempt, a clear counter-move against Constantine and Helena at the same time, came to a standstill due to elementary events.39 But there are signs that at the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries the antithesis between Christians and Jews became more acute and that the cross was becoming more and more popular on both sides.

It soon became necessary to prohibit Jews by law from burning an image of the Holy Cross to disparage the Christian religion (Cod. Theod. 16, 8, 18) - a prohibition which was soon violated.

has been40.

It has been repeatedly shown how the great theologians of this age have interpreted the phenomenon of Judaism. Augustine is the source of the terrible statement that the Jews through their suffering are "witnesses of their depravity and of our truth" (testes iniquitatis suae et veritatis nostrae). While Augustine still leaves the way to repentance open for individual Jews, Chrysostom states categorically that there is no improvement, no forgiveness, no justification for those who killed Christ.42 Ambrose, who evidently accompanied Helena on her way to the cross, says it again:

37 On the conflict between Christians and Jews in the 4th century, see Parkes (see note 8) 151 M., 177 M.; Simon (see note 8) p. 239 M.; E. Seaver, Persecutions of the Jews in the Roman Empire (300-438), in: Univ. of Kansas Public. (1952) p. 29 M.; Avi-Yonah (see note 8) p. 159 M.; J. Isaac, Genesis des Antisemitismus (Vienna-Frankfurt-Ziiridi 1969) p. 116

M.

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38 See J. Vogt, Kaiser Julian und das Judentum, in: Morgenland, Issue 30 (1939) p. 27 M.; on the question of Christian influence on Constantine's legislation see Festschrift Wenger (see note 35) p. 128, 143; Avi-Yonah (see note 8) p. 3 f.

39 Vogt, Kaiser Julian S. 34 M.; Avi-Yonah (wie Anm. 8) S. 188 M.

40 Seaver (see note 37) pp. 15, 17.

41 Enarr. in ps. 58, 122 - CChL 39, 744; see also B.Blumenkranz, Die Judenpredigt Augustins

(Basel 1946) p. 175 M.; Simon (see note 8) p. 119.

42 adv. Jud. 6, 2 - PG 48, 905 M.; cf. P. Stockmeier, Theology and Cult of the Cross in John

hannes Chrysostomus, in: Trierer Theolog. Stud. 18 (1966) p. 131 M. and AMRitter, Considerations on Anti-Semitism in the Old Church, in: Permanent Changes in the Church, edited by B. Moeller and G. Ruhbach (Tübingen 1973) p. 71 M.

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repeats that Israel is also included in God’s saving will and in Christ’s redemptive act43.

It would be an exciting task to trace the trusting devotion of Jews to the Crucified Christ through the centuries - up to modern Israeli art, up to the visionary image in which the Crucified Christ and an Israeli warrior with outstretched arms testify to their solidarity.

43 Expos,ps.118,2,9-CSEL62,24f.;Expos,ps.61,29-PL14,1178f.;DeJos.14,84- PL 14, 672; Ep. 71, 1 - PL 16, 1241. Cf. W. Willbrand, Ambrosius of Milan and his relationship to Judaism, in: Veritati, Festgabe für J.Hessen (Munich 1949) p. 159; E. Dassmann, The Piety of the Church Father Ambrosius of Milan, in: Münsterische Beiträge zur Theol. 29 (1965) p. 144 M.

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HERAKLES/MELQART: THE GREEK *FAÇADE* OF A PHOENICIAN DEITY[1]

Rodrigo Araújo de Lima[2]

Abstract: Whilst one of the most prestigious cults in Antiquity, the Greek and Roman worship to the god Herakles settle down on an ancient Phoenician liturgy dedicated to the god Melqart. With the support of epigraphy, textual documentation and archaeological material culture, it is possible to establish the differences and the proximities of these two deities. In this article, I will present some of the main theories on the origin of the divinized ancestral until its recognition as the Greek hero via *interpretatio graeca*, which culminated in the identification of the Far West of the Mediterranean as the famous *Herakles/Melqart Pillar*s.
Keywords: Melqart, Herakles, origin, liturgy, cult, Archaeology, Epigraphy, Primary Sources.

Resumo: Enquanto um dos cultos mais prestigiados na Antiguidade, a veneração grega e romana ao deus Héracles e Hércule se estabeleceu sobre uma antiga liturgia fenícia dedicada ao deus Melqart. Com o suporte da epigrafia, da documentação textual e da cultura material arqueológica é possível estabelecer as diferenças e as proximidades dessas duas divindades. Nesse artigo apresentaremos algumas das principais teorias sobre a origem do culto desse ancestral divinizado até a sua identificação com o herói grego via *interpretatio graeca*, essa que culminou no reconhecimento do Extremo Ocidente do Mediterrâneo enquanto as *Colunas de Héracles/Melqart*.
Palavras-chave: Melqart, Héracles, origem, liturgia, culto, Arqueologia, Epigrafia, Fontes Primárias.

Resumen: Como uno de los cultos más prestigiosos de la Antigüedad, la veneración griega y romana del dios Heracles se estableció sobre una antigua liturgia fenicia dedicada al dios Melqart. Con el apoyo de la epigrafía, la documentación textual y del material arqueológico, es posible establecer las diferencias y la proximidad de estas dos deidades. En este artículo presentaremos algunas de las principales teorías sobre el origen de la adoración de este ancestro deificado hasta su identificación con el héroe griego a través de *interpretatio graeca*, que culminó en la identificación del Extremo Occidente del Mediterráneo Oriental como las columnas de *Heracles/Melqart*.
Palabras clave: Melqart, Heracles, origen, liturgia, adoración, Arqueología, Epigrafía, Fuentes Primarias.

1 This article was developed from our Master Thesis entitled *The Columns of Herakles / Melqart in the Late Bronze Age: the use of GIS in understanding the Phoenician expansion into Tartesic territory from Gádir (9th to 6th centuries BCE)*. Under the supervision of Dr. Maria Cristina Nicolau Kormikiari (MAE-USP). This article has both and integral part taken from subchapter 3.3.1 in Chapter 4 of the dissertation, as well as an updated debate on the issue we have discussed.

2 PhD student in Archaeology at the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at the University of São Paulo under the supervision of Dr. Maria Cristina Nicolau Kormikiari (MAE-USP) and the co-supervision of Dr. Romero Tori (POLI-USP), FAPESP scholarship holder case 2018/08593-4. Member of the *Laboratory of Studies on the Ancient City* (LABECA). To consult other publications by the author: https://usp-br.academia.edu/RodrigoAraújodeLima. E-mail: rodrigo.araujo.lima@usp.br.

Introduction

Solar God, farmer, navigator and colonizer. The god of dying and being reborn *par excellence*. Being one of the faces of Baal, he reigns in both celestial and terrestrial space. In his egersis (Greek: ἔγερσις) - the resurrection – this divinity sets and reborn by the grace of Astarte in the endless cycle of the stars. His deity radiates into the orbit of the firmament, making Melqart the true king of the city.

Melqart is a reasonably new deity in the Tyrian pantheon, not appearing in Ras Shamra's texts and being first commented in the 9th century BCE in Aramaic written on a stele found in the Northern of nowadays the city of Aleppo (KAI 201 *apud* RIBICHINI, 1999, p. 563; NEVILLE, 2007, p. 86). Sergio Ribichini (1999) states that in the inscription dedicated to Bir Hadad, king of Aram, present Syria, the deity initially receives the epithet of a warrior god.

On the other hand, it is known much more of this Tyrian god as pointed out by Elena Moreno Pulido (2009, p. 1) as a deity essentially connected to the vegetation and fertility. This author ponders that Melqart could be an assimilation of ancestral gods like Yam or Baal. According to his fruitful and passionate attributes, common in the eastern deities, the god would rise each spring and die each winter. To Moreno Pulido, in Syrian-Palestine, Melqart accumulated along with the agrarian attributes, also marine, colonizer and civilizer characteristics, which converged in its title as the god of commerce and overseas navigation (MORENO PULIDO, 2009, p. 1).

Melqart, The Tyrian Baal (MLQRT B'L SR)

Melqart (MLQRT) could be translated as the *king of the city* with the prefix (MLK) being the title of king and the suffix (QRT) being the city. It may possibly have been vocalized as / *mīqi* / or / *melq* / (King) and / *qart* / (City). For Ann Neville (2007) his name refers directly to the city of Tyre (Ṣūr), in close relation with the ruling dynasty, being represented as the archetype of the king of Tyre, responsible for the welfare and protection of his subjects (NEVILLE, 2007, p. 86) However, in view of his chthonic characteristics, the term *city* can also be interpreted as the *world of the dead*, according to Mesopotamian traditions (RIBICHINI, 1999b, p. 563).

Although one of the youngest deities of the Phoenician pantheon, Melqart origins are ancient, dating back to the 2nd and 3rd millennia BCE. The MLQ (or could have been more than just one) who ruled Syro-Palestine

would have been deified after his death and placed as an ancestor of the reigning monarchs. The Ugarit archives refer to this late king as a / *rephaim* /, maybe a substantial number of ancestors who had the privileged status among the dead, being invoked by the ruling kings to return to their hometown to provide the fertility of the earth and healing of the sick (NEVILLE, 2007, p. 86).

In the 10th century BCE, King Hiram I of Tyre establishes the great festival of *egersis* in honour of Melqart to commemorate the death, resurrection and awakening of his deity, from human origins, deified by the Tyrians, becoming a complete god, (NEVILLE, 2007, p. 86).

According to Kormikiari, (2017, p.115) Herodotus (II, 44) is an important source concerning the cult of Melqart. According to his account, the Tyrians paid tribute to the deity as if he were a hero who would have been a mortal. The author goes on to recall that Menander of Ephesus, which in turn is cited by Flavius Josephus (*Jewish Antiquity*, VIII, 146), narrated the destruction of several temples in Tyre by King Hiram, contemporary to Solomon. The new places of worship were dedicated to the honour of Herakles (i.e. Melqart?) and Astarte. King Hiram would have been the first to celebrate the egersis of Herakles in the month of *peryton* (i.e. February-March).

According to Corinne Bonnet (1988, p. 37) the feast took place between February 16 and March 17 and would not be the only one that took place in honour of the god. Ribichini (1999, p. 565) states that there would be gymnastic games celebrated in Tyre every five years in honour of Melqart.

In the Far West, an environment also reached by the Phoenician navigators, it is likely that the Tyrians, together with the founding act of Gadir, nowadays Cadiz - archaeologically attested as, until now, a 9th century BCE foundation - also delimited an area for building a temple dedicated to the god. Possibly located on the islet of present-day Sancti Petri, to the South of the ancient archipelago of the *Gadeira's Islands*, this temple would be associated with the other two places of worship that existed in Gadir, such as Baal, supposedly located on Kotinussa, and Astarte, also allegedly located on the island of Erytheia. It is possible to reflect on the possibility that the temple was strictly related to a ritual known as egersis that would happen twice a year (LIMA, 2018).

The temple probably had a view of the navigators coming to Cádiz Bay, but nevertheless, it would have little vision of the lands of the interior of the Iberian Peninsula, making it a landmark for those approaching Gádir (LIMA, 2018).

In opposition to Bonnet (1988, p. 37) María Eugenia Aubet (2001, p. 154) states that the cult would take place in the spring, shortly after the end of the rainy season, so it is possible to consider the divinity as having both solar and agriculture attributes. José Luis Escacena Carrasco (2009, p. 112) points out that the egersis was a festival celebrated sometime between February and March. However, the author himself acknowledges that there are disagreements regarding how many times it was performed and what were its dates, which could vary throughout the year, transferring the service to June or December (ESCACENA CARRASCO, 2009, p. 112).

According to Alfredo Mederos Martín (2015, p. 194) the cult would last for three days and the entry of foreigners into the city would be prohibited as reported by geographer Pausanias in his work *Description of Greece*, written in the middle of the 2nd CE, (10, 4.6):

> Κλέων δὲ ἀνὴρ Μάγνης, οἳ τῷ Ἕρμῳ προσοικοῦσιν, ἔφασκεν ἐς τὰ παράδοξα ἀπίστους εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἷς ἂν μὴ παρὰ τὸν αὐτῶν γένηται βίον θεάμασιν ἐπιτυχεῖν λόγου μείζοσιν: αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ Τιτυὸν καὶ ἄλλους ἔφη πείθεσθαι γεγονέναι κατὰ τὴν φήμην: τυχεῖν γὰρ δὴ ὢν ἐν Γαδείροις, καὶ ἐκπλεῦσαι μὲν αὐτός τε καὶ τὸν ἄλλον πάντα ὄχλον ἐκ τῆς νήσου κατὰ τὸ Ἡρακλέους πρόσταγμα, ὡς δὲ αὖθις ἐπανήκειν ἐς τὰ Γάδειρα, ἄνδρα εὑρεῖν θαλάσσιον ἐκπεπτωκότα ἐς τὴν γῆν: τοῦτον πλέθρα μὲν πέντε μάλιστα ἐπέχειν, κεραυνωθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καίεσθαι. (SPIRO's version, 1903)
>
> Cleon of Magnesia on the Hermus used to say that those men were incredulous of wonders who in the course of their own lives had not met yet greater marvels. He declared that Tityos and other monsters had been as tradition says they were. He happened, he said, to be at Cadiz, and he, with the rest of the crowd, sailed forth from the island in accordance with the command of Heracles;1 on their return to Cadiz they found cast ashore a man of the sea, who was about five roods in size, and burning away, because heaven had blasted him with a thunderbolt (Translation of JONES, LITT and ORMEROD, 1918).

As in the account, the liturgy would consist in the immolation of the god in the midst of a final ritual of his cremation, with the intention of his rebirth and immortalization by the virtue of fire (AUBET, 2001, p. 153-154). For Bonnet (1988, p. 79) there would be, on the first day, a succession of ritual events where the god was burned on a pyre. Besides this, would be an altar where animal and vegetable offerings were made. On the second day, the god

was buried in the presence of his priests, the king, and a female character, possibly a priestess, who would wear horns and a sceptre representing Astarte, Melqart's goddess. At dawn on the third day, the god would rise with two birds in his hands.

However, for Mederos Martín (2015, p. 194) on the first night of the liturgy, women held celebrations, holding vigils, lamentations and funeral banquets. On the second day, the Phoenicians were in procession toward the sea, carrying the wooden representation of the god to the coast and setting it ablaze. On the third day, the resurrection of the god occurred.

From the divergences between the modern authors as to how the celebrations were held, it seems that different liturgies could exist between Tyre, Gadir and possibly the other Phoenician foundations. However, the existence of a liturgical archetype of the celebration, such as the constitution of three days of events in one or two periods of the year, is noticeable. The change of season also seems to be one of the canons of this ceremony, with spring being the most recurrent. Possessing also chthonic aspects, the act of public immolation of the god's image to the faithful would represent the beginning of a fertile period, where the earth would be at the peak of its fertility.

In Tyre, within the celebration would happen the *hieros gamos* (Greek: ιερός γάμος) time which the monarch attended the feasts and joined with a priestess of Astarte or the queen herself, interpreting (or doing it) the sexual intercourse union between Melqart and Astarte (AUBET, 2001, p. 154). Mederos Martín states that the union happened during the god's death (2015, p. 194). There would also be in this celebration an individual charged with carrying out the resurrection of divinity.

Known as MQM 'LM, this priest was primarily responsible for the liturgy of Melqart's egersis. He would be, according to Escacena Carrasco (2009, p. 111), the most knowledgeable of the Sun cycle. It would probably be an astronomer in charge of announcing to the priests the death of the god, based on the counting of the days and the reading of the stars. From the egersis, there is/was only a marble vase from Sidon (fig. 1), dating from the 4th century BCE which narrates the practices of the celebration, woefully lost during World War II.

Escacena Carrasco points to the main character of this vase as Baal, however, this deity could designate Melqart since both possess solar qualities and are often confused by the epithet B'L (2009, p. 110). The inscriptions of the Sidon Vase, contain Melqart's binding with the fire by the epithet B'L KR. According to Elena Moreno Pulido (2011), as an ambivalent element, fire

favours both life and death. Melqart's decaying body would then be immolated by the flames for the renewal of his creative energies as the fields are burned (fire-fallow cultivation) for his most fertile return (MORENO PULIDO, 2011, p. 106).

The Sidon Vase disappeared from the Berlin Museum during World War II, making it impossible to search for a better understanding of the liturgical practices of egersis from this artefact. Fortunately, photographs were taken of the faces of the vase representing different moments of the celebration.

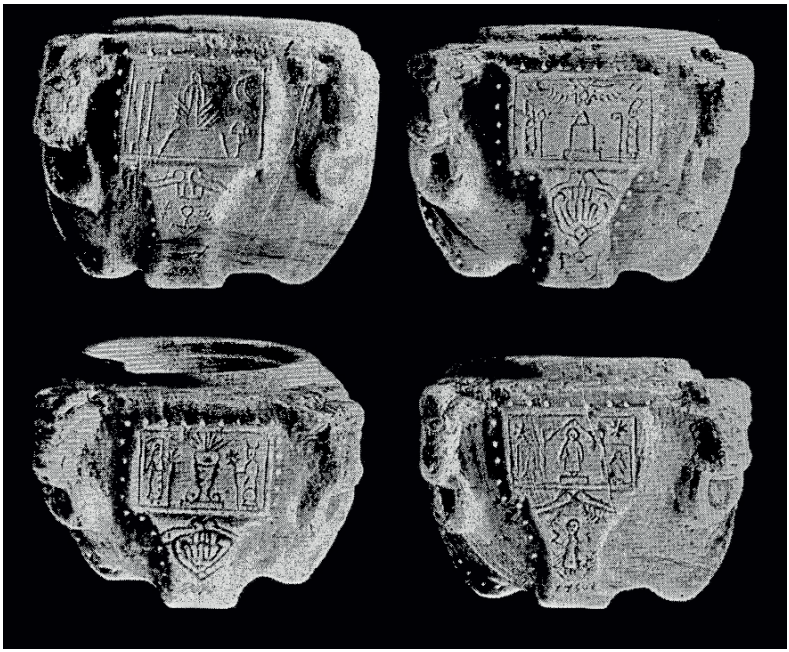

Fig. 1 - Sidon vase. Inverted colours for easier visualization of the decoration (ESCACENA CARRASCO, 2009, p. 108). Edited by Rodrigo de Lima, 2019.

From the previous notes (pages 3-4), I consider the temple of Melqart, closely linked with the shrine of Astarte. Thus, it's plausible to think on the coexistence of both from the beginning of the foundation of Phoenician cities as in the case of Gadir (MEDEROS MARTÍN, 2015, p. 194). Maybe in the form of natural landmarks, inasmuch as the archaeological register lacks the religious structures of these places.

In the 7th century BCE, the god appears as Milqartu, being as Eshmun, the mediator of an agreement between the king of Tyre, Ba'alu, and the king of

Assyria, Assar-adan. If the treaty were breached, the two deities would punish the transgressor by destroying their lands and enslaving their people. The disobedient would still be deprived of food, clothing and olive oil (SAA 2, 5 IV: 14; ANET, 534 apud RIBICHINI, 1999, p. 563). In another 9th century BCE testimony, the god is attested as Melqart Lord of Ṣūr (MLKRT BSR) (BORDREUIL 1990, p. 19 *apud* RIBICHINI, 1999, p. 563).

Herakles Archegetes (Ηρακλής αρχηγέτης)

According to the interpretation of Manuel Álvarez Martí-Aguilar (2014), based on Pompeu Trogo's account (44.5) the spread of the Melqart cult in Iberia would have occurred prior to the founding of Gadir. The same author states that the city of Carteia, in present-day San Roque, would be a possible candidate for the establishment of a foundation dedicated to Melqart. According to this interpretation, Carteia would have been founded by the Gadirites (i.e. the citizens of Gadir) who began their expansion along the Atlantic and Mediterranean shores and was referred by the ancient authors as Heraclea since it was believed to have been founded by Herakles (2014, p. 26).

> ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὄρος ἐστὶ τῶν Ἰβήρων τῶν καλουμένων Βαστητανῶν, οὓς καὶ Βαστούλους καλοῦσιν, ἡ Κάλπη, τῇ περιοχῇ μὲν οὐ μέγα τῷ δ᾽ ὕψει μέγα καὶ ὄρθιον ὥστε πόρρωθεν νησοειδὲς φαίνεσθαι. ἐκπλέουσιν οὖν ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας θαλάττης εἰς τὴν ἔξω δεξιόν ἐστι τοῦτο, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ Καρτηία πόλις ἐν τετταράκοντα σταδίοις ἀξιόλογος καὶ παλαιά, ναύσταθμόν ποτε γενομένη τῶν Ἰβήρων. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλέους κτίσμα λέγουσιν αὐτήν, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Τιμοσθένης, ὅς φησι καὶ Ἡράκλειαν ὀνομάζεσθαι τὸ παλαιόν, δείκνυσθαί τε μέγαν περίβολον καὶ νεωσοίκους. (STRABO, Geography. 3.1.7, versão de MEINEKE, 1877).

> Here is situated Calpe, the mountain of the Iberians who are denominated Bastetani, by others Bastuli. Its circumference is not large, but it is so high and steep as to resemble an island in the distance. Sailing from the Mediterranean into the Atlantic, it is left on the right hand. At a distance of 40 stadia from this [mountain] is the considerable and ancient city of Carteia, formerly a marine arsenal of the Iberians. Some assert that it was founded by Hercules; of this number is Timosthenes, who tells us it was anciently called Heraclæa, and that vast walls and ship-sheds are still shown. (STRABO, Geography. 3.1.7, translation by HAMILTON and FALCONER, 1903).

There is no new speculation about the name Carteia, Drietich (1936) and Millás (1941) according to Martí-Aguilar (2014, p. 27) already considered Carteia as a theophoric nomination, which may be the abbreviation of MLQRTYH (i.e. Island of Melqart?).

During the 2nd century BCE, in Malta, a bilingual inscription (KAI 47) (**fig. 2**) reveals Melqart as being equivalent to Herakles ἀρχηγέτης. This same epigraph considers the god to be Ṣūr›s Baal (B›L SR). Here I recall that Baal, besides being the supreme god of the Phoenician pantheon, also is translated as a honorific title of *Lord* / *Chief*, making Melqart the Lord of Tyre.

Fig. 2 – One of the two Malta's *cippi* at the Louvre Museum. The bilingual inscriptions initially at the top in Phoenician and the base in Greek. The image has been modified for better identification of the writing on the base. Available at: https://tinyurl.com/y248otgz, accessed 9/4/2019. Edited by Rodrigo de Lima, 2019.

1. L`DNN LMLQRT B´L SR `S NDR
2. `BDK `BD´SR WH`Y `SRSMR
3. SN BN SRSMR BN B`D´SR KSM´
4. QLM YBRKM

Version: "(1) To our lord, to Melqart, lord of Tyre: (that is) what he did (2) his servant Abdosiri and his brothers Osirisama, (3) the two sons of Osirisamar, sons of Abdosiri; because he heard (4) your voice. May he bless you!" According to Sznycer (1975, p. 195).

1. ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣΚΑΙΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝΟΙ
2. ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝΟΣΤΥΡΙΟΙ
3. ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑΡΧΗΓΕΤΕΙ

Version: "(1) Dionysus and Serapion, the (sons) (2) of Serapion, Tyrians; (3) to the Heracles founder". According to Sznycer (1975, p.195).

This religious syncretism and the concept that this god was once a man may be the key to understanding how Melqart will be interpreted by the Hellenics and the Latins (NEVILLE, 2007, p. 86). The Greek Heracles and Roman Hercules are divinized heroes, whose, as Melqart were both mortal and immortal.

In addressing the patterns of economic activity in ancient societies, Eleftheria Pappa (2010) comments that temples would play a central role in securing trade treaties, while this would also be strengthened by family ties that would ensure trade security, especially those dedicated to Melqart. The author points out that supernatural sanctions such as swearing to the gods were endogenous features of ancient societies. To this end, Pappa presents the example of the treaty regulated by divine forces that sealed the vassalage agreement between Assyrian King Assar-adan and the Tyrian prince Ba'alu in the first half of the 7th century BCE. This agreement warned that, if broken, it would incur the wrath of the gods, causing shipwrecks in a windstorm.

Apart from the issue of contracts, Pappa argues that religious syncretism could also regulate economic mechanisms, in what she defines as an *investment in trust* since it merged patron cults and deities to protect negotiations as well as they would also reduce costs and facilitate technological exchanges (2010, p. 284-285).

Melqart's temples are closely linked with the expansionist enterprise. According to Diodorus Siculus (20: 14.1), Melqart, referred in one passage as Heracles, accompanied the founding of the new cities. Given their function, their sanctuaries are always in relation to the sea, in environments that could be frequented by sailors and merchants. The foundation of settlements is usually accompanied by the establishment of this sacred place. Unlike Astarte, Melqart was not part of the indigenous cults (NEVILLE, 2007, p. 87).

Pappa comments that the monuments dedicated to Melqart, where Phoenician trading posts are known as MQM, possibly vocalized as / *maqom* /, would probably have been installed to extend worship to non-Phoenician communities in order to foster trade (2010, p. 285). According to Cristina Kormikiari, / *maqom* / would be an emporium-sanctuary, that is, it could be part of a religious centre as well managing business practices and agreements (KORMIKIARI, 2015, p. 88).

On this religious syncretism, there is an example of another locality that was supposedly frequented by the Phoenician communities such as the island of Thasos where a large Herakleion was located southwest of the city agora, at the main entrance of the *asty* (Greek: ἄστυ) of Limenas. Juliana Hora (2018) reminds us that according to Herodotus (*Histories*, II, 44) Herakles was perhaps one of the most important patrons of Thasos. This male deity was often represented in the coins and his worship would have been, according to the tradition, implanted by the Phoenicians (cf. Hora, 2018).

Gaditanian Herakles (Hercules-Gaditanus)

Fig. 3 - One of the five *ex-votos* found near the islet of Sancti Petri. One can notice the Egyptian characteristics. Available at: https://tinyurl.com/y5hlkxpd, accessed 9/15/2019. Edited by Rodrigo de Lima, 2019.

The sacred environment of the Herakles / Melqart temples would be part of a strategy for treaty-signing with other peoples, as is believed to have occurred in the Iberian Peninsula. Under the aegis of divinity, commerce was carried out by establishing relations between allochthonous and autochthonous. According to Neville (2007, p. 87) Herodotus (II.115) suggests that the Phoenician temples were places of asylum for sinking travellers, as well as offering the practice of sacred prostitution of both sexes, a hospitality practice that may have corroborated for the attendance of these sacred environments.

Concerning liturgical practices and their participants, Zamora López (2017) identifies the MQM'LM, probably vocalized as / *mīqimʾēlīm* / official directly linked to the egersis during the Melqart cult. Through epigraphic evidence in Greek there is indication that in the resurrection ritual of the Tyrian Herakles, there would be one responsible for the cult. This officer would be the *egerseites toû Hērakléous* equivalent to / *mīqimʾēlīm* /. The author notes that often to this occurrence there is a second expression, MTRḤ'ŠTRNY, which helps to detail the role of the officer. Interpreted as a possible reference to Astarte. Thus, Zamora López (2017, p. 66) proposes that during these rituals, the / *mīqim ʾēlīm* / would consummate the marriage of the two deities, who also represented the monarchy and the priesthood. To suppress the lack of a Phoenician word for the name of this holiday, Kormikiari introduces the term / *marzeah* / or / *marzeh* /, using both Hebrew, Ugaritic, Phoenician, Punic and Aramaic to, according to the author "designate the liturgical celebration of a banquet that also included a sacrifice in honour of a deity"(KORMIKIARI, 2004, p.139).

In fact, Cadiz archaeological remains found on the city's beaches show an innumerable accumulation of inhumations and cremations associated with ressignified dry wells as sacred deposits and faunal remains that would have been consumed, such as wine, incense, olive oil and aromatic oils (cf. LIMA, 2018, pp 256-402). Also found are animal sacrifices that corroborate the liturgical practice that the Gadirites would celebrate for their dead a banquet in honour of the dead or dedicated to a deity. The term / *marzeah* or *marzeh* / denotes both the festival and the religious body. It is supposed to consist only of a small group of the great Phoenician citizen families (MARKOE, 2000, p.120; KORMIKIARI, 2004, p.139; NEVILLE, 2007, p. 73-74).

From the temple of *Melqart gadirite*, later known as *Hercules Gaditanus*, there was nothing left architecturally, only five ex-votos representing the image of the deity (**fig. 3**) were recovered, as well as a few later bronze statues, since this great temple, was intensely visited by important characters, from Hannibal to Julius Caesar. The temple was allegedly destroyed by Alí ben `Isá ben

Maymūn in 540 CE, yet its monumentality was immortalized in the verses of poet Abu Utman al-Saduni (apud ALMAGRO-GORBEA, 2014, p. 162):

> (...) hay un negro que está de pie en la cima de un pináculo, / como si sobre él estuviera crucificado el viento. / Adelanta la pierna derecha y casi la alza, / como quejándose de un esfuerzo descomunal. / En la diestra presenta una llave que tú tomarías por ofrenda, / si no fuera porque él está compungido. / Y un pergamino en la izquierda, mano que lleva cerrada como si nos quisiera ocultar su contenido. De la mar señala el poniente y su región / mirando erguido hacia el ocaso del sol […] / Os digo que en sus noticias hay un portento, / así que no preguntéis / si es de oro o de latón (...).
>
> (...) There is a black figure standing on a pinnacle as if the wind crucified him. Advance with the right leg almost upwards. Like he was making a huge effort. In his right hand, he holds a key that you would take as an offering, if not because he is sorry. And a scroll on the left, a hand that is clenched as if to hide its contents. From the sea it points to the west and its region, aiming high at the sunset (...). I tell you that in your news there is something spectacular, so don't ask me if it was gold or brass (...). (My version).

According to Moreno Pulido, Melqart / Herakles is the true titular god of the Extreme Western region of the Mediterranean Basin. The author states that the myth of the oracle of Tyre, the hometown of this divinity, would have been one of the reasons why the Strait of Gibraltar became known as the *Pillars of Hercules* (2009, p. 1).

However, for Pappa, as far as the western Mediterranean Basin is concerned, the term *Pillars of Heracles / Hercules* does not allude to the rocky group bordering the Mediterranean Sea (in this case, the Rock of Gibraltar and the hill of Ceuta). For the author, this term would only be a poetic play of words about the temples erected by the Phoenicians in Gadir (Spain) and Lixus (Morocco). It would, therefore, have been the *interpretatio graeca* of the Phoenician entrepreneurs since the Herakles expeditions would have taken place in the same region (2010, p. 285).

Final Thoughts

In this article, I intended to introduce Melqart / Herakles as a deity that was part of the Mediterranean Basin serving as an important agent in the enterprise of maritime expansion, as well as in the mediation between allochthonous and autochthonous communities. Whereas religiosity is established

as a point of contact between the different, the rites would also function as a mechanism of differentiation. As is evident from Kleon of Magnesia's account that he is obliged, along with his crew, to depart from Gadir, probably ordered by the inhabitants and the priesthood of the city. This account demonstrates how the civic body would behave at the time of religious festivities. This deity that dies and is resurrected by virtue of fire also presents itself as an essential element in the establishment of festivities that marked the beginning of a new season, guiding the calendar by way of the stars. Thus, the joy was reserved for the Phoenician community as the mourning of the liturgy of Melqart's death and rebirth. This would have helped in strengthening the local identity before foreigners. Through its cycle of living, dying and being reborn, Melqart / Herakles has become a symbol of power, expansion and fundamentally connection by blending into the different worldviews of the most varied Mediterranean communities.

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TAXES AND TRADE IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE (200 B.C.–A.D. 400) *

By KEITH HOPKINS

This essay is speculative and tentative, a preliminary attempt at exploring a broad territory of Roman economic history over a long period. For the sake of clarity, I have canvassed several probabilities in the form of propositions, but the evidence is so sparse that it is difficult to *prove* that each proposition is right. It is disappointing to confess at the outset that one's case is unproven and that the generalizations advanced are disproportionately large in relation to the supporting evidence.[1] Even so, the experiments made here with both evidence and methods may stimulate others into refuting or reshaping the propositions. And besides, some of the methods can be usefully applied to other problems in Roman history.

Propositions 1 and 2

The first proposition is that the Romans' imposition of taxes paid in money greatly increased the volume of trade in the Roman empire (200 B.C.–A.D. 400). Secondly, in so far as money taxes were levied on conquered provinces and then spent in other provinces or in Italy, then the tax-exporting provinces had to earn money with which to pay their taxes by exporting goods of an equal value.[2]

These two propositions may seem unexceptionable, but their applications are interesting. At the risk of simplification, they lead us to envisage the Roman empire in the central period of the High Empire (the first two centuries A.D.) as comprising three spheres:

(A) an outer ring of frontier provinces in which defensive armies were stationed,
(B) an inner ring of relatively rich tax-exporting provinces, such as Spain, southern Gaul, northern Africa, Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt,
(C) the centre, comprising Italy and the city of Rome, the seat of the Court and of the central government, which, like the armies on the frontiers, consumed a large volume of taxes.

The armies on the frontiers (A) and the city of Rome, the Court and the central government (C) consumed more taxes than were produced locally. The two propositions imply that in the long run, on average, these tax-importing regions (the frontiers and the city of Rome) imported goods to a value which roughly equalled the imported tax.[3]

The main focus of this paper is on large-scale inter-regional flows of taxes and trade. But large-scale flows were the cumulative result of myriads of local transactions and transformations. Even at local levels, the Roman imposition of money taxes and their expenditure outside the region where they were levied had a serious impact on simple cultivators; they were forced to produce, and to sell, more food in order to pay taxes. The impact was greatest in those regions in which simple cultivators had paid little or no tax in money before the Roman conquest. There, cultivators were forced to produce and sell a surplus which they had not previously produced, or which they had previously consumed themselves (afterwards they simply went without). Some of this surplus was

* An earlier version of this paper was first given in the American Academy at Rome by kind invitation of its then Director, John D'Arms. I am most grateful to him and to the members of his seminar for hospitality and criticism. I want also to thank Sir Henry Phelps Brown and Alan Budd for kindly helping me along with economics; I am very much indebted to Michael Crawford for guidance, and not only on numismatic matters. Finally, I should like to thank Graham Burton, Ronald Mellor, John North and members of seminars in Cambridge, Durham and the Institute of Historical Research in London for their critical thoughts. Inevitably, on this topic, my paper is written in friendly debate with Sir Moses Finley and his *The Ancient Economy* (1973).

[1] I shall concentrate here on argument and on the economic structure of the Roman empire, rather than on what Romans thought they were doing or on surviving sources. I have adopted this tactic simply because I want to cover a broad canvas in a relatively short article, not because I feel that the Romans' own economic thoughts or writings should be neglected. But it does mean that some of the conventional sign-posting is missing.

[2] I must stress the correlative form of the second proposition: In so far as . . ., then . . . (in so far as . . .). For the moment, I make no estimate of the volume of taxes, nor of the extent to which they were raised in money.

[3] These two propositions also imply an explanation for the increase of imports into Italy during the High Empire. I do not mean that Italy stopped exporting, only that the balance of trade favoured imports; the explanation is to be sought more in economic forces than in an Italian moral decline.

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probably shipped direct to tax-consuming regions (for example, Spanish olive oil to the city of Rome). But the costs of transporting staple foods for long distances, especially overland, were high;[4] besides, tax-consuming regions grew some of their own food and in addition drew upon taxes levied in kind (for example, wheat sent to the city of Rome).

The two propositions imply another process, which we can guess at in simple terms. In economically unsophisticated regions, peasant tax-payers increasingly sold some of their primary produce in local markets in order to raise money with which to pay taxes. The food which they sold was consumed locally by artisans, who made goods of higher value and lower volume than staple foods (for example, textiles, leather goods, pots). Again some of these hand-made, relatively valuable goods were consumed locally; but others were exported from inner provincial towns, both to the frontier provinces and to the city of Rome.[5]

This simple model implies a whole series of small-scale changes in production, distribution and consumption, whose cumulative impact over time was important. There was a significant increase in agricultural production, an increase in the division of labour, growth in the number of artisans, in the size of towns where many of them lived, development of local markets and of long-distance commerce. Complementarily, there were changes in the pattern of consumption: government employees, soldiers and officials, received tax monies as pay and spent their money on food, services and artisan-made goods, some of which came from the distant provinces which paid the original money taxes. There was an increase in the number of people who made it their job to look after the needs of soldiers on the frontiers and of officials in the city of Rome. Thus the model implies an increased monetization of the Roman economy, the commercialization of exchange, an elongation of the links between producers and consumers, the growth of specialist intermediaries (traders, shippers, bankers), and an unprecedented level of urbanization.[6] The model illustrates the close connection between changes on the level of individual action by simple peasants and relatively large-scale changes, such as the growth of towns.

These changes were most dramatic in regions which were economically primitive before their conquest by the Romans. But there were regions, such as Syria and western Asia Minor, which had paid money taxes to local rulers for centuries before the Roman conquest, regions which were already urbanized and had well-established networks of intra-regional and inter-regional trade. Other regions lay between these two extremes of economic simplicity and sophistication.[7] Conquest by the Romans disrupted established patterns even in economically advanced regions: the Romans plundered the stored reserves of generations, from towns, temples and from rich individuals' treasure chests. They siphoned off skilled and unskilled labour as slaves; they gave loans to oppressed landowners and then distrained upon their estates, when they were unable to pay extortionate

[4] The problem of how much staple food was transported, long-distance overland or by ship, cannot be solved simply by pointing out the high *relative* cost of land transport. That alone did not make it *absolutely* prohibitive. I suspect that availability of transport, information and trader organization were also important. Comparative evidence illustrates the problems. In Italy in the sixteenth century, staples were occasionally transported from the eastern coast of Italy overland to the city of Rome (J. Delumeau, *La vie économique et sociale de Rome* (1959) II, 521 ff.), but in southern France in the same period, the volume of transport available for carting supplies between towns was too small to even out inter-city variations in price (R. Baehrel, *Une croissance: la Basse Provence rurale* (1961), 531 ff.).

[5] Archaeological evidence is uncorrectably biassed by the survival of pots, which cannot have been so important in the Roman economy. The salvation is that surviving pots can reasonably serve as proxy for perishable goods such as textiles, which have not survived archaeologically but which probably were important economically. Thus distribution maps of pots illustrate the viability and direction of long-distance trade. For one example see D. P. S. Peacock in J. du Plat Taylor and H. Cleere (edd.), *Roman Shipping and Trade: Britain and the Rhine Provinces, The Council for British Archaeology Research Report* 24 (1978), 49.

[6] On the growth of towns, see especially M. I. Finley, 'The Ancient City: From Fustel de Coulanges to Max Weber and Beyond', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 19 (1977), 305 ff.; K. Hopkins, 'Economic Growth in Towns in Classical Antiquity', in P. Abrams *et al.* (edd.), *Towns in Societies* (1978), 35 ff., where several of the issues discussed here are put in a different form.

[7] Once again, I am for the moment concerned more with the logic of the argument than with the evidence by which one could allocate regions conquered by the Romans along a continuum of economic sophistication, or lack of it. I am certainly not assuming that all western provinces were economically primitive before the Roman conquest. I suspect (though how would one prove ?) that they did become more sophisticated after conquest by the Romans. Cf. note 13 below.

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rates of interest. The plunder of capital, labour and land, the loans and the debts, were short-term adaptations to the long-term redirection of taxes and trade. The local population had to accommodate the fact that taxes were no longer spent in the regional metropolis, but far away in the city of Rome or in the frontier provinces. In the long-term, as we know, the inner-core provinces were not impoverished by the Roman conquest; indeed, it is plausible to assert (but difficult to prove) that these economically advanced regions adapted to the changed conditions under Roman domination so well, that in the High Empire they reached a level of general prosperity equal to or higher than any reached previously.[8]

Some qualifications

Up to now I have concentrated on the reciprocal flows of taxes and trade, their cumulative impact and their contribution to the integration of the economy of the Roman empire. I have stressed the growth in production and consumption, the increasing monetization of the Roman economy and the commercialization of exchange. But several qualifications deserve equal emphasis. Firstly, the complex networks of tax-stimulated trade were only gradually established in the wake of Roman conquest, after considerable initial disruption. Secondly, much trade flowed without the stimulus of money taxes. It was based on reciprocal needs and on the location both of supply and of demand. For example, only some districts had a readily available supply of metals, such as gold, silver, copper or lead, for which the demand was widespread. Hence an important export trade all over the Mediterranean basin.

Thirdly, the pattern and volume of demand was also heavily influenced by fluctuations in rainfall. At first sight, the unity of the climate in the Mediterranean basin might suggest a uniformity of crops grown throughout the region, and therefore no necessity for long-distance trade in staple foods (wheat, barley, wine, olive-oil). But sharp inter-annual fluctuations of rainfall created local gluts and local shortages and stimulated unpredictable flows of surplus staples to unpredicted markets; hence small-scale (but in aggregate large-volume) inter-regional trade in staples, mostly sea-borne.[9] The volume of demand, that is the capacity to pay for food and goods brought over a long distance, was a function both of production over and above the level of minimum subsistence and of inequality. Let me mention, just in passing, that the simple categories, élite/peasantry, luxury trade/trade in staples, cannot do justice to the complexity of demand within the Roman economy. In my view, such simple divisions lead implicitly to a serious underestimate of the sophistication, variety and volume of goods commonly traded in the Roman empire.[10]

Fourthly, many taxes were raised in kind. These taxes in kind, such as wheat from Egypt and North Africa, stand outside my two initial propositions. Taxes in kind do not stimulate trade, because such produce flowed only in one direction from tax-payer to tax-consumer. Indeed, taxes levied in kind limited the sphere of market or monetary transactions; and they tempted the Roman government to have produce transported (such as wheat distributed free of charge to over two hundred thousand persons in the city of Rome) without consideration of the total cost.[11] The volume of such flows reflected political power; they affected, but they did not depend on, the level of trade.

[8] The concept, general prosperity, is purposely vague. We know that the rich were rich, and we admire great public buildings, such as the theatre at Aspendos or the temples at Petra and Palmyra. But how can we know about the distribution of wealth, and the standard of living of relatively poor townsmen or peasants?

[9] 'Traders roam from sea to sea looking for some market which is badly stocked', so Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 4. 32. Inter-annual fluctuations of rainfall have been largely ignored by ancient economic historians, perhaps because no ancient source mentions them. See the *International Yearbook of Agricultural Statistics* for modern national figures.

[10] The most exciting documents which illustrate the nature of ancient Mediterranean trade are the Geniza papyri from Cairo, dating from the tenth century A.D. onwards (see S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* I (1967)). Nothing from the classical period can rival them. In spite of their late date, they are useful for Roman historians. The long lists of produce in T. Frank, *ESAR*, passim, reflect an antiquarian idea of what economic history should be. The main questions should be: which organizations of traders, by what mechanisms (partnership, investment, credit, cash?), sold how much of what to whom? Even the customs lists at Zarai, Numidia (*CIL* VIII, 4508) and Palmyra (OGIS 629) do not help us reach an answer to these questions.

[11] Augustus, *Res Gestae* 15; D. van Berchem, *Les distributions de blé et d'argent à la plèbe romaine dans l'empire* (1939); cf. the Chinese experience in supplying Peking: H. C. Hinton, *The Grain Tribute System of China* (1956).

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Finally, the economy of the Roman empire, in spite of its sophistication in some respects, was predominantly a subsistence economy. The monetary economy constituted a thin veneer of sophistication, spread over and tied to the subsistence economy by the liens of taxes, trade and rent. The concept, subsistence economy, has important implications. The bulk of the labour force in the Roman empire, perhaps 80–90 per cent, were primarily peasants who produced most of what they themselves consumed and consumed most of what they produced. This solid mass of self-sufficient production always stood outside the money economy. However, this cellular autarky of individual peasant farmers and of most districts was penetrated, but not pervaded, by outside demands. By this I mean that peasants were affected, even burdened, by demands for taxes, for rents and for goods bought in the market (such as knives, or clothes). But the payment of taxes and rents constituted only a minor element out of total production, even if they constituted the major part of peasants' disposable surplus.[12] The term, subsistence economy, also implies that on average levels of consumption were not dramatically above the minimum level of subsistence. Here again, several distinctions should be made. In general, Roman levels of consumption were obviously and significantly higher than pre-Roman levels of consumption, at least in the western provinces.[13] Not only was the Roman élite extremely rich, but the lower strata of the empire's population were differentiated; even among the poor there were differences; hence the high volume of aggregate demand for traded food and goods. That said, the *average* level of consumption was not high. Under proposition 6, I shall try, rather rashly, to estimate how much of their total produce the subjects of the Roman Empire paid in tax, and to gain some idea about how much on average they lived above the level of minimum subsistence, and finally to gauge, albeit inadequately, the thickness of the monetary veneer.

Proposition 3: rents and taxes

Rents, in many respects, functioned in a similar way to taxes. Both were charges on the surplus produced by peasants, which helped support the superstructure of Roman society.[14] Proposition 3 is simply a corollary to propositions 1 and 2: conquest by the Romans brought about an increase in the amount of rent paid, especially in the western provinces. In so far as money rents were levied and then spent away from the farms or districts in which they were levied, to that extent money rent-paying farmers had to earn money with which to pay their rents, by selling crops or labour, equal to the value of the rent. Put formally like that, it sounds innocuous, obvious. But the process was important locally as well as inter-regionally. The imposition of money rents implied an expansion of the market for peasants' crops, both in local towns and beyond. Local landowners resident in towns away from their estates and provincial élites who spent their incomes derived from rents in the chief provincial towns helped create local networks of trade.

[12] Two cautions. First, not all peasants paid rent, and the categories rentier/free holder/tenant overlap, since many small landowners in the course of the family cycle supplemented their livelihood by renting out surplus land or by renting it in. This is clear from the evidence of Roman Egypt and is explained theoretically by A. V. Chaianov, *The Theory of Peasant Economy* (1966). Secondly, I do not wish to imply that the surplus was fixed in size. Indeed, I argue that the demand for taxes and rent probably increased the size of the surplus produced. Moreover, the concept 'disposable surplus' is an objective account of what was produced over and above minimum subsistence. Peasants themselves may not have thought of it as surplus, although the concept did exist in classical times.

[13] This can be illustrated, but not, I think, proved. Roman levels in excavations reveal more artefacts than pre-Roman levels: more coins, pots, lamps, tools, carved stones and ornaments—in sum, a higher standard of living. Since archaeologists seem very reluctant to write synoptic works, I cite four corroborative illustrations from different regions: M. Clavel, *Bezières* (1970), 332; A. Schulten, *Geschichte von Numantia* (1933), 154–5; J.-P. Callu, *Thamusida* (1965), 187 ff.; C. H. Kraeling, *Ptolemais* (1962), 270 ff.

[14] Were rents paid in money? Wealthy landowners living in the city of Rome clearly needed large amounts of money to spend, as well as produce from nearby estates. Cicero (*Paradoxa Stoicorum* 49) expressed income in money terms, not in wheat, and much later Olympiodorus (frag. 44) declared that Roman aristocrats in the fourth century A.D. received one quarter of their incomes in kind. Income from large estates given to the Roman church by Constantine (*Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne (1886) 1, 170 ff.) was also mostly in money, and some of what was to be paid in kind was not grown on the estates but had to be bought in the market. The Igel monument of the third century A.D. does not show money payments by tenants, but payments made to workers—see the convincing arguments by J. F. Drinkwater, *Trierer Zeitschrift* 40/1 (1977/8), 116. My fragmentary illustration reflects the neglect of rent by Roman historians.

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The increased wealth of the central Roman élite (senators and some knights) was funded largely by rents drawn from estates scattered over many districts and regions. Expenditure of rents by absentee landowners in cities distant from their estates had a similar impact, but on a larger scale. Proposition 3 both emphasizes the functional similarity of taxes and rents, and directs attention to the competition between them. In order to understand the Roman political economy, we have to take into account the balance between public and private exactions, between taxes and rents. Since production could not easily be increased, taxes and rents competed for a limited surplus. I shall argue tentatively that taxes were kept quite low with the result that private exactions could be correspondingly high. But my main argument is that the impact of money taxes and rents, spent away from the area in which they were raised, was similar in that they contributed to the monetization and commercialization of the Roman economy and to the urbanization of the Roman empire.

Proposition 4: the growth of trade 200 B.C.–A.D. 200

I have outlined my main arguments. In the rest of this paper, I shall argue four supplementary propositions, which support those already advanced. The fourth proposition is that there was a very considerable rise in inter-regional trade in the period 200 B.C.–A.D. 200. This is corroborated by the greater incidence from this period of ships wrecked and recently discovered by underwater archaeologists. Dr. A. J. Parker has collected information on 545 dated sea wrecks, mostly from near the coasts of Italy, France and Spain, where under-water archaeology is most developed.[15] The evidence therefore relates predominantly to the western Mediterranean. There is no sorting by size or type of ship (warship, merchantship); the dating is often crude, so the periods are correspondingly long. The results are indeed striking (see Figure 1), if we can consider discovered shipwrecks as a reasonable index of ship-sailings. Given the large number of finds, this procedure seems reasonable; for example, such evidence surely provides a better basis for generalization than would statements on this topic, and on this time scale, in a literary source. And besides, it seems likely that the average size of merchantships engaged in long-distance trade increased to reach a peak in the High Empire.[16]

Let us take a closer look at Figure 1. There was a very steep rise in dated wrecks found from the period 200 B.C.–A.D. 200. The number of dated wrecks found from the last two centuries B.C. is three times greater than in the previous two centuries. Surprisingly, it is also higher than the number found from the first two centuries A.D. But the difference is absolutely and relatively small; it does not form part of a trend; the last two centuries were more marked by piracy and warfare than the later period; the difference may be due to chance; data do not always work out exactly as one would like. All these factors taken together persuade me to ignore the difference between the figures for the last two centuries B.C. and the first two centuries A.D. But it is surely significant that the number of dated wrecks found from the first two centuries A.D. is almost twice as high as from A.D. 200–400. The Late Empire witnessed a significant downturn in trade, deeper in the third century A.D. (as it seems from a sub-sample of the evidence) than in the fourth century A.D.[17]

Such evidence merely confirms what was commonly believed, but it gives an additional, quantitative dimension to accepted beliefs. The dated shipwrecks show that in the period

[15] A. J. Parker, 'Ancient Shipwrecks in the Mediterranean and the Roman Provinces', *British Archaeological Reports, Supplementary Series* (forthcoming) (1980); cf. *Progress in Underwater Technology* 4 (1979). I am most grateful to Dr. Parker for letting me know about his important findings before their publication.

[16] See now P. Pomey and A. Tchernia, 'Le tonnage maximum des navires de commerce romains', *Archaeonautica* 2 (1978), 233 ff., who show that there is now sufficient archaeological and legal evidence (*D.* 50. 5. 3) to indicate that ships of about 400 tonnes burden and over were commonly used from the last century B.C., a tonnage not reached again until the fifteenth century by Genoa and Venice. I am assuming that average size was influenced by the construction of these large ships, but no direct evidence on average size exists, *pace* L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (1971), 183 ff., who relies too heavily on *IG* XII, Suppl. 348, which has been doubtfully restored in the critical passage—cf. *BCH* 57 (1933), 394 ff.

[17] See Parker, op. cit. (n. 15). The unfortunately long time-periods used in Figure 1 reflect the crudity of dating available. Still, more intervals would create more problems at the boundaries. I imagine there may have been significant variations within each long period. It has been suggested to me that more ships sank in the central period because of the Roman penchant for transporting heavy loads—marble, amphorae—by ship. It may be so, but this argument also illustrates scholarly ingenuity when confronted with a plausible generalization.

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of Roman imperial expansion and in the High Empire (200 B.C.–A.D. 200), there was more sea-borne trade in the Mediterranean than ever before, and more than there was for the next thousand years.

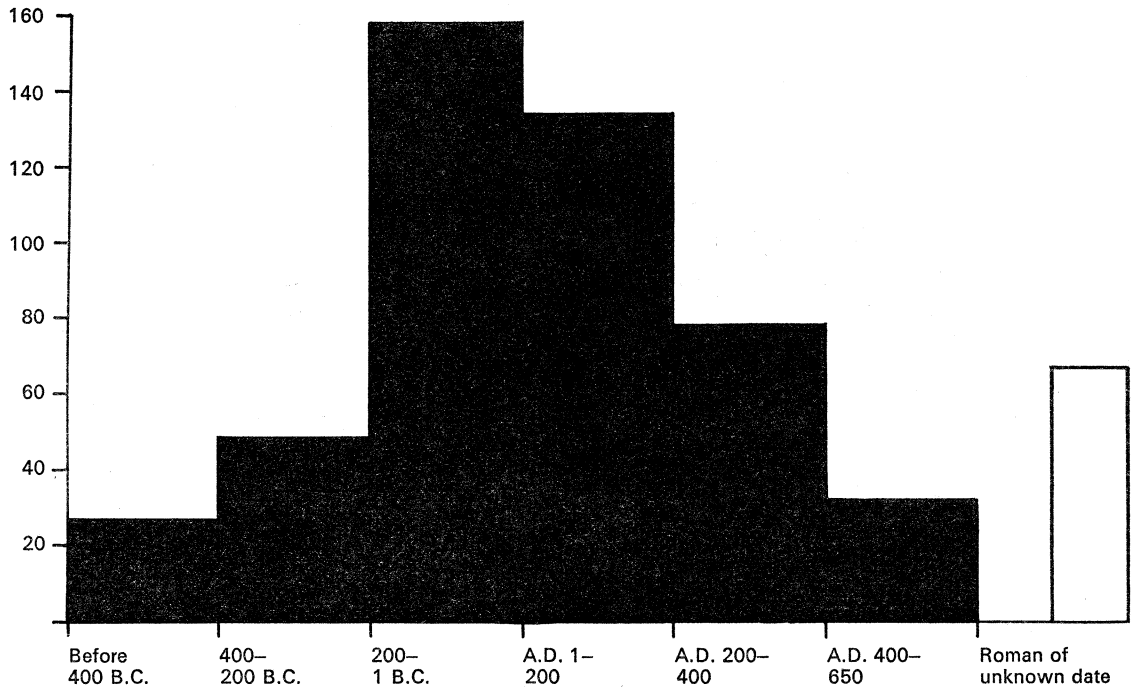

FIG. 1. NUMBER OF DATED ANCIENT SHIPWRECKS IN MEDITERRANEAN WATERS. See n. 15 for source.

Proposition 5: the growth of the money supply

An increase in the volume of inter-regional trade depended upon an increase in the volume of money to finance it. Merchants and their customers needed money in order to buy what was traded. In the modern world, most trade is financed by credit. We know almost nothing of credit in the Roman world; that does not mean that credit played a negligible role in Roman trade, but rather that we cannot estimate its importance. In any case, it is clear that money, predominantly silver coins, was the most important element in financing long-distance trade in the Roman world. Proposition 5 states that the supply of Roman silver coins increased enormously, perhaps tenfold, during a single century of the late Republic (157–50 B.C.). Proposition 4 and proposition 5 thus support each other. Once again, I suspect that this estimate of the growth in the money supply at Rome simply corroborates what is commonly believed by present-day Roman historians, but the method of measurement is novel. Since I am not a numismatist, the arguments may need some corrections.

The evidence which I shall now present is drawn exclusively from Michael Crawford's *catalogue raisonné*, *Roman Republican Coinage*. His data tell us the amount of silver coins issued in Rome each year in the period 157–50 B.C., since coin issues can be distinguished by the types (obverse and reverse) used. The chronological sequence of individual dies (roughly 30,000 obverse dies from this period) is our single best guide to the volume of coinage in circulation.

Modern experiments with ancient techniques for producing coins and estimates of the number of new coins needed for specific purposes in some few years suggest a normal minimum of 30,000 coins struck per obverse die.[18] The acceptance of this minimum

[18] M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (1974), 694. The evidence supporting the conclusion that 30,000 coins were struck per die, normally, is impressionistic and plausible, but by no means certain. See contra, H. B. Mattingly, 'Coinage and the Roman State', *Numismatic Chronicle* 17 (1977), 206 ff., arguing for 15,000 *denarii* struck per obverse die and for lower military costs. In my judgement, Crawford wins the argument, on points (but see n. 29).

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estimate (30,000 coins per die) as the average output of all dies is obviously risky. First, the estimate itself is not certain; secondly, we do not know by how much some dies outlasted this minimum; thirdly, we do not know whether some dies were discarded, because of breakage or because of a change in the officials responsible for minting or for any other reason, before this minimum had been reached. Tentatively, I have accepted Crawford's estimate of 30,000 coins minted on average per die as the single best estimate.

However, it is worth stressing that the credibility of Figure 2 in no way depends upon the acceptance of this average number. Providing we accept that the average number of coins struck per die was roughly stable throughout the period 157–50 B.C., then we can regard Figure 2 as being drawn on a ratio scale, with the exact values on the vertical axis unknown. It is enough to say that, in this period, the volume of Roman silver coinage in circulation rose over tenfold.

But I have jumped the gun. Acceptance of this growth in money supply and in the monetization of the Roman economy depends upon two further questionable assumptions: the rate of loss and the initial stock in 157 B.C. We know nothing for certain about the rate at which silver coins were lost. That losses were substantial can be gauged from the volume of survivals in modern museums. Individual coins were lost accidentally; other coins were buried in hoards and then for some reason or another were not recovered. Cargoes including coins were lost at sea. Roman coins of this period were almost pure silver, so that they suffered considerably from wear. But their purity also restricted the benefits of reminting, the cost of which fell upon the mint.[19]

Figure 2 is based upon a constant loss rate of 2 per cent per year. Tentatively, I have taken this figure as the single best estimate available. It is derived, incongruously, from Patterson's analysis of loss rates of American silver coins in the forty years before 1962; for that period we have accurate data on the size of coin issues and the number of coins recalled and in circulation. The loss rate was 3 per cent per year (more for smaller value coins, less for higher value coins). The differences between the functions of coinage in the USA recently and in Rome two thousand years ago are too obvious to recount. A loss rate of 2 per cent per year was simply Patterson's best guess about ancient losses in the absence of any obviously reliable ancient evidence.[20] On this point, sophisticated analysis of several ancient coin hoards might help us estimate rates of loss, but we always should bear in mind that the composition of single hoards may reflect many factors besides the random availability of coins in the total economy. I should stress that assuming a constant rate of loss is a heuristic device, not a description of reality. In reality, loss rates must have varied considerably, depending for example on the rate of hoarding, the rate at which hoards were recovered and spent, the rate of reminting. The 2 per cent annual loss rate (amounting to a large mass of silver) is simply an attempt to average out these variations. Patterson's main point, and it seems to me convincing, was that the stock of silver diminished sensibly each year, except in so far as it was replenished by fresh production. Alternative rates of loss, 1 per cent or 3 per cent per year, even of 5 per cent per year, do not radically change the shape of the growth curve in Figure 2.[21] On any reasonable assumption, it seems clear that between 157 and 50 B.C. the money supply at Rome grew substantially, perhaps tenfold.

The second questionable assumption is the stock of silver coins in circulation in Rome at the beginning of the period in 157 B.C. The problem is that we do not know how many silver coins were minted before 157 B.C. For the purpose of Figure 2, I made arbitrary estimates after consultation with Michael Crawford, by the simple process of

[19] Why would the Roman mint systematically take in partly worn old coins, of almost pure silver, and remint to heavier new coins of the same purity? By doing this, the mint would shoulder all the cost of wear and of reminting. The answer depends partly on the fiduciary element in the currency, on how far coins were valued above their silver content, and on the availability of silver bullion. According to Polybius (Strabo 3. 2. 10), the Roman state in the mid-second century B.C. received 25,000 *drachmae* per day from the silver mines at New Carthage, Spain, in which 40,000 men worked. This comes to *c.* 35 tonnes per year for 365 days.

[20] C. C. Patterson, 'Silver Stocks and Losses in Ancient and Modern Times', *Economic History Review* 25 (1972), 207–10.

[21] If we increase the rate of loss to 10 per cent per year, the overall rise in silver coin stock 157–77 B.C. is still fivefold; the rise during the second century becomes slower, but the fall in the money supply from 77 to 50 B.C. becomes dramatic—more than 50 per cent. Surely, it is too dramatic to be credible. So is the implied absolute loss of coins.

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splitting the difference between a high and a low estimate.[22] The result was a stock of silver coins worth 35 million *denarii* in 158 B.C. This may not be right, but it does not matter too much, since the importance of the initial stock diminishes. With a loss rate of 2 per cent per year, the initial stock (whatever its size) halves in thirty-five years. By 120 B.C., the initial stock of 35 million *denarii* accounted for less than one-tenth of the total money supply; reasonable variation of the initial stock does not change the shape of Figure 2.[23] In sum, Figure 2 is based on three or four assumptions: (*a*) *either* 30,000 coins were on average struck per (obverse) die, *or* the average number of coins struck per die was roughly stable throughout the period 157–50 B.C.; (*b*) the rate of loss was significant, and is here set tentatively at 2 per cent per year; (*c*) the initial stock of silver coins in 158 B.C. is tentatively set at 35 million *denarii*. The detailed figures, as I have tried to make clear, are insecure, but the general trend seems firm.

What are the implications of a tenfold increase in money supply? First, some qualifications. Bullion (uncoined silver and gold) is not taken into account; nor is bronze coin, but the relative value of bronze was low. Gold coins are included; their value has been expressed in terms of silver coin. The annual loss rate of 2 per cent is large enough to take account of some hoarding, but in some years, particularly in years of civil disorder and uncertainty, hoarding probably reached much higher levels than normal. Figure 2 may therefore exaggerate the amount of money in circulation. Finally, the Roman state had no monopoly of silver coinage. Even conquered states continued to mint silver coins. Indeed, in the eastern Mediterranean, few Roman silver coins are found in hoards deposited before the age of Sulla; that is remarkable and important for the interpretation of Figure 2.[24] It implies that we are dealing here with money supply only in Italy and in the western Mediterranean. Even so there are difficulties. The sphere of Roman influence widened in the period with which we are concerned. Africa and southern Gaul became Roman provinces. In Spain, large numbers of local silver coins continued to be minted until about 70 B.C.; then Spain used Roman coins.[25] In other words, some part of the growth in Roman silver coins was simply a replacement for the coinage of the conquered. It seems impossible to measure how much, but archaeological evidence suggests that the volume of pre- and post-conquest provincial coinage was much smaller than subsequent Roman Republican coinage.[26] Whatever the qualifications, there was a real increase in the money supply in the Republican period of imperial expansion in the western Mediterranean. The volume of new silver coinage was huge. In the peak period of minting, 119–80 B.C., an average production of 14 million *denarii* a year consumed over 50 tonnes of silver per year, roughly half the average level of silver imported from America into Europe in the sixteenth century.[27]

A steep rise in the money supply is likely to result in an increase in prices, unless there is at the same time a fall in the speed of circulation of money (V), or a rise in the quantity of goods produced (Q).

[22] Both the high and the low estimates were probably on the high side. The high estimate was based on the following assumptions:
200–158 B.C.: the equivalent of one million *denarii* p.a.
220–201 B.C.: the equivalent of two million *denarii* p.a.
240–221 B.C.: the equivalent of one million *denarii* p.a.
The low estimate was half these levels. A loss rate of 2 per cent per year was also assumed. The result was 46 million and 23 million *denarii* respectively for the stock of silver coins in circulation in 158 B.C. The guesswork in these crude calculations hardly needs stressing. Please note that Crawford had already underlined the low volume of silver coins minted in the decade before 157 B.C., op. cit. (n. 18), 625.

[23] If, for example, we began with a stock of 80 million *denarii* in 158 B.C. instead of 35 million *denarii*, again with a loss rate of 2 per cent per year, then the total silver coin stock still rises sixfold to its peak in 77 B.C., although the rate of growth in the second century B.C. is slower. The general trend remains similar.

[24] M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coin Hoards* (1969).

[25] idem, 'The Financial Organization of Republican Spain', *Numismatic Chronicle* 9 (1969), 84.

[26] Compare, for example, the fifteen British coins found at Maiden Castle with the several hundred Roman coins found at Verulamium (R. E. M. Wheeler, *Maiden Castle* (1943), 329; *Verulamium* (1936), 223 ff.). But are the sites comparable? In any such comparison there are some difficulties. And besides there were exceptions: some districts of Britain had come under Roman commercial influence before the conquest. Even so, in spite of the difficulties of illustrating it, the generalization still holds, I think.

[27] See G. Parker in C. M. Cipolla (ed.), *Economic History of Europe* (1974) II, 527–8; on the huge scale of Roman silver mining, see J. M. Blazquez, 'Explotaciones mineras en Hispania durante la República y el alto Imperio Romano', *Anuario de Historia económica y social* 2 (1969), 9–68; D. Avery, *Not on Queen Victoria's Birthday* (1974), 413 ff.; also Patterson, op. cit. (n. 20), 218 ff.; and Hopkins, op. cit. (n. 6), 56.

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$$\text{Price}_{(P)} = \frac{\text{Money Supply}_{(M)} \times \text{Speed of Circulation}_{(V)}}{\text{Quantity of Goods (Q)}}$$

We have no evidence of a substantial rise in the price of goods; the argument from silence is notoriously dangerous. But surely, even our jejune sources might have noted a five- or tenfold increase in prices. It would be reasonable to argue that the speed at which money circulated (v) probably slowed down in this period, for three reasons: the state treasuries must have kept huge sums in reserve and even stored money as treasure; so too did private individuals and professional bankers; thirdly, the greater distance which separated tax-payers and tax-spenders left considerable amounts of cash idle in transit.[28] But above all,

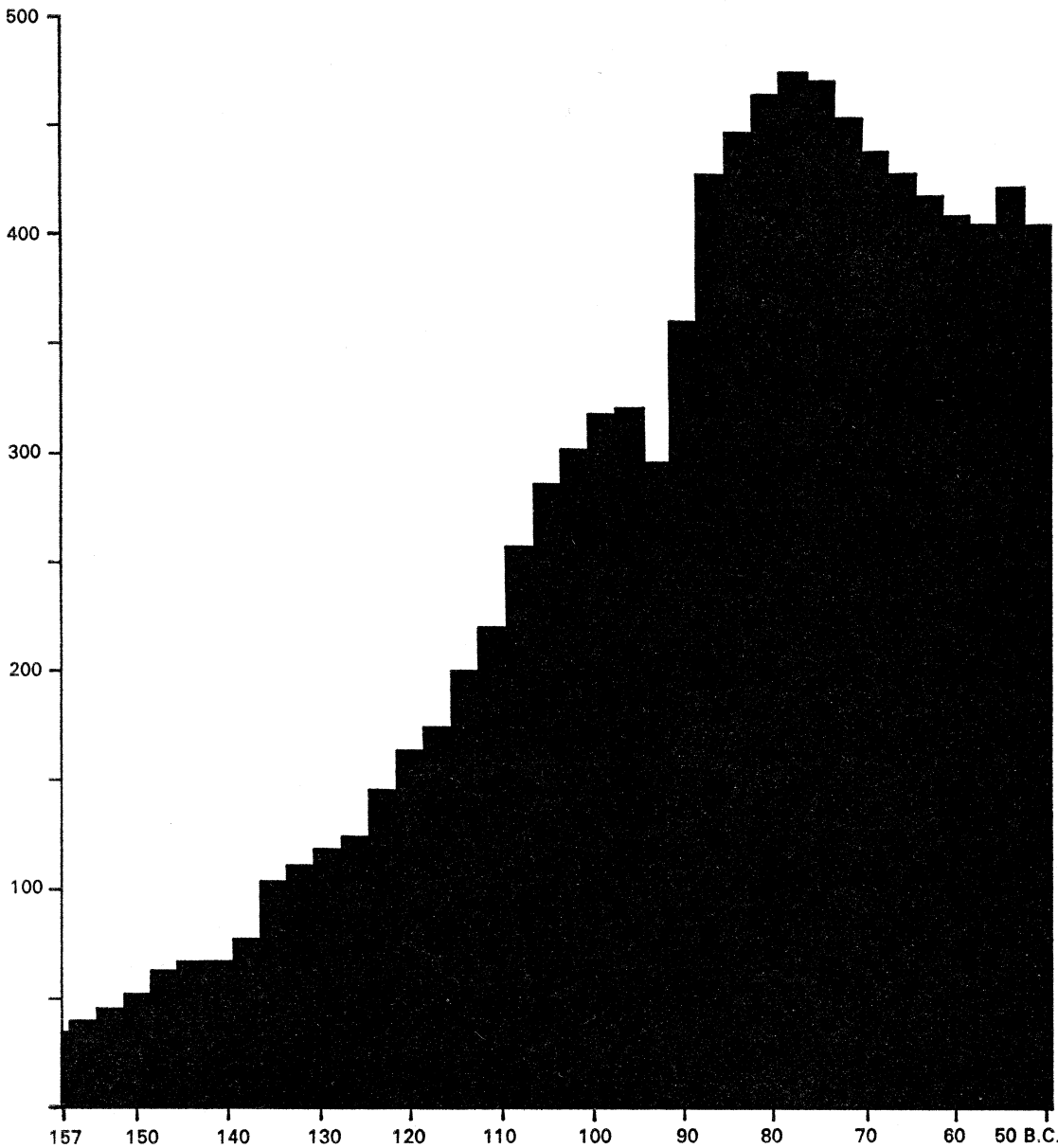

FIG. 2. ROMAN SILVER COINS IN CIRCULATION 157–50 B.C. (in millions of *denarii*, by three year periods.)

[28] G. Ardant, *Histoire de l'impôt* (1971) I, 114; cf. *Théorie sociologique de l'impôt* (1965).

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and this is the chief implication of the steep rise in money supply, it had little impact on prices, partly because of the substantial rise in the volume of trade in an expanded area, and partly because money percolated into a myriad of transactions which had previously been embedded in the subsistence economy. Both M and Q increased. For example, tens of thousands of peasants joined the army and received pay as soldiers, or migrated to the city of Rome where they consumed food and drink, clothing and shelter for which they paid money. The supply of money rose because more people were using it for more activities. Figure 2 captures that change in economic activity better than any literary source.

Up to now we have been concerned with the consequences of an increasing money supply for the Roman economic system, without considering the intentions of those who decided to mint more coins. Of course, it is possible that Roman senators, who decided each year how much money should be minted, were in detail and in gross ignorant about the economic implications of their separate decisions and of their cumulative impact. But Crawford has argued that the volume of coins minted was primarily determined by the volume of military expenditure; he postulated a ' remarkable correlation between (military) expenditure and the volume of coinage '.[29] This is *prima facie* plausible, as Figure 3, derived from Crawford's tabulation, shows. Fortunately, Crawford provides us with the data, money minted and army cost for the period 157–97 B.C., with which we can test his hypothesis.

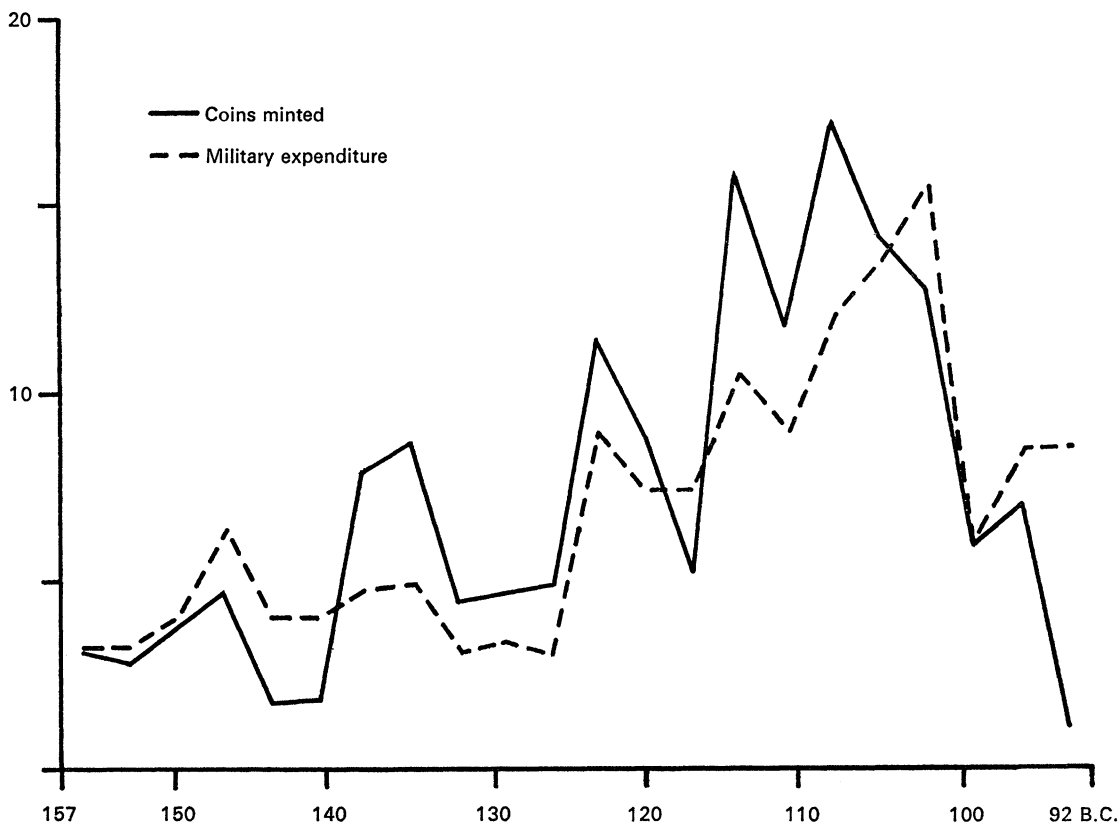

FIG. 3. COINS MINTED AND MILITARY EXPENDITURE 157–92 B.C. (in millions of *denarii*, annual averages of three year periods). Based on M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (1974), 698 ff.

[29] Crawford, op. cit. (n. 18), 694, cf. 617 and 633. I cannot agree with Crawford's suggestion that soldiers were typically paid with new coin, even in the second century B.C., let alone that minting purposively matched state expenditure on the army. Many soldiers served too far away from the city of Rome to be supplied from there with new coin, and besides the annual mintage of new coins constituted only a small proportion of all the coins in circulation. Why pay in new coins only ?

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Formally, a correlation can be defined as a measure (from 0 low to 1·0 high) of the extent to which a factor X co-varies with or predicts a factor Y (such as body weight and height, education and income). The correlation between volume of silver coinage minted and military expenditure between 157 and 97 B.C. works out at ·88. It is so high that it is suspect. At this level, military expenditure purportedly explains over 75 per cent of the variance (variance explained is the correlation coefficient squared) in the volume of silver coins minted. One problem with such correlations is that they do not take time sequence into account; the paired observation (X and Y) could be rearranged at will; the correlation would stay the same. Moreover, co-variation could be the result of other unnamed factors. For example, coinage and military expenditure may both have increased in the same period because of imperial expansion; imperial expansion would then be the explanation of both, rather than one being the explanation of the other.

But the real problem is that the simple correlation of silver coins minted and military expenditure is not the best test of Crawford's proposition. In strict logic, his proposition implies that a change in military expenditure brought about a change in the number of coins minted.[30] We can test that hypothesis by correlating the inter-annual percentage change in military expenditure with the inter-annual percentage change in the number of coins minted. Such a test is demanding; the resulting correlation works out at ·32. The result is still significant, but the correlation is much lower than the first correlation, and explains only 9 per cent of the variance in the volume of silver coins minted. The field is left open for other explanatory factors. I do not know what they are.

At this stage, I should like to make only two brief points. First, in some years very large mintages were associated with heavy military expenditure (91–89 B.C. are obvious examples; but what about 110 and 108 B.C. ?). These exceptionally large mintages had long-term repercussions on the money supply; the large number of coins minted in an emergency stayed in circulation for a long time. In that sense military expenditure was a very important determinant of the volume of silver coins minted. Secondly, the overall pattern was one of steady growth in money supply, as though the senators and their advisers (note Plutarch, *Cato the Younger* 16) had some general idea of the need for money independently of each year's state needs. And besides, as one can see from Figure 2, by 100 B.C. the volume of coins in circulation was so large that fluctuations in the supply of new coins in a single year may not have had a significant impact on economic activity. There were two processes at work: large inter-annual fluctuations and a general trend. I wish I knew how they were related.

I would have more confidence in the idea that the Roman senate knew something of what it was doing, when it ordered how much silver money was to be minted, but for one significant occurrence. Between 75 and 50 B.C., there was a considerable drop in the number of silver coins minted and circulating. For example, the average number of silver coins minted 73–59 B.C. (at about 4 million *denarii* per year) was less than a third of the level of the previous fifteen years. There may have been problems in the supply of new silver from Spain, but no source says so. The drop in the total number of coins circulating was of the order of 15 per cent between 75 and 50 B.C., somewhat more if hoarding reduced the annual loss to more than the 2 per cent annual loss assumed.[31] This drop in the total of coins circulating may not seem serious. But the range of activities funded by silver money in the western Mediterranean continued to expand in these years; Roman coins were beginning to be used in the eastern Mediterranean basin also; and some provincial issues, for example Spanish coins, were no longer being minted. Roman silver coins had to take their place. Therefore, the demand for silver coins was increasing at the very same time that supply was falling.

[30] To be fair, Crawford did not strictly make a proposition; he just drew a conclusion, and expressed it sufficiently clearly so that it could be tested. If he had proposed a general relationship between military expenditure and minting which took time to show, then we could have done a lagged correlation: military expenditure in years 1, 2, 3 with minting in years 2, 3, 4, etc. But that is not what he suggested.

[31] M. H. Crawford, ' Coin Hoards and the Pattern of Violence in the Late Republic ', *PBSR* 24 (1969), 79, shows a high frequency of unrecovered hoards in Italy between 75 and 71 B.C., but a low frequency 70–50 B.C. The evidence is suggestive only. I have suggested (n. 21) that the constant loss rate was very probably less than 10 per cent.

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Theoretically, the consequences of a down-turn in money supply should be a shortage of money, a crisis in liquidity, a shortage of credit, a rise in interest rates and falling prices. Interestingly enough, we find several of these phenomena attested in 49 B.C., in what several scholars have called 'a crisis of credit'.[32] Cicero wrote about the 'shortage of money' (*Letters to Atticus* 9. 9); Caesar stated that 'credit throughout Italy was tighter and debts were not being repaid' (*Civil War* 3. 1). I am not claiming that a fall in the money supply alone brought about the crisis of 49 B.C. But the down-turn in money supply seems to have been an important factor contributing to recurrent domestic crises in Italy during the sixties and fifties B.C., which political historians have not known about.

Proposition 6: the integration of the monetary economy in the High Empire

At the beginning of this paper, I proposed a model of the Roman economy, in which the imposition of money taxes and of money rents, and their expenditure at a distance from their source, contributed to the gradual creation of complex networks of trade. The flows of money taxes, of trade and of money rents contributed to the integration of the economy of the whole empire. Proposition 6 states that, in the first two centuries A.D., the monetary economy of the Roman empire became integrated into a single system. In the last two sections, I have proposed that there was a huge growth in long-distance sea-borne trade in the western Mediterranean in the period 200 B.C.–A.D. 200, and a huge growth in the supply of Roman silver coins in the period 157–50 B.C., again principally in the western Mediterranean. Evidence on money supply during the first two centuries A.D. does not allow a similar analysis. The sheer volume of Roman imperial coinage has prevented anyone from counting the number of known silver coin types, let alone dies. And besides, progressive debasement from the middle of the first century A.D. onwards must have encouraged massive re-use of old coins to mint a larger number of new, debased coins. Estimates of loss rates are therefore extremely problematic, and guessing the total amount of silver coin in circulation would, I think, be unhelpful. We must try another tack.

Perhaps I can best begin by proposing for the sake of argument a counter-hypothesis: the Roman monetary economy was so primitive and localized that state expenditure in one region had no impact in other regions. Money simply piled up and circulated locally.[33] We then face two problems: first, how did inner-core provinces get silver coins with which to trade and pay taxes? As far as we know, the Roman state had no mechanism for distributing coin, other than by state expenditure. Secondly, did heavy expenditure by an emperor in one area, for example by Marcus Aurelius in the Danubian region during his long campaigns there, leave traces in a disproportionately large deposit of his coins? The evidence which I am going to discuss was not designed to test this counter-hypothesis or proposition 6.[34] But I think it suggests that proposition 6 is correct and that the counter-hypothesis is wrong.

Figure 4 indicates that the whole Roman empire was integrated into a single monetary economy. At least, that is my interpretation. All the lines of the Figure go up, then down, then up and along together. The very fact that it is difficult to distinguish the lines in the Figure from each other supports my argument. Let me elaborate. Figure 4 is based on the analysis of over 90,000 silver coins found in five regions of the Roman empire: southern Germany, northern Italy, Britain and Gaul, the Balkans and a garrison town in Syria. These regions were chosen arbitrarily, because there were easily accessible catalogues or

[32] cf. M. W. Frederiksen, 'Caesar, Cicero and the problem of debt', *JRS* 56 (1966), 131 ff.; cf. M. H. Crawford, 'Money and Exchange in the Roman World', *JRS* 60 (1970), 46; see also Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 7. 18.

[33] To some extent, this must have happened. And as a result, migrant labourers were attracted to places with high levels of expenditure, such as frontier garrisons (hence the urban development there) and to the city of Rome.

[34] I started by re-analysing Dr. Richard Reece's data, published in 'Roman Coinage in the western Empire', *Britannia* 4 (1973), 227 ff. I am most grateful to him for discussing his data with me, and particularly for reworking his data from northern Italy for the period A.D. 69–96 into two sub-periods, 69–81, 81–96. The patterns which emerged enticed me to see what I would find from other regions or coin collections.

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analyses of coins found there.[35] Each line of the Figure represents the coins found in a particular region (where applicable, by type of find—but more of that in a moment). Figure 4 shows that, for roughly a hundred and fifty years (A.D. 50–200), increases and decreases in the volume of coins, minted by each emperor, were similarly reflected in different and widely separate regions of the empire. Apparently an effective mechanism for distributing silver coins throughout the empire existed, so that several regions (and if these, then surely others also) got roughly the same ratio of coins stamped, for example, with the head of Trajan compared with coins stamped with the head of Domitian. What was this mechanism? We know that state expenditure was concentrated in the city of

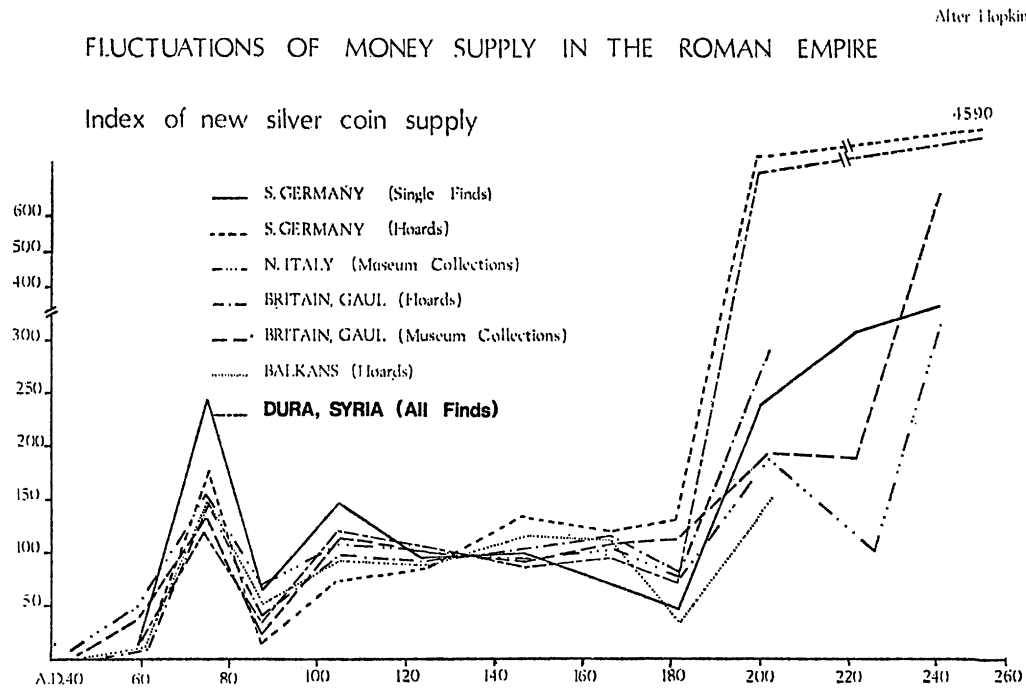

FIG. 4. FLUCTUATIONS IN THE NUMBERS OF SILVER COINS FOUND, BY DATE OF MINTING AND BY REGION OF FIND.

Rome and on the frontiers. I suggest that it was the flow of money taxes and of tax-stimulated trade which redistributed state-issued silver coins throughout the empire. I cannot prove that this answer is correct. But Figure 4 poses a problem which deserves an answer.

Let me now go into the details of Figure 4's construction. The horizontal axis is divided into reigns of emperors, rather than uniform time periods, because coins are easily

[35] In addition to Reece's data, I used six volumes of H. Gebhart and K. Kraft (edd.), *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Deutschland* (1961–): Saar, Pfalz, Süd-Baden, Süd-Württemberg, Schwaben, Oberbayern, i.e. a band of adjacent districts in southern Germany. For hoards in the Balkans and in Britain, Gaul and Germany, I used S. Bolin, *State and Currency in the Roman Empire* (1958), appendices; from this collection, I arbitrarily excluded from consideration one enormous Bulgarian hoard of more than 60,000 silver coins, which overwhelmed the other finds, and which seemed different in character from the other hoards. Finally, I used A. R. Bellinger, *The Excavations at Dura-Europus, Final Report* VI, *The Coins* (1949). I should note that the museum collections from Britain, northern Gaul (including some from northern Germany) and southern Gaul cover a large area. I checked before compression of the districts, separately analysed by Reece, to make sure that the patterns being compressed were roughly similar, so that the single line drawn from the collections in Figure 4 reasonably reflects the individual components.

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and conventionally identified by the emperor's head stamped on each.[36] One then has to divide the number of coins found per reign from each region by the length of the reign, to get a standardized index: coins found per year. The first draft of the Figure was based on such raw numbers and it showed what one might have expected (or known), that northern Italy was more monetized than southern Gaul, which in turn was more monetized than northern Gaul . . ., if one can use relative volume of found coins as an index of monetization. I then faced two problems, one tactical, one interpretative: first, the differences in the raw numbers were so great that it was difficult to put the evidence in a single Figure; secondly, there were more coins found in the Balkans than elsewhere, which was, I suspected, a function more of archaeological activity and the discovery of unrecovered hoards, than of relative monetization. I therefore decided to concentrate not on relative quantities of coins by regions, but on relative quantities of coins by time of minting, in each region and between regions.

For this purpose, the vertical axis of the graph was converted to a ratio scale, based on an index number 100, like a modern consumer prices index or a wage index. For each region, the base index number, 100, represents the average number of coins found per year of the period A.D. 96–180. This period was chosen because it was the most stable period of the Roman imperial economy. We can call this base (100) a second-century index number. The average number of coins per year in each reign (or regnal period) was then expressed as a ratio of this second-century index number.[37] Thus each line for each region is drawn by expressing the average number of coins per year from each reign as a ratio of the average number of coins per year from the central index period. What is amazing about Figure 4 is that data of such varied provenance and composition show such similarities in pattern.

Provenance is a problem which deserves further discussion. In Figure 4, I have drawn some separate lines for singly-found coins, hoards and museum collections. Most silver coins are found in hoards; some silver coins are found singly, dropped by chance in street or home. Many coins are now in modern museum collections with their exact provenance unknown. Although we can make precise, if arbitrary distinctions between these categories, we cannot assign all coins with certainty to one category. Provenance matters, particularly because the composition and the incidence of hoards may seriously bias our evidence; fears on this score have hindered the exploitation of coin evidence by ancient economic historians.

The composition of hoards may have been biased because hoards were compiled, sometimes by several collectors, over long periods during which hoarders tended to hoard the better, i.e. the purer, coins and to spend the worse, debased ones. Thus hoards may not correctly represent the coins in people's purses. Secondly, it is well known that the incidence of hoarding is heavily affected by general economic and political conditions. In times of political insecurity, more hoards are stowed away, or more accurately, more hoards are not recovered by hoarders. After all, what we dig up are, rather sadly, hoarders' unrecovered savings. Their loss is our gain. Thus there are many coins now surviving from the third century A.D., partly because many hoards were not recovered in that period. Paradoxically, and it is a sobering thought, we may have more coins from the very period in which most coins were withdrawn from circulation.

Luckily, we have a check on these speculations: several thousand singly-found silver coins, carefully documented as such in the voluminous catalogue of coin finds in Germany (see n. 35). It is critically important for the conclusions advanced here that the line drawn from singly-found coins from southern Germany is similar in shape to the other lines based on hoards or museum collections, both in southern Germany and elsewhere. The singly-found coins, casually dropped or lost, do represent what was in people's purses.

[36] In fact, following Reece, I collapsed short reigns with adjacent longer reigns (for example, Titus with Vespasian, Nerva with Trajan) to form convenient regnal periods.

[37] For example, there were 3,812 singly-found silver coins listed in the six volumes of German coin finds, which I analysed. Incidentally, this was by far the smallest number of coins used for any line in Figure 4. The average number of coins per year in the period A.D. 96–180 was 5·3; 5·3 is the second-century index number (100) for south German singly-found coins. For the reign of Hadrian, the average number of coins per year was 4·9 which is 92 per cent of the second-century index number, and so on.

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They represent coins in current use. The striking similarity in the patterns presented in Figure 4 encouraged me to use the evidence from hoards also.

Let us take a final look at Figure 4. The general impression, as I have already noted, is that all the lines follow roughly the same path. In the reigns of Vespasian and Titus (A.D. 69–81), there was a huge rise in the volume of silver coins minted, then during the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81–96) there was a considerable fall. During the reigns of Nerva and Trajan (A.D. 96–117) the volume of coins minted rose again significantly, but then levelled out again throughout most of the second century A.D. This was a period of economic stability; by some accounts, it was also a period of widespread prosperity. During the reign of Commodus (A.D. 180–92), five out of the seven lines in Figure 4 fell, but then during the reign of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193–211) most lines rose steeply. After that there was confusion; indeed, the lines for southern Germany should be drawn to a completely different scale; and the other lines show no similarity of pattern.[38] The unity of the monetary economy had broken down.

Let me stress again the considerable difference between Figure 2 and Figure 4. Figure 2 estimated the accumulated volume of silver coins in circulation, deduced from the total number of dies ever used. Figure 4 shows the number of silver coins found in each province, by date of minting (expressed as a ratio of the number of coins found per year in the period A.D. 96–180). Figure 4 indicates that there were some very large leaps in new coin supply, for example, at the beginning of the third century A.D., which would have had implications for total money supply. But the transformation of the graph into a picture of the accumulated volume of coins in circulation is beset with overwhelming difficulties.[39]

That said, the end of Figure 4 is of considerable interest. It implies that new money supply from about A.D. 200 rose, as silver coins were progressively debased. Prices presumably rose, since it seems improbable, even impossible, for a pre-industrial economy to have absorbed such large and sudden increases in valuable coinage without corresponding price increases.[40] Our documentary evidence on this point is inadequate; we can prove price rises only much later. But from the analysis of dated shipwrecks (Figure 1), we have deduced that trade in the third century A.D. declined. From western archaeological evidence, we can also argue that some towns also declined in the third century.[41] The central govern-

[38] *Denarii* and so-called *antoniniani* have been treated equally as silver coins. If we had taken account of the face value of *antoniniani* (at two *denarii*), which were minted in large quantities only after A.D. 238, then the lines at the right end of Figure 4 would have been higher than shown.

[39] In addition to the problems of debasement, of reminting old coins and of loss-rates, which I have already mentioned, coin volume in the High Empire is complicated by the operation of several mints in the eastern Mediterranean. Thanks now to the painstaking and impressive work of D. R. Walker, *The Metrology of the Roman Silver Coinage* I–III, *British Archaeological Reports, Supplementary Series* 5, 22, 40 (1976–8), we can see how Roman provincial mints (for example, in Syria, Asia Minor and Crete) reflected a central Roman monetary policy. The evidence for this central control (which was directive, not reactive) is that the weight and fineness of provincial silver coins were reduced roughly to the same extent as, and sometimes before, silver coins minted in the city of Rome. This co-ordination of imperial monetary policy has important historical implications. But it was imperfect, so that measurement is difficult.

[40] The problem is complicated. Figure 4 implies that the volume of debased silver coins rose considerably after A.D. 193 and that the increase in the volume of coins minted outstripped the rate of debasement. For example, I reckon from Walker's data (see previous note) that the median weight of silver in *denarii* minted in the city of Rome fell by 43 per cent at most, between A.D. 180/9 and 211/17 (2·29 g of silver in 180/9, 1·85 g in 196/211, and 1·31 g equivalent in the debased *antoniniani* minted at the end of Caracalla's reign (face value 2 *denarii*)). But the proportionate increase in the number of coins found is visibly greater than 43 per cent (see Figure 4). Such an increase in money supply might initially have stimulated commerce and production; but the increase in coins was too rapid not to have increased prices also. And in due course there was a downturn in trade; I am not claiming that increased money supply and price rises were alone responsible for the downturn in trade in the third century. Some of these issues are excellently discussed by M. Corbier, 'Dévaluations et fiscalité (161–235)', in *Les dévaluations à Rome, Collection de l'école française de Rome* 37 (1978), 273 ff.; I disagree with Corbier in important detail, while admiring her work in general.

[41] The most obvious index of urban decline is the widespread drop during the third century A.D. in the number of datable inscribed stones, commemorating the erection of new buildings, charitable foundations, statues, gifts, manumissions and deaths. See, for example, the statistical analysis of some evidence by R. P. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire* (1974), 352, and B. Laum, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Welt* (1914). Changes in the fashion for inscribing and giving may account for some of this drop, but surely not for all of it. Yet how sensitive are such inscriptions as an index of prosperity, and of whose prosperity? For other illustrative evidence of urban decline see, for example, P.-M. Duval, *Paris antique* (1961), 277, and, for a fourth-century revival, E. Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance* (1977), 232. I cite these isolated illustrations in the absence, as far as I know, of synoptic archaeological reviews.

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ment increasingly resorted to taxation in kind and paid its troops and officials in wheat rations (*annona*, *capita*) instead of in money. This complex of changes provides a corollary to my initial propositions: the decline in the exaction of money taxes brought about a decline in trade. The corollary helps corroborate the basic propositions with which I started.

Proposition 7: taxes in the High Empire were low

In the last section, I adduced evidence to show that the monetary economy of the Roman empire was integrated into a single system. I proposed, although I could not prove, that taxation in money and the trade which it stimulated were important factors in ensuring the circulation of silver coins throughout the empire. In previous sections, I have proposed that sea-borne trade increased in the period 200 B.C.–A.D. 200, and that the volume of silver coinage minted at Rome and circulating in the western Mediterranean increased, perhaps tenfold, in the period 157–50 B.C. It seems likely, to judge by the volume of survivals, that the volume of silver coinage circulating in the High Empire was considerably larger than in the late Republic.[42] All these arguments, and the evidence from which they are derived, are partial, but they draw strength from their inter-relationship. They back each other up.[43]

In this section, I want to estimate the level of taxation in the High Empire and the importance of taxation in the Roman economy. This is clearly critical for the basic proposition that exacting taxes in money stimulated trade. Unfortunately, no exact evidence of general tax rates in the High Empire survives.[44] Some fragments of earlier evidence serve as a first check. According to a possible interpretation of Plutarch (*Pompey* 45), the Roman treasury's income in 62 B.C. was 340 million HS per year. To this we should add income from subsequent conquests, particularly in Gaul and in Egypt. Frank (*ESAR* v. 7) estimated total state revenue in the reign of Augustus at 450 million HS, with army expenditure at 275 million HS. Both these figures seem serious underestimates.[45] I reckon that an army of 300,000 men (half legionaries, half auxiliaries) cost over 400 million HS per year, once

[42] The silver coin types listed, by obverse and reverse types, in the several volumes of *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, ed. H. Mattingly *et al.* (1923–) are a tenuous index of the volume of coins ever minted, since we do not know how many identical dies of the same type were used. But no one can reasonably doubt the increase in the volume of silver coins minted in the Principate. This absolute growth is important, but once it is divided by the size of the population (coins per head) it becomes less impressive.

[43] This is what I have called a wigwam argument, in which weak arguments prop each other up and circumscribe 'truth'; see my *Conquerors and Slaves* (1978), 20.

[44] See particularly A. H. M. Jones, *The Roman Economy*, ed. P. A. Brunt (1974), especially 161 ff.; J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*[2] (1881) II is still useful. Much more has been written about taxation in the Late Empire; see particularly A. Déleage, *La capitation du Bas-Empire* (1945), and A. Cerati, *Caractère annonaire et assiette de l'impôt foncier au Bas-Empire* (1975). But lengthening a bibliography should not disguise our lack of solid information and of real understanding about Roman taxation. Some Romans knew the size of their own state expenditure. Appian (*Roman History*, Preface 15) promised that, in his last book, he would outline the size of Roman military forces, the revenues collected from each province, the cost of the navy, etc. Unfortunately, this book does not survive. Augustus, the first emperor, left a will in which he detailed 'the cost of the army, revenues, public expenditure, the amount of money in the treasuries . . .' (Dio 56. 33). The conjunction army, revenues, expenditure is suggestive.

[45] Revenues of the Roman State. The major problem in estimating Roman state revenues is the quality of the surviving evidence. The following six snippets have been trusted more than they deserve:

(*a*) Julius Caesar imposed a tribute on Gaul of 40 million HS (Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 25);

(*b*) '(The Gauls) pay almost as much tribute into the treasury as the rest of the world' (Velleius Paterculus 2. 39);

(*c*) 'Augustus made Egypt tributary, thereby contributing nearly as much revenue to the treasury as (Caesar) had brought to it from Gaul' (ibid.);

(*d*) Herod Agrippa derived from Palestine 'as much revenue as possible, amounting to twelve million *drachmae*' [= *denarii*] per year (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 19. 352);

(*e*) '. . . the tribute which (Egypt) yields to Rome in one month surpasses what you (in Palestine) pay in one year; besides money, (Egypt) sends wheat to feed Rome for months' (Josephus, *Jewish War* 2. 386);

(*f*) 'When the cost had reached seven million (*drachmae*), the procurators of Asia wrote to the emperor that it was a scandal for the tribute of five hundred cities [i.e. Asia] to be spent on one city . . .' (Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 548).

There is not much more than this. Frank seeks to make (*a*) compatible with (*b*), and (*c*) compatible with (*d*) and (*e*), by claiming that they refer to different periods and that tax rates rose in Gaul and in Egypt between the beginning of the reign of Augustus and the middle of the first century A.D. But from 40 million HS to half the revenue of the empire in the case of Gaul? And from less than 40 million HS to more than 500 million HS (12 × 12 million *denarii*) in the case of Egypt? Yet Asia was reportedly paying less than 30 million HS in the second century A.D. (*f*)! That is absurd. See Frank, *ESAR* v, 7 and 51 and n. 49 below on the revenues of Egypt.

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we include the cost of retirement bounties for veterans, and extra pay for privileged soldiers and officers. But there is a large element of uncertainty in any estimate, since we do not know how much auxiliaries were paid or how much the fleet cost.[46] Several ancient authors state that expenditure on the army constituted by far the largest item in the state budget.[47] That is an important observation. It seems intrinsically plausible, and is corroborated by the fact that soldiers, in spite of their political power and participation in civil wars, did not succeed in raising their pay (in terms of silver) above the Augustan level, except for a short period.[48] The state treasury could not afford to pay them much more.

Frank very tentatively estimated total state revenues in A.D. 70 at about 1,200–1,500 million HS; several components of this guess, such as the revenues from Egypt, seem exaggerated.[49] And if the total budget was as high as that, then the cost of the army (at 275 million HS by Frank's estimate, or more than 400 million HS by my estimate) was not the huge element in the state budget which our sources assumed. In sum, Frank's first estimate of the state budget at 450 million HS was too low; but his estimate for A.D. 70 at 1,200–1,500 million HS was too high.

In these circumstances, I thought it would be worthwhile to try a different, somewhat experimental method of overcoming the shortage of direct evidence. Let us deal with relationships between probabilities, rather than with the well-documented 'facts' which are the normal building bricks of conventional history. We can move later from abstract to concrete. In the following discussion, three principles apply. First, the range of probability is finite; for example, scholarly estimates of the probable population of the Roman empire at its peak range only between 50 and 120 million.[50] Secondly, the choice of a value for one variable limits the range of probability for cognate variables; for example, the larger we set the size of the tax-paying population, the lower the amount of tax paid by each, if we also think that the Roman government faced difficulty in paying its soldiers. Put another way, and this is my third point, not only do our choices constrain each other, but the final results must also be compatible with whatever else we want to believe.

Tax can be conceived as a proportion of gross product. Can we estimate the gross product of the Roman empire? At first sight, it seems hopeless. But we can make a

[46] It is impracticable to calculate the total cost of the Roman army thoroughly in a footnote. It is a reflection on scholarly concern with detail, rather than with broad problems, that I can cite no standard estimates of how much the Roman army cost. My tentative conclusion is that the total cost of the Roman army at the beginning of the first century A.D. was 415 million HS, plus or minus 50 million HS. See Appendix I for details.

[47] 'Our present revenues are insufficient to provide for the army and everything else', wrote Cassius Dio (52. 6) in a speech which he attributed to Agrippa in 29 B.C. Another writer (SHA, *Probus* 23) envisaged a dream world in which there would be no soldiers and therefore no tax on land. The jurist Ulpian explained that tax (*tributum*) was what was *attributed* to soldiers (*D.* 50. 16. 27: 'sane appellatur ... tributum ... ex eo quod militibus tribuatur'). The sixth-century anonymous author of *Practical Politics* wrote that 'expenditure on the army is the biggest item of state expenditure each year', *Griechische Kriegschriftsteller*, edd. H. Köchly and W. Rüstow (Leipzig, 1855) II.2, 47. None of these sources is earlier than the third century A.D.; indeed their citation may not be convincing. Yet it seems likely that their statements were broadly true, and that the cost of the army dominated the state budget during the High Empire also.

[48] This calculation involves multiplying legionary pay by the average weight of, and by the proportion of silver in, coins minted in the city of Rome under each emperor. According to this calculation, legionary pay was for long periods under the Augustan level, and rose by more than 10 per cent above the Augustan level only briefly, in the reign of Caracalla. See G. R. Watson, *The Roman Soldier* (1969), 91 on soldiers' pay, and D. R. Walker, op. cit. (n. 39), for the weight and silver content of coins. To be sure, in so far as coinage was fiduciary, i.e. in so far as its worth did not depend upon its silver content, such a calculation tells us little. I am willing to believe that in small-scale transactions, the silver currency was substantially fiduciary (since testing coins for exact silver content would have been difficult), but, in gross, I imagine that prices were influenced by the increases in money supply which followed debasement.

[49] On the basis of two snippets from Josephus, quoted in n. 45 (*d*) and (*e*) above, Frank (*ESAR* V, 52) concluded that Egypt yielded 576 million HS plus 20 million *modii* of wheat (at say 3 HS per *modius* = 636 million HS total). The population of Roman Egypt is conventionally regarded as above seven million (Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (1973), 97); in K. J. Beloch's view (and I agree completely) that is far too high (*Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt* (1886), 258 and 507: 5 million); even Beloch's estimate is generous. Seven million people would have been paying 200 kg wheat equivalent per person in tax to yield Frank's estimated total. That is again much too high: the claimed total is five times higher in wheat terms than the total tax levied in Egypt by the Ottomans in the seventeenth century (see S. B. Shaw, *The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt* (1962), 79, 84 and 183. Cf. the implied tax rate in the fourth century A.D. (*P. Oxy.* 3307) which was much lower, and n. 56 below.

[50] J. C. Russell, 'Late Ancient and Medieval Population', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 48. 3 (1958), 7, for literature and for a full discussion of the evidence, and see n. 52 below.

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minimum estimate by multiplying the size of the population by the amount of food necessary to keep that population at the minimum level of subsistence. Let us follow the convention of modern agricultural economists and translate consumption needs into terms of basic grain (kg wheat equivalent). In this way, we can easily take account not merely of food, but also of minimum needs for clothing, heat and housing.[51] Obviously, such a calculation poses problems; needs for food depend on climate, age, sex, body weight, height and energy expended. An average of 250 kg wheat equivalent per person/year is low, low enough to take account of the probable age composition of a population suffering high mortality and suffering from recurrent feelings of hunger. Adult males would, normally, have consumed significantly more than this average; children and old people significantly less. Let me stress that the measure is in terms of wheat *equivalent*. It does not mean that people ate only, or indeed any wheat. Wheat equivalent is merely a currency of cross-cultural comparison, such that all consumption is expressed in terms of wheat. Incidentally, one advantage of this convention is that it gives us a key for translating the meaning of Roman money from HS, which tells the modern reader very little, into subsistence (e.g. enough to feed a family of four for a month).

To this estimate of minimum consumption, we need to add some allowance for seed, so that we can make a distinction between minimum net product available for consumption and minimum gross product, sufficient to allow farmers to plant for next year's crop. This measure, minimum gross product, does not imply that everyone produces what he/she eats; some people consume food grown by others, and some are producing goods in return for which they can buy peasants' surplus food. Our first estimate of minimum gross product (minimum net consumption plus seed) covers all production of food, sufficient to maintain minimum subsistence, but does not include other productive activity, except the production of minimal clothing, housing and heat. It is a minimum estimate of gross product; the actual gross product of the Roman empire was certainly higher. But for the moment a minimum is all we need, because if we add price, we get an impeccable equation:

$$\text{Tax} = \text{Proportion}\left[> \begin{pmatrix}\text{Minimum}\\ \text{Gross}\\ \text{Product}\end{pmatrix} = \text{Population} \times \left(\begin{pmatrix}\text{Minimum}\\ \text{Net}\\ \text{Consumption}\end{pmatrix} + \text{Seed}\right) \times \text{Price}\right]$$

All we have to do now is to fit values to components of the equation. It is not as difficult as it may appear at first sight. We can do it tentatively, without committing ourselves to the correctness of any estimate, simply to see where it leads us. First, population. Beloch estimated the population of the Roman empire at the beginning of Augustus' reign at 54 million. I think it was a very good estimate, and much better than his revised figure of 100 million for the end of the first century A.D.[52] Second, minimum net consumption; we have estimated that at 250 kg wheat equivalent per person/year. Next, seed; to please those who rely on ancient sources, let us follow Columella (*On Agriculture* 3. 3) and think that the normal yield for wheat in Italy was four times seed. Under cover of ancient authority, we can leave aside the question, how did Columella know the normal yield of a country as large and as varied as Italy.[53] Let us now arbitrarily apply the same average figure to the empire as a whole, again without committing ourselves to its truth. Seed therefore constituted a quarter of the total crop.

Fourth, price. The normal price of wheat in the first century A.D. is a matter of contention. It obviously varied between seasons, from year to year and from district to

[51] C. Clark and M. Haswell, *The Economics of Subsistence Agriculture*[4] (1970), 57 ff. and 175. I once did some fancy calculations allowing for body weight (adult males 60 kg at age 25 years), age structure ($e_0 = 20$), climate (at Rome), subsistence at 2,000 calories average per person/day. The result coincided with Clark and Haswell's. I added a bit (15 kg wheat equivalent per person/year) for clothing, and a similar notional amount for heat and housing. The end result (250 kg wheat equivalent per person/year) is obviously rough and speculative (after all consumption depends on energy expended and vice versa); I thought it best to express the result in a round number (250 kg) to underline its vagueness. But the probable margin of error is not great.

[52] Beloch, op. cit. (n. 49), 507 and 'Die Bevölkerung im Altertum', *Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft* 2 (1899), 505 ff. and 600 ff.

[53] Columella wrote: 'We can hardly remember a time when cereals in the greater part of Italy yielded four to one.' On varying yields in one Italian district, see, for example, C. Rotelli, 'Rendimenti e produzione agricola nell'Imolese', *Riv. Stor. Ital.* 80 (1968), 121–3, and M. Aymard, 'L'agriculture dans l'Italie moderne', *Annales* 28 (1973), 475–97.

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district. The city of Rome was much more expensive than a farm deep inland in Asia Minor. But variation in no way precludes the calculation or usefulness of an average. Rostovtzeff considered that, if one had to choose a single price for wheat, which he thought unwise, then 3 HS per *modius* (of 6·55 kg) was the single best estimate.[54] Finally, tax-rates: no single figure is obviously right. Effective tax rates in Egypt were significantly higher than in Italy, where there was no direct tax on land. In the provinces, tithes on main crops were common, but so were other tax-rates; and how are we going to take account of indirect taxes such as customs dues, or of taxes on the transfer of property at death, or of tax evasion?[55] Arbitrarily, let us plump for a tax-rate of 10 per cent on gross product and see where it leads us.

We are now in a position to calculate:

$$\text{Tax} = 10\% \left[> \begin{pmatrix}\text{Minimum}\\ \text{Gross}\\ \text{Product}\end{pmatrix} = \begin{matrix}\text{Population}\\ 54 \text{ million}\end{matrix} \times \begin{pmatrix}\text{Minimum}\\ \text{Net}\\ \text{Consumption}\end{pmatrix} \begin{matrix}250 \text{ kg}\\ \text{wheat}\\ \text{equiv.}\end{matrix} + \begin{pmatrix}\text{Seed (a}\\ \text{quarter}\\ \text{of crop)}\end{pmatrix} \times \begin{pmatrix}\text{Price}\\ 3 \text{ HS per}\\ 6{\cdot}55 \text{ kg}\end{pmatrix} \right]$$

$$= 10\% > \left(54 \times 250 \times \frac{4}{3} \times \frac{3}{6{\cdot}55} \text{ million HS}\right) = > (8{,}244 \text{ million HS})$$

$$\text{Tax} = > 824 \text{ million HS}$$

All the constituents of this calculation are hypothetical and tentative. But the result is curiously plausible. Given the estimated cost of the army, at over 350 million HS per year, and its dominance in the state budget, there is not a great deal of room for manoeuvre. Double the population, and you must halve the effective tax-rate or claim that the cost of the army was only a minor element in the state budget. Claim that most people were producing at twice the level of minimum subsistence, or double the price of wheat, then you must halve the effective tax-rate, if the army dominated the state budget. To be sure, this method cannot establish which answers are right, but the matrix of probabilities makes one aware of the implications of choice.

Can we go further? In reality, the gross product of the Roman empire must have exceeded our estimated minimum gross product considerably. Many peasants and non-peasants consumed more than minimum subsistence; many non-peasants produced goods (as did peasants) over and above subsistence needs. But if military expenditure was a very large element in the total state budget—this is the anchor of our calculations—then the budget was probably not much larger than 800 million HS in the early first century A.D. Therefore, the higher our estimate of gross product, the lower the probable tax-rate. Discussion of these variables could be endless. Let me finish with some speculative and

[54] See M. I. Rostovtzeff, *RE s.v. frumentum*, 149; cf. R. P. Duncan-Jones, 'The Price of Wheat in Roman Egypt under the Principate', *Chiron* 6 (1976), 251–3, who lists eighteen wheat prices from lower Egypt in the first century A.D.; the median and modal price was 8 *drachmae* per *artaba* of 32 kg, which Duncan-Jones approximates to 2½ HS per *modius*. By the end of the second century A.D., lower Egyptian wheat prices had more than doubled to 18–20 *drachmae* per *artaba*, but only four prices are known and exactly dated A.D. 191–220. In Asia Minor at the end of the first century A.D., in a small town (Antioch in Pisidia), the normal price of wheat was 2¼ HS per *modius* (*AE* 1925, 126). In the city of Rome, market prices were obviously higher, perhaps 8–10 HS per *modius* (cf. R. P. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire* (1974), 345–7). Prices fluctuated both within and between years; fluctuations do not preclude an average, but they should induce caution in its use.

[55] No attempt was made to impose a uniform tax-system or a single tax-rate on crops and land throughout the empire, though some taxes (inheritance tax on citizens, customs dues) were raised across the empire. Some lands in Roman Germany were called *agri decumates*, tithe lands, and tithes had been raised during the Late Republic in Sicily and Asia Minor, by tax-farmers. But Hyginus, who wrote in the early second century A.D., mentioned tax-rates of one-fifth and one-seventh (ed. K. Lachmann (Berlin, 1848), 205); these rates may have been due to local variations, or the result of a rise in tax-rates (perhaps under Vespasian, see n. 68). In Syria, the tax-rate was 1 per cent of the assessed value of the land (Appian, *The Syrian Wars* 50). These were the main taxes, to which we should add indirect taxes. But for the moment I am taking no account of illegal exactions and squeezes. I am concerned only with what the central government and its agents took officially, in whatever form and wherever spent. I have not touched the problem of how and when a tithe of a main crop, such as wheat, was transformed into money. I can only stress the great difference between a declared tax-rate (say 10 per cent) on a main crop, and my first estimate of government revenues as 10 per cent of all produce. The survey by V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie* (1891) I–IV, gives a detailed analysis of taxes raised in Asia Minor and Syria by the Ottomans at the end of the nineteenth century, and suggests the different contributions from land taxes, cattle taxes, customs which could be raised in a still undeveloped economy.

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tentative conclusions: in my opinion, the population of the empire was never much larger than Beloch's estimated 54 million (I exclude temporary acquisitions); gross product averaged out at less than twice minimum subsistence; the effective tax rate was significantly less than 10 per cent of gross product. My reasons for these conclusions are simply that, if either population or gross product had been much larger than these estimates, then effective tax-rates were unbelievably low compared with declared tax-rates (such as tithes, fifths). Finally, I conclude that the annual tax exacted by the Roman state was in the region of 33 kg wheat equivalent per person (10 per cent of 250 kg minimum subsistence plus 83 kg seed), about 15 HS per head. This is more than was raised in France or in England in the sixteenth century, but much less than these kingdoms raised from about 1700.[56] Such measures and comparisons are obviously crude, but they indicate roughly where we should put the Roman state on a scale of social evolution.

Conclusion: low taxes and their consequences

The Roman state was supported by many millions of small contributions. Why were Roman tax-rates low? The end of a long article is not the best place to embark on an answer to this question. But a sketch may help place taxes and trade in a wider political context, and link this essay to recent discussions of the great debasement of Roman silver coinage in the third century A.D. This link is important, because in conclusion I shall suggest that the collapse of taxation in money in the middle of the third century A.D. and its replacement by taxation in kind were closely connected to the contemporary decline in trade. This is a corollary of the propositions with which I started.

Originally, in the early phase of imperial expansion, there had been a gradual progression from the exacting indemnities to pay for past wars, to levying taxes to pay for current, mostly military expenses. But the concept of empire, and of administration, remained simple, because provinces were originally conceived primarily in terms of military conquest and of exploitation. Provincial governors and their aides had only a limited time in charge of a province in which to recover their previous expenses in their political career at Rome and to get rich. These origins were important because they fixed the framework of the later imperial system. The Roman emperors succeeded in restricting some of the worst abuses in provincial administration, without ever eliminating them.[57]

Tax rates could be low principally because the services offered by the Roman administration were rudimentary. By this I do not mean to underestimate the benefits of Roman peace, prosperity and justice—although they have often been exaggerated. One telling index is the extremely sparse presence of élite administrators in the provinces

[56] I shall first state the results, then the elements in the calculation, then the sources.

Results: State budget expenditure per head of population (in kg wheat equivalent)

dates	U.K.	France	dates
1660–4	12	7	1600
1701–10	64	47	1713
1781	96	122	1815

Elements:	United Kingdom			France			
	Budget (million £ sterling)	Wheat Price (£) (per quarter) (211 kg)	Population (millions)		Budget (millions)	Wheat Price (per 100 kg)	Population (millions)
dates				dates			
1660–4	1·1 (income)	2·24	8·4	1600	5 (ducats)	4·5	16
1701–10	5·1 (expenditure)	1·76	9·5	1713	163 (livres)	18·2	19
1781	13·1 (expenditure)	2·23	13·1	1815	900 (francs)	19·3	25

Sources: United Kingdom: B. R. Mitchell, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (1962), 5, 386–91, 486–8; C. D. Chandaman, *The English Public Revenue 1660–1688* (1975), 208; C. M. Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution* (1976), 4. France: F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean* (1972) I, 395–421; R. Baehrel, op. cit. (n. 4), 535; H. See, *Histoire économique de la France* (1948) I, 157 ff.; II, 111–22; C. M. Cipolla, op. cit., 4; E. A. Wrigley, *Population and History* (1969), 153. Needless to say, the results are crude and should be treated with the utmost caution.

[57] P. A. Brunt, 'Charges of Provincial Maladministration under the early Principate', *Historia* 10 (1961), 189 ff.

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outside Italy. Contrast, for example, the Roman empire with the Chinese. In the second century A.D., to govern a population estimated at 50–60 million people, there were only about 150 senatorial and equestrian administrators in the Roman provinces, that is one élite administrator for every 350,000–400,000 persons. In southern China, in the twelfth century, with a population of a similar size, there were 4,000 gentry officials working in about 1,000 administrative areas outside the capital (compared with forty-five Roman provinces), that is one Chinese élite administrator for roughly every 15,000 people.[58] The scale of difference outweighs any quibbles about the difficulties of comparison. The Chinese government had twenty-five times as many élite administrators at work in the provinces as the Roman government.

The consequence of low penetration by the central government was local autonomy. From one point of view, the Roman administrative system was efficient and cost effective: the ratio of net tax returns to central administrative costs was high. But the ceiling of tax-raising capacity within this system was low and the taxes were maldistributed. These were the costs of local autonomy. Let me elaborate. Because the central government had few representatives of its own in the provinces, it devolved the collection of taxes and the distribution of the tax-load on to intermediaries, who were typically prosperous land-owners and local town-councillors (*decuriones*). The central government in the High Empire had no direct relationship with individual tax-payers. As I understand it, the central government simply fixed the total amount of tax which each town and its surrounding area should pay; local town-councillors then arranged who should pay what, on the basis of a public declaration of the value of each property.[59] There was ample room for abuse, since political power was concentrated in the hands of those who could benefit most from a maldistribution of the tax-load.[60] The oppressed could and occasionally did appeal successfully to the emperor for help in securing justice.[61] But local leaders must often have had friends in the entourage of the provincial governor or at Court, who could be bribed to block an appeal or to present it in an unfavourable light. As a consequence, there was little to stop poorer peasants from paying a disproportionate share of taxes; taxation was regressive. And we should expect there to have been substantial differences between (*a*) what peasants paid in tax and (*b*) what rich land-owners paid on similar land, and between (*c*) what tax-collectors collected and (*d*) what they transmitted to the central government.[62] The basic problem was not merely one of injustice, but rather, in the

[58] B. E. McKnight, *Village and Bureaucracy in Southern Sung China* (1971), 7; cf. D. Twitchett, *Financial Administration under the T'ang*[2] (1963), 11 and 217.

[59] The system is clear from *IG* V (1), 1432–3, convincingly dated by A. Giovannini (*Rome et la circulation monétaire en Grèce* (1978), 115 ff.) to A.D. 35–44. My interpretation of this important inscription is that the Romans levied a tax of 100,000 *denarii* on the town of Messene in southern Greece. The town then divided the tax due by the total declared capital value of property including agricultural holdings (which the inscription lists by district totals) and thereby arrived at a tax-rate, so much per 100 *drachmae* or *denarii* (in fact 8 obols = 1·3 per cent). It is noteworthy that outsiders, *xenoi* explicitly including Romans, had the highest rate of non-payment, at the time the inscription was carved. Cf. A. Wilhelm, *JOAI* 17 (1914), 1–120, for a detailed and interesting commentary with which I reluctantly disagree in part.

[60] I imagine such techniques as collusively low valuation on the élite's own property, early collection of other people's taxes, and late payment of taxes by the rich; loans by the rich to the poor against the surety of their land. My main appeal is to the logic of the situation, and to comparable data from other societies (W. Hinton, *Fanshen* (1966), 39; J. D. Spence, *The Death of Woman Wang* (1978), 43 ff.; R. Huang, *Taxation and Governmental Finance in Sixteenth Century China* (1974). But Roman evidence also exists; see, for example, A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (1964), 467–9.

[61] A famous plea survives from the tenants of an imperial estate in North Africa; they had already appealed to the emperor's local agent (*procurator*), but he was in cahoots with the administrator or lessor (*conductor*) of the estate: '. . . a collusion which he has practised uninterruptedly not only with Allius Maximus, our oppressor, but also with almost all the lessors, against the law, to the detriment of your treasury. The result is that he has refrained from investigating, for many years, our petitions, supplications and our appeals to your divine rescript; more than that he has yielded to the wiles of the said Allius Maximus, lessor, . . . to such an extent that he has sent soldiers into (our estate) and given orders that some of us be seized and tortured, and others . . . be beaten with rods and cudgels although they are Roman citizens' (*ESAR* IV, 98 = *CIL* VIII.10570, cf. 25902 and 25943).

[62] The logic of the situation and comparative evidence both suggest what we should expect. The explicit recognition of this tactic in research violates the implicit rule or convention among ancient historians that the surviving testimony provides both the building bricks for our history and its authentication. But by what logic do we decide whether the surviving testimony is true, or representative, and how do we decide between conflicting sources? These are not just problems of historical philosophy; they are recurrent problems of historical interpretation.

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present context, that any attempt to increase taxes threatened the privileges of the prosperous intermediaries upon whom the central government relied.

My general argument is that the Roman state provided a carapace under which relatively low levels of taxation made possible high private profits. The extent to which Roman private individuals grew rich in the conquered provinces (especially during the period of imperial expansion) is *prima facie* evidence of low rates of taxation. The lower the rate of taxation, the greater the private profit which could be exacted from a finite surplus.[63] And the lower the rate of taxation, the less effective was state supervision of private profiteering from public office. One special case of private profit-making was tax-farming. The Roman government auctioned the rights to collect taxes in the provinces; in this way, the government secured its revenues in advance and cut out some of the fluctuations caused by bad harvests. It transferred both the risks of tax-estimating and the administrative costs of tax-collection to private enterprise. Private investors speculated that, in spite of government supervision, they could nevertheless get more out of provincial tax-payers than they had themselves paid to the central government.[64] Tax-farming was a mechanism of transferring some of the profits of empire to investors, who belonged to the Roman élite and sub-élites, who were not directly involved in conquest (as soldiers) or in government (as senators).

Two developments deserve special attention. First, at the very end of the Republic and in the early Principate, the dominance of tax-farming as a method of tax-collection ended; tax-farming persisted, but in a subordinate role. This demise of tax-farming is almost universally considered as a symptom of moral progress under Roman imperial rule. Ironically, in post-feudal European economic history, the growth of corporate financing and private money-lending to kings is considered a fundamental element in economic growth. The collapse of private finance corporations in Rome meant that there were no institutions which could voluntarily offer private wealth as a buttress for state finances in an emergency. In contrast to post-feudal European economic history, it is worth noting that, as far as we know, the Roman state never borrowed from private individuals or institutions.[65]

A second development of even greater importance was the expansion of land-owning in the provinces by the Roman élite. This was a two-way process: Italians owned more land in the provinces, and more provincial land-owners entered the Roman élite.[66] One result was that members of the Roman élite in the High Empire were typically much richer than they had been in the Late Republic, as their average wealth increased to a level commensurate with the aggregate wealth of the enlarged empire.[67] It was a symptom of the integration of the imperial economy that rents, mostly money rents, were transmitted long distances from provinces, principally to the imperial capital where the élite consumed most. Transmitted rents and taxes had a similar impact on trade, but they were competing for a limited surplus. The higher rents were, the lower taxes had to be.

In an emergency, caused by a rebellion or by barbarian invasions or by an emperor's extravagance at Court, the government had to meet extra demands on resources by getting more money. Several solutions may seem obvious: spending stored reserves, confiscating the estates of the rich, increasing taxes, or debasing the dominant silver coinage. It is

[63] Not that the surplus was fixed in size. Indeed, the imposition of money taxes and rents probably made peasants increase the size of the surplus produced. But the potential for growth was narrowly finite. Private profit therefore competed with public exactions. I should stress that the concept surplus is 'objective': what was produced over and above minimum subsistence. Peasants may have wanted to consume it themselves; they probably did not regard it as surplus to their needs.

[64] Tax-farmers' charges presumably reflected their administrative costs, plus their risks, plus their interest charges on the capital which had been advanced to the Roman government, plus overcharging (loss). E. Badian, *Publicans and Sinners* (1972), in a sympathetic account, rightly stresses how difficult it would have been for the Roman state to administer its large new empire without private entrepreneurial help.

[65] Early in the reign of Vespasian, the senate voted to accept a loan of sixty million HS from individuals, but it was never taken up (Tacitus, *Histories* 4. 47).

[66] Senators in the early second century A.D. were formally required to hold one-third of their fortunes in Italian land (Pliny, *Letters* 6. 19); the proportion was later reduced to one-quarter (SHA, *Marcus Aurelius* 11).

[67] According to Pareto's law, the proportion of total wealth held by the wealthy minority in pre-industrial states is constant (see V. Pareto, *Cours d'économie politique* (1897), 964). Subsequent research has cast some doubt on the strict universality of the law. But it remains suggestive. We should expect the total wealth of Roman senators and knights to grow commensurately with the growth in the size and wealth of the empire.

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striking that Roman emperors in the High Empire, as far as we know, either never or only once raised the general rate of taxation.[68] But the silver coinage was repeatedly debased.[69] Recurrent debasement of the silver coinage was a tactic used to solve a recurrent dilemma: how to meet rising government expenditure, especially expenditure on the army, without a corresponding increase in government revenue. In the middle of the third century A.D., barbarian invasions and civil wars induced a headlong reduction in the silver content of coins from about 40 per cent in A.D. 250 to less than 4 per cent in A.D. 270 (compared with 97 per cent in the mid-first century A.D.). The volume of coins minted increased correspondingly. Rapid debasement brought with it a spiral of inflation, which particularly affected soldiers and government officials who were paid salaries in money. The exact sequence of events is obscure since our sources for the period are thin and unreliable. But the main outlines are clear.

The traditional fiscal system broke down. Debasement and inflation had not been matched by an equivalent increase in taxation; indeed, debasement had been used as a method of avoiding an increase in tax rates. As a result, the central government had insufficient money to meet its traditional obligations at current prices. The central government was no longer able to control the empire as a single political system; the spider's web of cash flow was broken (see Figure 4). Soldiers and government officials, at the local level, increasingly took it upon themselves to secure their own supplies, in kind. The central government, as a result, could no longer control local rates of taxation, although it continued to fulminate against abuses. And finally, as currency became the less valuable part of government revenues, the central government could no longer transfer significant amounts of money (which gave command over distant resources) from one end of the empire to another. The breakdown of central control over taxation, that is over the distribution of a large part of the surplus, was reflected in the formation of separate rival governments under a rapid succession of emperors, generals and kings in France, Britain, Egypt and Syria, as well as in Rome.

The collapse of the fiscal system left much economic behaviour untouched. Those with land, peasants and landlords alike, continued to get income from it. Peasants consumed much of their own produce themselves, while landlords could soon adjust rents to current prices, or express them in the more stable forms of wheat or gold or silver (by weight).[70] There was no general reversion from a money economy to what has been called a 'natural' economy. Mostly people traded in local markets in current coins, although we do hear of banks in Egypt more than once closing their doors and refusing to exchange the imperial currency at face value.[71] That said, the mid-third century was almost certainly a period of economic depression. General insecurity probably reduced the volume of inter-regional trade (see Figure 1); the Persians, for example, captured Antioch, while the Goths (Heruli) sacked Athens. In provincial towns, the number of charitable foundations and of incised tombstones dropped; so too did the number of new public buildings, except for defensive town-walls.

In spite of temporary fragmentation, the Roman empire survived as a single political system. The strong government of Diocletian and Constantine (A.D. 284–337) restored central control; they also institutionalized the changes of the previous half-century, notably, for the present discussion, the predominance of taxation in kind. The imposition of taxes in kind throughout the empire had far-reaching implications. First, food raised as

[68] So A. H. M. Jones, *The Roman Economy* (n. 44), 177; Suetonius, *Vespasian* 16: 'he increased tribute from the provinces'; and see n. 55 above. Silence is of course not proof.

[69] Emperors and their advisers do not seem to have realized the consequences of their repeated decisions to debase coins. But then in post-feudal Europe, when the consequences of debasement were roughly known, debasements still occurred, because of their short-term advantages. Cf. C. E. Challis, *Tudor Coinage* (1979); on Roman debasements see J.-P. Callu, *La politique monétaire des empereurs romains de 238 à 311* (1969) and A. H. M. Jones, op. cit., 187 ff.

[70] G. Mickwitz, *Geld und Wirtschaft im römischen Reich* (1932), 120 shows that the proportion of Egyptian land rents (N = 301) expressed only in natural produce rose considerably in the fourth century A.D. compared with previous centuries. And in northern Italy ritual fines for violators of graves, threatened on tombstone inscriptions, were in the early fourth century A.D. expressed in weights of silver and gold, instead of in coin as previously (*CIL* v, 8721 ff.); on which see T. Pekáry, 'Studien zur römischen Währungs- und Finanzgeschichte', *Historia* 8 (1959), 462.

[71] *P. Oxy.* 1411; cf. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*[2] (1957), 470 ff.

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tax cannot easily be transported as far as money; therefore, distances between tax-payers and tax-consumers had to be shortened. In the Late Empire, the establishment of a strategic military reserve stationed behind the frontiers and the reduction in the size of tactical units so that they were smaller than a legion made it easier to supply the army with taxes in kind raised locally. Secondly, the collection of taxes in kind involves more supervision than the collection of money taxes; there are, for example, more problems over quality, quantity and delivery.[72] We should therefore expect, and we do find, an increase in local bureaucracy, which incidentally helped to consume the taxes without transporting them too far. Thirdly, taxes in kind require no transformation of local surplus of food into goods of lower volume and higher value in nearby towns; so we should expect a lower level of artisan and trader activity in a regime relying on taxes in kind. And that is what we find. In the third century, there was a decline in trade and in towns, and by the fourth century there was a definite drop in the volume of silver currency in circulation. In my view, the changes which occurred in the third century A.D. help corroborate my hypothesis, that taxation in money in the High Empire stimulated trade.

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APPENDIX. THE COST OF THE ROMAN ARMY

Frank (*ESAR* v, 5) estimated the total cost of the Roman army in the reign of Augustus, excluding auxiliaries, at 245 million HS. Some details, such as the number of praetorians, the total pay of privileged soldiers (*duplicarii*) and of officers (centurions) and the cost of the navy are disputed. But two problems stand out: the pay of auxiliaries and the total cost of retirement bounties.

I am persuaded by M. Speidel, 'The Pay of the Auxilia', *JRS* 63 (1973), 141 ff., that auxiliary pay was probably five-sixths of legionary pay. Speidel cautiously reserved his position, and conceded that auxiliary pay was perhaps only two-thirds of legionary pay. But his is the most sensible explanation of two important papyri recording pay to soldiers in Egypt and is compatible with the third (see R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus* (1971), 68–70). In general terms, auxiliary pay must have been at a level high enough to secure the recruitment of over 150,000 soldiers under arms, enlisted for twenty-five years' service. This level of recruitment precludes a rate of pay as low as one-third of legionary pay. In the rough calculation below, I have entered auxiliary pay as five-sixths of legionary pay, without making any complicated adjustments to allow for the fact that a large minority of auxiliaries were cavalrymen, paid at premium rates.

Secondly, retirement bounties: I mention them because it is not unknown for scholars to estimate the cost of retirement bounties by dividing the number of legionaries by the normal length of service (16, 20, and later 25 years) and multiplying by 12,000 HS. Did no Roman soldier die during military service? Did none receive promotion and so extra bounty? If we boldly assume that all soldiers were recruited on their seventeenth birthday, that no more died than would have died naturally (at $e_0 = 25$ years), then in an army of 150,000 men, 8,200 would survive after sixteen years' service, 6,000 after twenty years' service and 4,400 after twenty-five years' service. These figures from UN model life tables can only be rough estimates, but they reveal the fiscal pressure towards lengthening military service. The increase from sixteen years' service to twenty-five years' service almost halved the total cost of retirement bounties. At twenty years' service, with an army of 150,000 legionaries and with retirement bounties at 12,000 HS, the total annual cost was 72 million HS. Incidentally, are we sure that auxiliaries received no retirement gratuity? No source says so. Was it really possible to recruit equal numbers of troops to each branch of the army (auxiliary and legionary) with marked discrepancies of reward especially in the second century A.D., when many auxiliary recruits were already Roman citizens?

[72] For theoretical and comparative works, see Ardant, op. cit. (n. 28); R. M. Bird, *Taxing Agricultural Land in Developing Countries* (1974); see also S. N. S. Cheung, 'Private Property Rights and Share Cropping', *J. Pol. Econ.* 76 (1968), 1107–22, and C. Issawi, 'Farm Output under Fixed Rents and Share Tenancy', *Land Economics* 33 (1957), 74–7, for similar problems in relation to rent. The most sophisticated ancient discussion of taxation is in the speech attributed to 29 B.C. but written in the early third century by Cassius Dio (52. 28 ff.). One should also note the early Arabic treatises on taxation, dating from the eighth century A.D. onwards, which probably in part derived from lost Byzantine texts or from Byzantine practice. See Ya'qub ibn Ibrahim *alias* Abu Yousouf Ya'qoub, *Le livre de l'impôt foncier*, trans. E. Fagnan (1921), esp. 74–5, and A. Ben Shemesh (ed.), *Taxation in Islam* (1969) III, 100–1.

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However that may be, on the stated assumptions, in the first century A.D. the total cost of the army on Frank's estimate, with my two revisions, was:

	million HS
140,000 legionaries (126 million HS) plus officers, etc. (34 million HS)	160
150,000 auxiliaries at five-sixths legionary pay	133
Retirement bounty for 5,600 legionaries per year	67
Praetorians, urban cohorts (including bounties), ordnance, transport, navy	85
	445 (± 50) million HS

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From the Neolithic to the Bronze Age in Central Italy: Settlement, Burial, and Social Change at the Dawn of Metal Production

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Abstract
The Late Neolithic and Copper Age were a time of change in most of Europe. Technological innovations including animal traction, the wheel, and plow agriculture transformed the prehistoric economy. The discovery of copper metallurgy expanded the spectrum of socially significant materials and realigned exchange networks away from Neolithic "greenstone," obsidian, and *Spondylus* shells. New funerary practices also emerged, signifying the growing importance of lineage ancestors, as well as new ideas of personal identity. These phenomena have long attracted researchers' attention in continental Europe and the British Isles, but comparatively little has been done in the Italian peninsula. Building on recent discoveries and interdisciplinary research on settlement patterns, the subsistence economy, the exchange of socially valuable materials, the emergence of metallurgy, funerary practices, and notions of the body, I critically appraise current models of the Neolithic-Bronze Age transition in light of the Italian regional evidence, focusing on central Italy. In contrast to prior interpretations of this period as the cradle of Bronze Age social inequality and the prestige goods economy, I argue that, at this juncture, prehistoric society reconfigured burial practices into powerful new media for cultural communication and employed new materials and objects as novel identity markers. Stratified political elites may not be among the new identities that emerged at this time in the social landscape of prehistoric Italy.

Keywords Prehistoric Europe · Social archaeology · Inequality · Late Neolithic · Copper Age · Chalcolithic · Italy

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Introduction

In much of Europe, the late fifth to the late third millennia BC was characterized by four sweeping changes that fundamentally altered the fabric of Neolithic society (Broodbank 2013; Heyd 2007; Kristiansen 2015; Robb and Harris 2013; Whittle 1996). The first was the gradual transformation of landscapes of settlement, as long-lived villages were generally abandoned, and more mobile economic regimes and lifestyles emerged. The second, occurring in lockstep with the first, was the new prominence of burial as a social practice, including the establishment of formal cemeteries, new funerary structures (e.g., megaliths and chamber tombs), and mortuary rites that centered on two seemingly contrasting principles: the breaking up and mixing of ancestors in collective tombs, and the expression of personal identity in individual burials. The third was the intensification of human mobility and social interaction, as evidenced by the long-distance exchange of prized materials such as Alpine "greenstone" and obsidian, as well as population movement on a scale not seen since the Mesolithic–Neolithic transition (Kristiansen et al. 2017). The fourth was a suite of technological innovations of which metalworking was certainly the most conspicuous but that also encompassed the harnessing of animal power for plowing and wheeled transport. New domesticates also were introduced at this time—the donkey in the eastern Mediterranean and the horse in most of Europe—and old domesticates were put to new uses, ushering in what Sherratt (1981, 1983) famously termed the "secondary products revolution."

Notwithstanding the many countertrends visible in the regional record (e.g., large fortified settlements in Iberia; Garcia and Murillo-Barroso 2013), these entwined material and social transformations seemingly affected, with varying intensity, all late Neolithic and Chalcolithic societies from northern Europe to the Mediterranean and from the Balkans to the Atlantic façade. They have long invited social, economic, and political explanations.

Culture historians traditionally explained the change by invoking population movement, the spread of ideas, and the introduction of new technologies, first and foremost copper metallurgy (Childe 1957; Gimbutas 1977; Puglisi 1959). Childe (1957), in particular, maintained that metals would have triggered a profound transformation in European society by enabling accumulation, exchange, and inheritance of valuables at an unprecedented scale, under the stimulus of early Mesopotamian urban centers. His views have had a lasting fortune in prehistoric studies, inspiring historical materialist models that are being debated to this day. Central to them is the belief that metals and related prestige goods would enable the creation of ranked societies, in which power was either fought over through male peer competition or inherited by descent. Long-distance trade, control of material resources, and coercion were seen as some of the key mechanisms driving the sociopolitical transformation of Neolithic Europe toward systemic inequality (e.g., Chapman 2003; Gilman 1991; Kristiansen 2015). These ideas have cast a long shadow in archaeological discourse. Over the years, they have been rephrased according to different theoretical standpoints.

Working within (broadly defined) postprocessual frameworks, Shennan (1982), Thorpe and Richards (1984), and Braithwaite (1984) maintained that late Neolithic Europe underwent fundamental changes in the nature of social relations. These entailed the replacement of large-scale collective rituals centering on competitive consumption with more individualized forms of prestige, expressed by weaponry and other prized personal possessions. Building on these readings, Barrett (1994) and Thomas (2002) stressed that changes in social relations were mediated by a new emphasis on individual burial, away from the notions of collective ancestry typical of Neolithic mortuary practices. For many, rank (expressed by prestige goods) and genealogy (expressed by new burial rites) were interlocked. Historical materialists such as Peroni (1989, 1996) and Guidi (2000) saw both strategies as being jointly used by emerging elites to legitimize the acquisition and transmission of power, laying the foundations of hierarchical Bronze Age society.

Other authors focused on the economic transformation of late Neolithic and Chalcolithic Europe. Sherratt (1981, 1983), in particular, posited that the introduction of woolly sheep, plow agriculture, and animal traction from the Near East would have resulted in dramatic changes in sociopolitical organization. In his view, these innovations led to a revolution in subsistence strategies, superregional exchange, and settlement patterns, sowing the seeds of the interconnected Bronze Age "world system" (Sherratt 1993). Though very influential, Sherratt's model was later shown to compress into a relatively short period a broad suite of economic and technological transformations that occurred, in a staggered fashion, over thousands of years (Greenfield 2010). It also was criticized for being a new iteration of old-school *Ex Oriente Lux* readings that created an unwarranted dichotomy between dynamic Near Eastern urban civilizations and stagnant European agrarian societies (Robb 2007, p. 288).

The most recent scholarship on the subject divides into two broad strands: social constructionist models and neodiffusionist interpretations. The first is championed by Robb (2007) and Robb and Harris (2013), among others (e.g., Fowler 2018). Having critiqued all previous paradigms for their reliance on a prime mover of sorts, Robb (2007) grounded his reading in cross-cultural mechanisms of social reproduction. Following Bourdieu (1977), he argued that change may result from myriad acts of realignment and repositioning of knowledgeable actors within overarching social structures. From this theoretical standpoint, he proposed that late Neolithic society would be marked by new forms of value that were appropriated by emerging political leaders for self-promotion. Working within a similar interpretative framework, Robb and Harris (2013) further suggested that the new value system would have hinged on a binary gender ideology. This was expressed though a suite of media including individual burial, anthropomorphic statuary, and a new "body technology": metals.

At the other end of the interpretative spectrum are several authors who champion a new synthesis of culture history, language studies, and archaeological science. Their controversial opinions have triggered a heated debate that shows no signs of abating (Furholt 2018; Heyd 2017; Hofmann 2015; Vander Linden 2016). The first salvo was fired by Mallory (1989). He revived early culture historians' proposals that a wave of migrant pastoralists from the Pontic-Caspian steppe would have swept

through Europe in the third millennium BC, bringing with them new domesticates and economic practices, new technologies, and the Indo-European language (see also Anthony 2007). Recent breakthroughs in ancient DNA analysis have stoked the fires of the cross-disciplinary controversy. The new research has sought to link the spread of certain genetic traits throughout continental Europe and the British Isles with the diffusion of Yamnaya, Corded Ware, and Bell Beaker cultural groups from the late fourth millennium BC. Some scholars have also tied these migratory events to the diffusion of early Indo-European languages (Allentoft et al. 2015; Haak et al. 2015; Kristiansen et al. 2017; Olalde et al. 2018).

With few exceptions, the models and interpretations discussed above are grounded in the archaeology of continental Europe and the British Isles. Central among them are cultural phenomena that may be marginal or absent in Mediterranean Europe, including the Italian peninsula. For instance, Bell Beaker burials and objects are present (if not necessarily widespread) in northern Italy but are rarely found south of the Arno Valley, Tuscany (Sarti and Martini 2001). Similarly, individual "warrior" burials are often linked to the spread of Corded Ware, Bell Beaker, and related cultural phenomena (and perhaps to the arrival of new people) in third millennium BC Europe (Harrison and Heyd 2007; Heyd 2017), but they emerged in Italy in different cultural contexts that date to the mid-fourth millennium BC (Dolfini 2010; Jeunesse 2014). Barring earlier, yet undetected "cultural stimuli" or population movements from north/central Europe or the Eurasian steppes, it is hard to see how the two phenomena are connected. Similar observations have been put forward regarding the alleged eastern European connections of the Iberian Chalcolithic (Guilaine 2018).

Under these circumstances, Mediterranean Italy provides a useful arena for testing broad cultural trends and interpretative models in European prehistory as a whole. To what extent do they apply to this region? In what direction does Italy "look" at this time? North, across the Alps, or south, across the water? Does it look in any direction at all? The region is particularly well suited as a testing ground thanks to a host of recent discoveries and research advances that have not yet seeped into the international Anglophone literature. Nowhere has this outburst of study been more apparent than in central Italy, where numerous new sites have been excavated and old excavations published. Focusing my multiscalar analysis on central Italy (drawing in data and *comparanda* from other parts of Italy as relevant and appropriate) allows me to work at the interface between local and superregional social dynamics that may be lost in the study of a broader area. Central Italy is not an arbitrary unit of analysis, but one that has a long pedigree in Italian prehistoric studies (e.g., Barker 1981; Guidi and Piperno 1992; Peroni 1996; Pessina and Tiné 2008). Due to its elongated geography and rugged morphology, Italy historically shows diverging cultural trajectories in the north, center, and south. More often than not, these have a *longue durée* stretching back into prehistoric times, thus making regional examinations of this kind all the more apposite (Horden and Purcell 2000).

Chronologically, I focus on 4500–2200 BC, known as the late Neolithic and Copper Age (or Eneolithic) in Italian periodization. Despite the recent surge of interest in the archaeology of this period, specialists have not yet reconsidered to what extent the new data may be harmonized into established interpretations. Two problems, in

particular, stand in the way of novel conceptualizations of this period. The first is a tendency to narrowly concentrate on specific themes and subjects, paying scant attention, if any, to how new data affect the broader picture. The second is a scholarly predisposition to discuss the Late Neolithic and Copper Age as separate phases. Even when attempts are made to cross the divide (e.g., Robb 2007; Whittle 1996), Neolithic specialists read the sequence from their particular vantage point, which construes the Copper Age as a hyper-evolved late Neolithic. Conversely, Copper Age specialists treat the mid-fourth millennium BC as an impassable cultural watershed, thus failing to investigate late Neolithic social dynamics and how they paved the way for the Chalcolithic world.

My aim is to provide a fresh picture of central Italy from 4500–2200 BC, in which different strands of evidence are cross-interrogated and critically combined. I also offer a coherent view of the entire sequence, devoid of the disciplinary biases decried above. I highlight continuities as well as discontinuities in the material and social dynamics of the two phases, focusing in particular on the natural environment and landscape, the chronological and cultural sequence, settlement and the subsistence economy, connectivity and exchange, the emergence of metallurgy, and funerary practices and ideas of the body. I conclude with a critical reappraisal of Late Neolithic and Copper Age sociopolitical dynamics, followed by reflections on where future research ought to be steered.

The Natural Environment and Landscape

Central Italy is the middle section of the boot-shaped Italian peninsula, comprising (north to south, in clockwise order) modern-day Marche, Abruzzo, Lazio (Latium), Umbria, Toscana (Tuscany), and eastern Liguria (Fig. 1). Liguria is normally thought to belong to northern Italy, but I include it in this review as it arguably had close cultural ties with Tuscany in the period under examination (limited to its eastern part). In the north, central Italy is demarcated by the uppermost tract of the Apennines, a major mountain range that is the natural backbone of the peninsula. In the east and west, it is bounded by the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas, respectively. In the south, it is somewhat artificially defined by the modern administrative borders of Latium and Abruzzo, which provide a boundary of sorts with the southern peninsula. The region is extraordinarily varied in landforms, encompassing low coastal plains and marshlands (now largely reclaimed), areas of rolling hills, wide river basins that provide highways for human mobility (e.g., the Arno and Tiber Valleys), steep crags and ravines in the volcanic landscapes of southern Tuscany and northern Latium, and snow-capped peaks and intermontane basins in the central Apennines (Barker 1981; Walker 1967).

The region is part of a broad biogeographical zone that comprises the northwestern quadrant of the Mediterranean basin (Blondel et al. 2010). Climatically, it has hot, dry summers and mild to cool winters, when most of the rain falls. However, variation is great due to both morphology and altitude. The Tyrrhenian and Adriatic lowlands are characterized by fall and winter rainfall maxima, while summers can be extremely dry. In contrast, the Apennine uplands are prone to cooler and

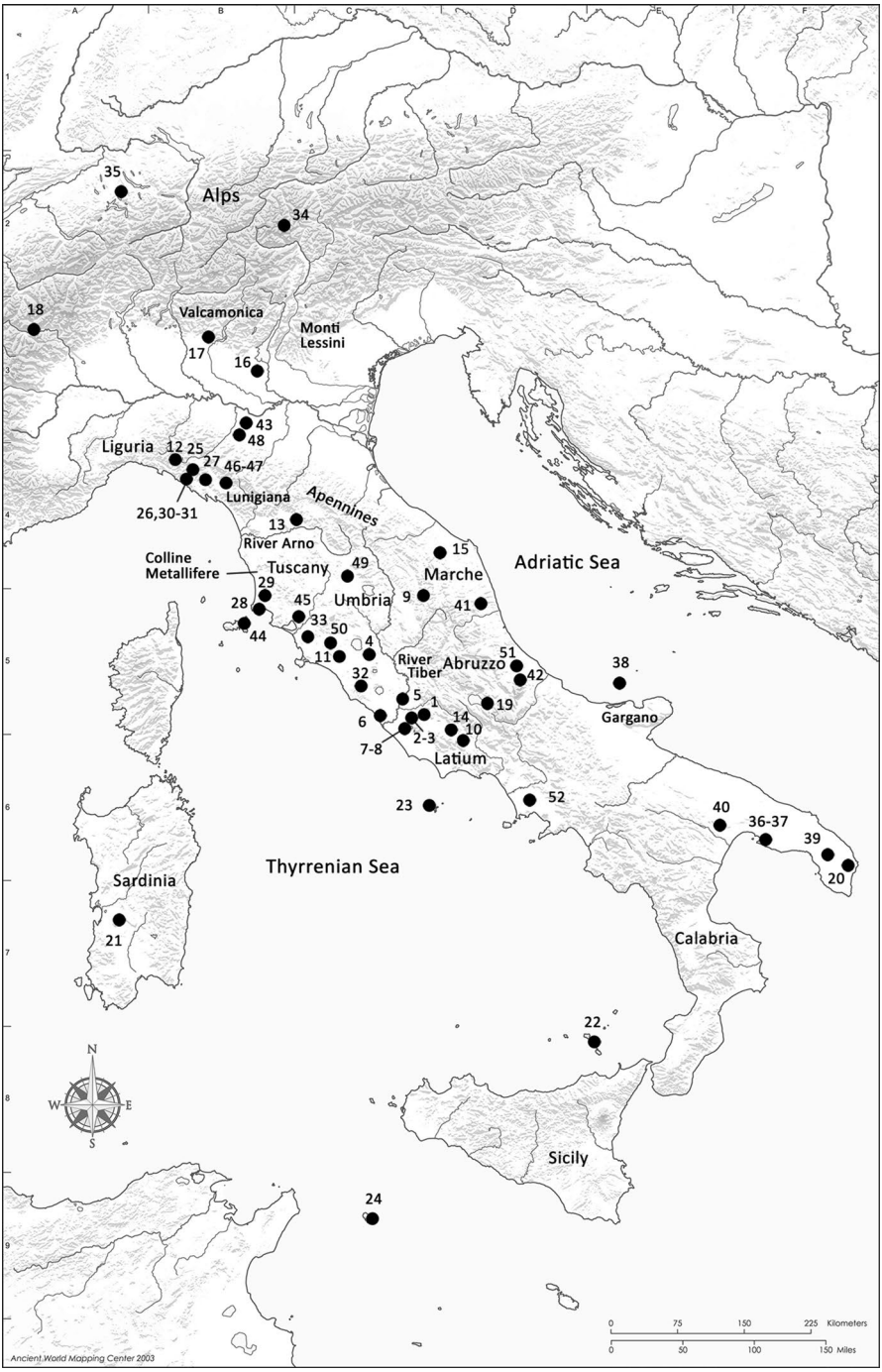
Fig. 1 Map of sites mentioned in the text: 1, Valle di Castiglione; 2, Quadrato di Torre Spaccata; 3, Piscina di Torre Spaccata; 4, Fosso Conicchio; 5, Casale del Cavaliere; 6, Le Cerquete-Fianello; 7, Tor Pagnotta; 8, Casale di Valleranello; 9, Maddalena di Muccia; 10, Selva dei Muli; 11, Poggio Olivastro; 12, Prato Mollo; 13, Querciola; 14, Casale del Dolce; 15, Conelle di Arcevia; 16, Lavagnone; 17, Ossimo-Anvoia; 18, Saint-Martin-de-Corléans; 19, Ortucchio; 20, Grotta dei Cervi; 21, Monte Arci; 22, Lipari (Acropolis, Contrada Diana, and obsidian quarries); 23, Palmarola; 24, Pantelleria; 25, Valle Lagorara; 26, Prima Ciappa; 27, Pianaccia di Suvero; 28, Orti Bottagone; 29, San Carlo-Cava Solvay; 30, Libiola; 31, Monte Loreto; 32, Poggio Malinverno; 33, Buca di Spaccasasso; 34, The Iceman; 35, Zug-Riedmatt; 36, Masseria Bellavista; 37, Scoglio del Tonno; 38, Cala Tramontana; 39, Arnesano; 40, Serra d'Alto-Fondo Gravela; 41, Ripoli; 42, Grotta dei Piccioni; 43, Botteghino; 44, Grotta San Giuseppe; 45, Grotta del Fontino; 46, Pontevecchio; 47, Minucciano; 48, Parma-Via Guidorossi; 49, Rapolano; 50, Ponte San Pietro; 51, Catignano; 52, Gricignano d'Aversa (base map: Ancient World Mapping Center)

wetter summers. Much of the high-altitude zone experiences subalpine winter temperatures. Here, deep snow frequently covers the mountain ridges and high pastures from October to April, and a glacier nestles within the Corno Grande, the highest peak of the Apennines (Grunewald and Scheithauer 2010; Walker 1967).

Broadly speaking, vegetation patterns follow the morphological and altitude categories outlined above. The eastern and western lowlands are home to coastal forests and shrublands featuring a mixture of holm oak (*Quercus ilex*), cork oak (*Quercus suber*), and other evergreen species. The intermediate zone, between about 500 and 1000 m above the sea level, is dominated by sub-Mediterranean deciduous woodlands comprising hazel (*Corylus*), elm (*Ulmus*), and various species of oak. The mountain zone above 1000 m features majestic forests of beech (*Fagus sylvatica*) as well as the last remnants of conifers, which are especially rich in fir (*Abies*) (Barker 1981, pp. 21–23; Walsh 2014).

In the Early and Middle Neolithic (c. 5800–4500 BC), the region benefited from the relatively stable conditions brought about by the Early Holocene climatic optimum, which was characterized by warmer-than-average temperatures and higher-than-average precipitation rates, although variation was great depending on both latitude and altitude (Davis et al. 2003). This changed dramatically in the Late Neolithic and Copper Age, which were affected by a marked drier turn. In central Italy, the Mid-Holocene climatic deterioration is evident in several proxies including pollen spectra and lake levels, which all point to the slow but inexorable contraction of the native woodlands. This was not only caused by climate change but also by the first episodes of forest clearance and woodland management (Allen 2003; Branch and Marini 2014; Giraudi et al. 2011; Magny et al. 2007; Walsh 2014). The process can best be followed in the pollen diagram from Valle di Castiglione (Rome) and is further confirmed, in its broader trends, by other pollen spectra from the region (Colombaroli et al. 2007; Magri and Sadori 1999; Sadori et al. 2011). At Valle di Castiglione, the Early Holocene expansion of deciduous species peaked in the mid/late fourth millennium BC, followed by a contraction of the tree cover and the expansion of cereals and other herbaceous plants brought about by combined aridity and forest clearance (Follieri et al. 1989).

Although initially limited in its wider environmental effects, forest clearance triggered the first episodes of soil erosion and the earliest occurrences of progradation, or coastline advancement, due to increased sediment accumulation at river


Alps
Valcamonica
Monti Lessini
Liguria
Lunigiana
Apennines
River Arno
Colline Metallifere
Tuscany
Umbria
Marche
Adriatic Sea
River Tiber
Abruzzo
Gargano
Latium
Thyrrenian Sea
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mouths and the Early Holocene sea-level rise slowing to a halt (Barker et al. 1990; Bellotti 2017; Coltorti 1997; Roberts et al. 2011). For the first time, pastures were carved into the forested uplands, and woods were actively managed to provide sustenance for people and livestock. The process is especially visible at Prato Mollo, a high-altitude peat site in eastern Liguria. Here, pollen analysis has revealed that the native tree cover dominated by silver fir (*Abies alba*) retreated significantly from the early third millennium BC due to multiple wildfires. The forest was replaced by grassland and open beech (*Fagus*) woodland—a species ostensibly promoted as it provides excellent cattle fodder. Tree cover deterioration is further confirmed by soil analysis, which yielded plentiful evidence of peat formation, erosion, and waterlogging (Maggi and De Pascale 2011). These phenomena are motivated by sweeping changes in prehistoric subsistence practices. Before discussing those changes, I first clarify the chronological and cultural sequence as defined by radiocarbon and ceramic assemblages.

Chronology and Cultural Sequence

Absolute Chronology

For most of the 20th century, archaeologists utilized pottery styles to construct chronological and cultural sequences for later Italian prehistory. Their work was predicated upon the unspoken assumption that ceramic styles neatly succeeded one another and could, therefore, be taken to represent discrete chronological phases and cultural groups (Radmilli 1975; Trump 1966). The fall of culture history as a theoretical paradigm and the spread of independent means of dating showed the inherent limits of this approach. Scholars then realized that changes in pottery styles need not be synchronous or evenly spread across bounded territories, and that conventional ideas of the "archaeological culture" (*sensu* Childe 1929, pp. v–vi) no longer reflected the growing complexity of the material record. This state of affairs elicited different responses in the Anglophone and Italian/continental scholarship. By and large, the former lost interest in the minutiae of ceramic typology and shifted their research to social issues such as the prehistoric economy, prestige goods exchange, and burial practices (e.g., Barker 1981). The latter, on the other hand, doubled their efforts to build ever more sophisticated chronological frameworks based on the evolution and spread of pottery styles. Over time, this evolved into a hyperspecialized and, for many, arcane research strand (e.g., Cocchi Genick 1994, 1996, 2008).

Regardless of their interest in pottery styles, however, both communities continued to share the broad chronological edifice framing their studies. Until relatively recently, all students of Italian prehistory dated the Late Neolithic to the fourth millennium BC and the Copper Age to the third millennium BC (Cocchi Genick 2013a, p. 234). The *status quo* was first challenged in the 1990s when absolute dating methods highlighted major inconsistencies with the established framework. Research carried out in the last 20 years has all but clarified the overall chronology of the period in question, showing that the Late Neolithic began in mid-fifth millennium BC and the Copper Age a thousand years later. The two periods are separated by

a short-lived Final Neolithic phase in the early fourth millennium BC. Despite the significant progress made, however, specialists still disagree about the exact duration of each phase, as well as about the identification and precision dating of discrete subphases within them (compare, e.g., Leonini et al. 2013 and Negroni Catacchio et al. 2014).

The Late and Final Neolithic chronology proposed here is built on Pessina and Tiné (2008), although I favor a slightly later boundary between the two phases than what they suggest; this better accounts for the central Italian record. The onset of the Copper Age is placed at 3600 BC based on the Bayesian model developed by Maggi and Pearce (2013), while the tripartite subdivision of the period is modeled on Skeates (1996), modified to account for recent AMS dating (e.g., Anzidei et al. 2012; Cocchi Genick 2013b; Dolfini 2010; Manfredini et al. 2009). The end of the Copper Age is placed at 2200 BC, bearing in mind that certain Chalcolithic technological and cultural practices (e.g., arsenical copper metallurgy and burial in caves) continued into the Early Bronze Age. This chronology has an overall tolerance of ±100 years due to the confidence range of most radiocarbon dates (Table 1).

Pottery Styles and Their Social Interpretation

Despite the firm ground created by radiocarbon, a great many old excavations, and much recent developer-funded fieldwork, lack absolute dates. For these sites, pottery still is an indispensable chronological tool, notwithstanding the limitations highlighted above. Stylistic classification is especially useful when pottery designs have relatively well-defined temporal and territorial boundaries, as is often the case in the Late Neolithic. The picture blurs and complicates in the Final Neolithic and Copper Age, when various ceramic traditions coexisted for hundreds of years, mingling and overlapping in complex and ever-shifting ways. Even in these periods, however, pottery still supplies valuable chronological and cultural data to specialists.

In the latter part of the fifth millennium BC, Middle Neolithic incised and painted wares were replaced by new, shallow forms of ceramic vessels with plain burnished surfaces. This regional trend reflects a generalized change in aesthetic principles that was in operation throughout most of Mediterranean Europe (Broodbank 2013; Robb 2007). The new preference for wider vessels and glossy surfaces is apparent in all three ceramic styles found in Italy at this time: Chassey-Lagozza (a variant of the French Chassey style) in the northwest; Late Ripoli in the east; and Diana in the south (Cocchi Genick 2009; Malone 2003; Pessina and Tiné 2008).

Table 1 Relative and absolute chronology of prehistoric central Italy, 4500–2200 BC

Archaeological phase	Absolute chronology
Late Neolithic	4500–3800 BC
Final Neolithic	3800–3600 BC
Early Copper Age	3600–3300 BC
Middle Copper Age	3300–2700 BC
Late Copper Age	2700–2200 BC

The central peninsula is split east-west in its cultural manifestations. Late Ripoli wares are ubiquitous east of the Apennines (Cremonesi 1965). They feature shallow bowls and plates as well as deep vases that anticipate Copper Age flasks and bottles. Pots were normally plain and burnished to a gloss, but a new taste for textured and rough surfaces emerged in the latter part of the phase, as did a marked tendency toward regionalization. At the same time, however, the shapes and decorative choices of vessels were increasingly open to superregional influences, including, for example, the incorporation of Chassey-Lagozza and Diana elements into Late Ripoli repertoires (Pessina and Radi 2002, 2003; Pessina and Tiné 2008).

West of the Apennines, domestic sites have yielded idiosyncratic assemblages consisting of ceramic styles from the northern, eastern, and southern peninsula (Fig. 2). It is not uncommon for vessels in the Chassey-Lagozza, Late Ripoli, and Diana styles to be found, all at once, at the same site. Strikingly, these styles are often recombined and amalgamated locally so that it is almost impossible to find two Late Neolithic settlements bearing the same ceramic fingerprint (Cocchi Genick 2009, p. 174). At Quadrato di Torre Spaccata, for instance, Diana finewares, with their buff red-slipped surfaces and *rocchetto* (spool shaped) handles, are found alongside shallow bowls and plates in the Chassey-Lagozza style, as well as vessels in various Late Ripoli regional groups (Anzidei and Carboni 1995; Anzidei and Zarattini 2007). As with coeval evidence from Adriatic Italy, this puzzling state of affairs can be explained by a seemingly contradictory move toward regionalization and superregional interaction, although the material outcome is here entirely peculiar. This trend progressed further in the Final Neolithic, which featured the continued development of eclectic, highly localized ceramic assemblages, as well as the near-complete substitution of coarse *impasto* vessels for burnished finewares (Anzidei et al. 2002; Sarti et al. 2005; Silvestrini et al. 2002).

The onset of the Copper Age is marked by a "perfect split" between domestic and funerary pottery on both sides of the central peninsula, and indeed farther north and south. On the one hand, the new taste for coarse wares with textured surfaces continued at open villages and other habitation sites. Building on previous developments, Copper Age domestic ceramics were shaped and ornamented according to a bewildering variety of stylistic traits, which household and village potters blended into original material assemblages (Cocchi Genick 2008). On the other hand, the Late Neolithic preference for burnished surfaces was carried, unabated, into the mortuary realm. The bottles, flasks, and bowls now placed with the dead followed normative stylistic conventions shared over large areas. It is as though the ceramic unity of the Late Neolithic world, smashed to pieces in the domestic arena, had been recreated for the benefit of the dead.

Bell Beaker pottery was introduced into the region in the Late Copper Age, most notably in the Arno Valley and along the middle Tyrrhenian coast (Bulgarelli et al. 2000; Sarti 1995–1996, 1997, 1998). Apart from a handful of burials from these areas, Beaker-style vessels and accoutrements were rarely used in the realm of the dead. Out of over 100 chamber tombs excavated in inner central Italy, only one has yielded Beaker pottery (Negroni Catacchio and Miari 1995; Petitti et al. 2002). There is, however, one notable exception to this quasi-universal pattern: Fosso Conicchio in northern Latium. The site consists of a subcircular sunken pit 1.75 m deep and 3.10 m across,

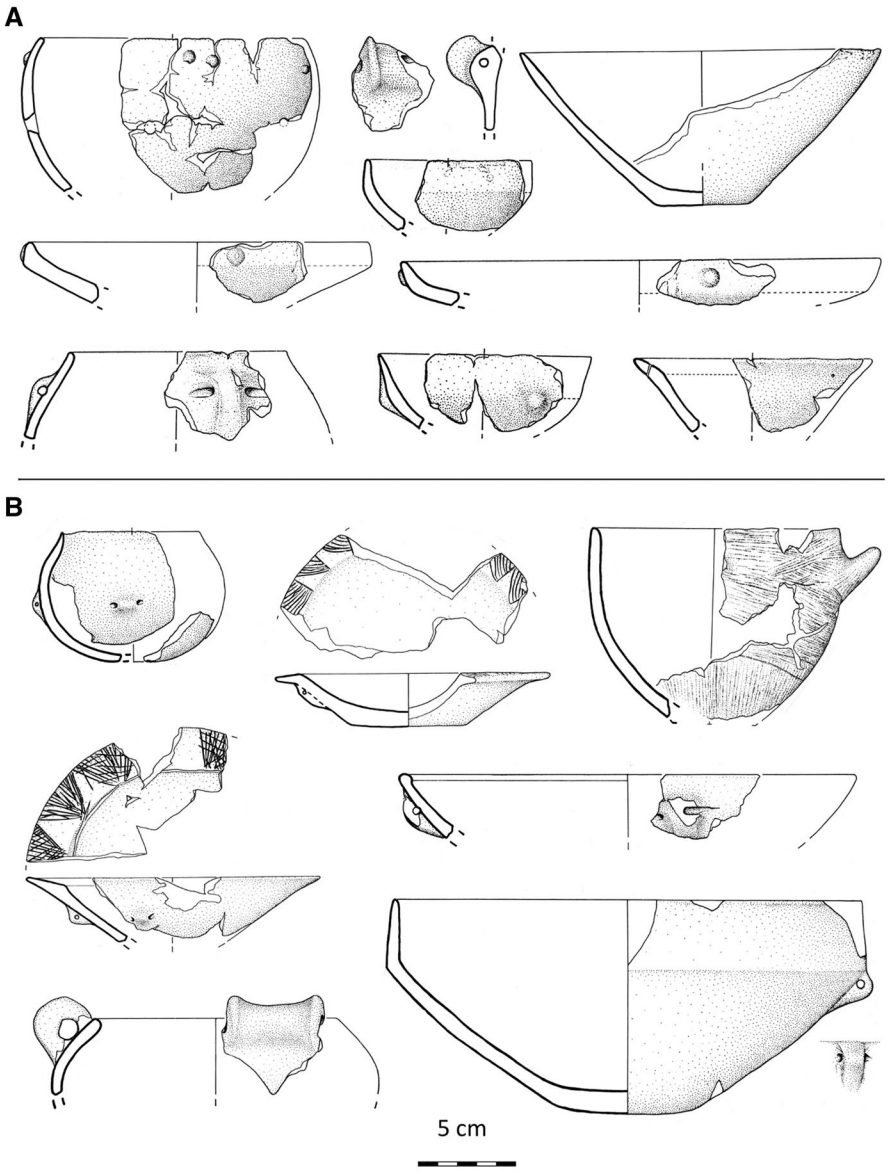

Fig. 2 Late Neolithic ceramic styles from west-central Italy: A, Late Ripoli pottery from Casale di Valleranello, Rome; B, pottery from Quadrato di Torre Spaccata, Rome, mostly in the northern Chassey-Lagozza style, but the bottom left vessel has a *rocchetto* (spool-shaped) handle typical of southern Diana wares (image: Giovanni Carboni)

cut into the limestone bedrock. As it lacks any evidence of roofing, the pit was seemingly accessed from the top, perhaps using a wooden ladder. To one side of the structure lies a trapezoidal altar-like platform hewed into the rock. This provided a focus for

rituals involving the placement of lavishly decorated Beaker vessels, Beaker-style wrist guards, human teeth, and cremated human remains (Fugazzola Delpino and Pellegrini 1999). The site is entirely out of character for this area, dominated by Rinaldone-style chamber tombs (see below). Fosso Conicchio should not be considered a burial site proper but a locus for the ritual processing of ancestral remains. This underscores the impression that, in Copper Age Italy, choices regarding pottery styles were predicated upon the practices in which the vessels were meant to be used and cannot be reduced to abstract notions of the "archaeological culture."

The pulverization of ceramic styles and clear-cut separation between domestic and funerary pottery is not exclusive to central Italy. Other regions of Europe experienced similar phenomena in the fourth millennium BC. In southern France, for example, the late Neolithic Chassey "culture" was replaced from 3500 BC by multiple small-scale ceramic styles featuring, like in central Italy, impressive intergroup variation as well as superregional influences (Gutherz and Jallot 1995; Vaquer 1990). According to Vander Linden (2006), the change reflects growing sociopolitical tensions between increasingly fragmented communities. He argues that a novel emphasis on weapon burials, high rates of skeletal trauma, and the expansion of drystone defensive architecture would further highlight intercommunity friction in a fast-changing social landscape.

It is unclear if this reading may apply to central Italy given the lack of recent, theoretically informed research into Copper Age pottery styles in the region. My interpretation, though not yet supported by dedicated research, tentatively moves in a different direction. Rather than demarcating more localized forms of group identity, the breakup of domestic ceramic styles might, in fact, stem from a dramatic deflation of their social significance. In the Neolithic world, finewares were utilized at villages in core social reproduction practices such as feasting and burial (Robb 2007; Skeates 1995a). Though mostly made and used locally, the pots were built and decorated according to widespread stylistic conventions, which were probably shared via the extensive exchange networks in operation at the time (see below). In the fourth and third millennia BC, domestic pottery was no longer employed in identity-building social interactions, for these were now carried out at burial sites using vessels that, like Neolithic domestic pottery, were ornamented based on widely shared aesthetic principles; these are rarely found at habitation sites. Bereft of its former social significance, domestic pottery was downgraded to crockery, expediently built and mundanely used—hence its bewildering variety of styles, likely reflecting village-based (and perhaps household-specific) craft traditions. Still, village communities continued to relate with one another, as the sharing of decorative motives indicates. This offers tantalizing glimpses into yet unexplored patterns of interaction within self-contained communities of practice.

Settlement and the Subsistence Economy

In several regions of Europe, the late fifth to late third millennia BC is characterized by the decline of the village as the center of people's identity and social life, and the rise of the extramural cemetery. This is paralleled by the introduction of more

mobile lifestyles and economic regimes that were increasingly reliant on livestock and their secondary products (Broodbank 2013; Whittle 1996). In central Italy, there were three broad changes in landscapes of settlement and subsistence strategies. The first is the abandonment of long-lived Neolithic villages, which were progressively replaced by dispersed settlements, isolated farmsteads, and seasonally inhabited caves and open stations. The second is the expansion of human activity from arable lowlands and river terraces into marginal landscapes such as uplands, high mountains, and coastal and riverine wetlands. The third is a shift toward more diversified economic practices based on mixed farming, herding, and hunting (Barker 2005; Robb 2007; Skeates 1997a, 2013).

A tendency toward settlement dispersal first manifested itself in the fifth millennium BC, when sizable villages with long occupation spans (e.g., Catignano; Tozzi and Zamagni 2003) were progressively replaced by short-lived, insubstantial settlements, whose archaeological footprints often amount to nothing but pits, cobblestones, and hearths (Fugazzola Delpino et al. 2003; Grifoni Cremonesi 2003b; Grifoni Cremonesi et al. 2001; Manfredini et al. 2005a). This trend continued into the fourth and third millennia BC. At Quadrato di Torre Spaccata (Fig. 3), for example, the Copper Age village consists of two elliptical houses, a rectangular wattle-and-daub building, and other minor structures, all inhabited at the same time (Anzidei and Carboni 1995, 2007). At Casale del Cavaliere, excavations revealed an isolated farmstead occupied for maybe one or two generations, as indicated by the lack of superimposed features and the high number of refitting sherds (Boccuccia et al. 2000). Le Cerquete-Fianello, a small village on the edge of the now-drained Maccarese lagoon, seems at first glance more substantial. However, the stratigraphic analysis of its five wattle-and-daub houses has revealed three building phases spanning, one may speculate, no more than 200 years (Manfredini 2002).

The demise of the nucleated village was long believed to be caused by growing seasonal mobility and intensified pastoralism, especially in the Apennine uplands (Barker 1981; Maggi 2002; Maggi and De Pascale 2011). Recent research has nuanced this picture by showing that large village communities continued to thrive during the Copper Age and that lowland alluvial plains and river valleys were often cultivated more intensively than ever before. This interpretative shift was spearheaded by a series of spectacular discoveries from the northern and southern peninsula. North of the Apennines, the habitation site at Parma-Via Guidorossi has solidly built houses up to 52 m in length (Bernabò Brea et al. 2011, 2013). Farther south, open-area excavations in the hinterland of Naples (e.g., at Gricignano d'Aversa) brought to light an intensively inhabited landscape in which villages and cemeteries were encased within a mosaic of plowed fields, water wells, and dirt roads (Fugazzola Delpino et al. 2007; Laforgia and Boenzi 2011; Saccoccio et al. 2013). This picture is compounded by numerous, if not quite so dazzling, discoveries from central Italy. Suffice here to mention the large elliptical houses at Tor Pagnotta and the conspicuous ditches and palisades surrounding Maddalena di Muccia and Selva dei Muli (Anzidei et al. 2011a; Cerqua 2011; Manfredini et al. 2005b). In the fertile lowlands, sustained landscape infilling seemingly took place in the Copper Age, as shown by settlements lying closer to one another than in previous periods. It is unclear, however, if this is evidence of population growth, for it might be

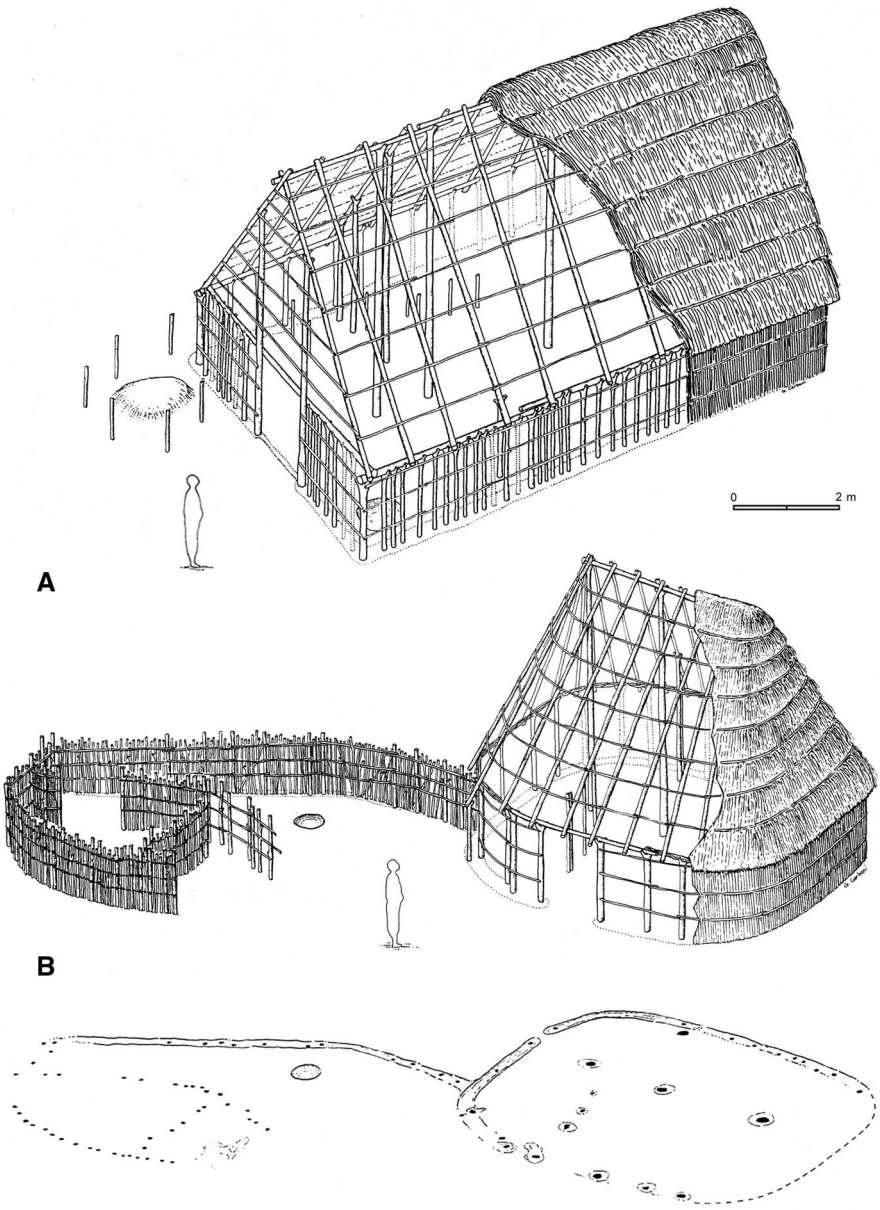

Fig. 3 Wattle-and-daub houses from Quadrato di Torre Spaccata, Rome. Many late Neolithic and Copper Age habitation sites consist of small clusters of houses, a far cry from the substantial nucleated villages of the early and middle Neolithic (Anzidei and Carboni 2007)

the archaeological footprint of smaller communities moving periodically to nearby unexploited soils (Gianni 1991; Moscoloni and Silvestrini 2005).

At face value, the evidence seems to point to a higher degree of continuity with the Neolithic economy and lifestyle than previously surmised. If we scratch the surface, however, clues soon emerge that there might be more to this than meets the eye. It has long been suggested that certain upland villages including Conelle and Ortucchio may be aggregation sites, in which scattered communities would gather seasonally to exchange livestock and goods, arrange marriages, and hunt red deer and wild boar during youth initiation rites (Robb 2007; Skeates 1997a). However, interpretation is complicated by the state of the evidence. At Conelle, for example, all cultural materials come from the ditch deposit, as the habitation layers were all but wiped out by plowing and erosion (Cazzella 1999). There might also be a hitherto underestimated chronological element to the changes in settlement patterns, with permanent villages becoming rarer in the late fifth and fourth millennia BC and growing again in the third millennium BC, possibly due to new farming technologies that enabled population growth (see below). This is something that future research and radiocarbon dating ought to clarify.

In central Italy, the Copper Age undoubtedly featured sustained colonization of previously marginal landscapes due to the combined effect of climate change, a cultural shift toward mobility and social fragmentation, and the introduction of new farming and breeding practices. Similar trends toward upland frequentation and forest clearance are evident, from the late fourth millennium BC, in the remainder of the peninsula (and indeed farther afield), thus indicating the systemic nature of the changes afoot (Broodbank 2013, pp. 306–309; Cremaschi et al. 2011). Those taking to the mountains relied on new subsistence strategies involving small-scale transhumance from winter lowland pastures to summer upland grazing areas. A host of upland cave stations in which bone profiles, micromorphology, and phytolith analysis all converge show that cattle and sheep/goats provided the economic and social foundations for specialized animal husbandry (Barker 1981; Barker and Grant 1991; Maggi 1997, 2002; Skeates 1997b). Evidence of winter camps is harder to come by, with the possible exception of Le Cerquete-Fianello, a lagoon-side village near Rome. Here, sheep and goat make up almost 60% of the bone sample, while cereal farming was not practiced on any significant scale. That the local economy narrowly depended upon a few domestic species is further suggested by the absence of fish and game; this is all the more surprising considering that the village sat in an environmental niche exceptionally rich in both (Manfredini 2002). However, interpretation is complicated by nontranshumant pigs in the bone assemblage (*c*. 20% of the NISP), compounded by significant preservation biases.

At most lowland and mid-altitude sites, cereal and pulse remains, as well as evidence of food storage and processing, indicate that the intensification of herding did not come at the expense of mixed farming (Skeates 2013). The implication is that the new regime may have required nothing but the short-range movement of herds in the inhabited landscape, or that only a fraction of the populace left for the mountains seasonally. Diversification of subsistence practices, rather than a single-minded move toward pastoralism, is what the data seem to indicate. Along with communities specializing in sheep and goat rearing (e.g., Quadrato di Torre Spaccata and Poggio

Olivastro; Anzidei and Carboni 1995, 2007; Bulgarelli et al. 1993), there were others relying more heavily on cattle (e.g., Piscina di Torre Spaccata, Querciola, and Casale del Dolce; Bietti Sestieri and Gianni 1984; Bistolfi and Muntoni 2000; Sarti 1997). A few villages intensified pig keeping, but always as part of diverse livestock management strategies comprising other domesticates as well (e.g., Conelle: Cazzella and Moscoloni 1999; Wilkens 2000).

Cattle were increasingly accumulated as a social valuable, enabling owners to build up and repay debts and obligations (Robb 2007, p. 146); with improved farming technologies they also were put to new uses. Plows and carts were introduced into Italy in the late fourth millennium BC (Heyd 2013). By the mid-third millennium BC, animal traction must have been sufficiently common to instigate far-reaching changes in agricultural practices. Heavy alluvial soils in the Arno plain (and presumably elsewhere) were first cultivated with wooden plows of the kind unearthed at Lavagnone near Lake Garda, dating to 2048–2010 cal. BC (De Marinis 2000, p. 196; Perini 1983). Bulk produce was now carried back to villages in wheeled vehicles running on the earliest purpose-built roads (Laforgia and Boenzi 2011; Saccoccio et al. 2013). By the same time domestic horses, first documented in the late fourth millennium BC, were employed for traction as much as oxen (e.g., at Querciola; Sarti 1997). Purely functionalist explanations, however, would miss the point that the new technologies and domestic animals had to be socialized before they could be integrated into the productive economy. Ritual provided a range of concepts and practices to ease the introduction of the novel and the strange, and to turn the dangerous into the tame. In Valcamonica (central Alps), plows and carts were added at this time to the rich symbolic repertoire of the local rock art (Casini 1994; Casini and Fossati 2013). At Saint-Martin-de-Corléans, a megalithic site in the western Alps, human teeth were sown into plowed furrows as part of a foundation rite echoed, many miles eastward and many centuries later, by the Argonauts' myth (Mezzena 1998). At Le Cerquete-Fianello (Rome), a domestic horse was skinned, defleshed, dismembered, and eventually buried in an elaborate ritual performance dictating use of a metal blade (Curci and Tagliacozzo 1994, 2002).

Such a broad suite of momentous, interrelated changes is traditionally ascribed to the "secondary products revolution." The concept was introduced by Sherratt (1981, 1983) to explain the dramatic changes in subsistence practices and settlement patterns that swept across Europe at this time. The model's success lies in its ability to provide a coherent socioeconomic explanation for the changing archaeological record. For example, milk boilers becoming more numerous from the late Neolithic indicates growing reliance on dairy products. Likewise, changes in spinning and weaving equipment signify a generalized shift from linen to wool, enabled by new breeds of woolly sheep from the Near East. Animal traction is another key innovation thought to date to this time, as well as the wheel; these, too, were part of the revolutionary material package made available to European society at this time (Broodbank 2013; Whittle 1996). There is no denying that this tangle of innovations and intensifications brought about major transformations in the prehistoric economy. Yet one wonders if this was the game changer that it frequently is assumed to be.

Recent research has shown that, in central Italy as much as farther afield, the Chalcolithic secondary products revolution was neither Chalcolithic nor a revolution

(Greenfield 2010). Firstly, the new economic regime developed gradually out of a spectrum of well-established Neolithic subsistence practices, and the change was cumulative rather than sudden. Secondly, bimodal butchery curves of sheep/goat and cattle (e.g., at Conelle, Le Cerquete-Fianello, and Casale del Dolce; Bistolfi and Muntoni 2000; Cazzella and Moscoloni 1999; Manfredini 2002) suggest that domestic animals continued to be valued for their meat as much as their milk, wool, and traction power. Thirdly, hunting made an unexpected comeback at a host of upland sites such as Conelle and Ortucchio (Wilkens 2000). Strong selective preference for red deer, a species depicted at multiple ritual locales throughout the peninsula (e.g., Grotta dei Cervi; Graziosi 1996), suggests that hunting was not always a mundane subsistence task but a symbolically laden activity, possibly undertaken during male initiation rites (Dolfini 2017; Whitehouse 1992a). However, the presence of different kinds of quarry (e.g., roe deer and wild boar) at lowland sites reminds us that ritual interpretations may not suit all contexts (Cocchi Genick 2009, p. 175). Whatever the correct reading in specific instances, the overall evidence indicates a staggered move toward diversified subsistence strategies rather than a blanket shift toward specialized pastoral economy. Taken together, the new data suggest that central Italian communities relied on a spectrum of economic resources not greatly dissimilar from those available in other regions of Europe. This view is different enough from previous interpretations focusing on the pastoral economy to warrant future research into changes in human mobility during 4500–2200 BC, how subsistence strategies were adapted to local environmental conditions, and what context-specific cultural responses did the new technologies and domesticates elicit in increasingly fragmented Copper Age society.

Connectivity and Exchange

Investigations of long-distance exchange in Neolithic Europe and the Mediterranean have overwhelmingly focused on three well-traceable materials: the spiky shells of *Spondylus gaederopus*, an oyster fished in the shallow waters of the Aegean and Adriatic Seas; igneous and metamorphic "greenstones" (mainly eclogite, omphacitite, and jadeitite) from high-altitude outcrops in the western Alps and northern Apennines; and obsidian, a black volcanic glass found at several island sources in the eastern and central Mediterranean (Robb and Farr 2005). Whereas the *Spondylus* and greenstone exchange networks largely bypassed the central Italian peninsula, the region was drawn into the sprawling web of the prehistoric obsidian trade.

Obsidian was used in the Neolithic for the manufacture of razor-sharp flakes and bladelets. Long-standing archaeological interest in this material is motivated by its traceability to four central Mediterranean island sources: Monte Arci in Sardinia, Lipari in the Aeolian archipelago, Palmarola off the coast of Latium, and remote Pantelleria in the Strait of Sicily. Chemical fingerprinting of obsidian from these sources (and from individual quarries at Lipari and Monte Arci) has enabled detailed reconstructions of the circulation patterns of this sought-after material (Ammerman 1985; Pessina and Radi 2005; Tykot 1998, 2017; Tykot and Ammerman 1997).

In the sixth millennium BC, roughed-out blocks and prepared cores from each source were moved to adjacent coastal sites, where they were reworked into preformed blanks and tools that were disseminated to a much wider area via combined maritime and overland exchange. Sicily, parts of southern Italy, and Malta obtained obsidian from the Lipari source. Western Sicily, coastal Tunisia, and Malta were drawn into the smaller exchange network of obsidian from Pantelleria. In the south-central peninsula up to the western and, to a lesser degree, eastern Adriatic shores, the obsidian came from Palmarola. The jet-black obsidian from Monte Arci was exchanged to Sardinia, Corsica, and large swathes of north-central Italy (Fig. 4). Distribution changed in the fifth millennium BC, when Sardinian and Lipari obsidian was exchanged farther and deeper into their respective circulation zones. By the end of the millennium, Lipari obsidian circulated all over the entire central Mediterranean from North Africa to the Alps, with obsidian from the other sources more restricted to increasingly self-contained spheres of exchange. This is especially true for Palmarola and Pantelleria obsidian, whose

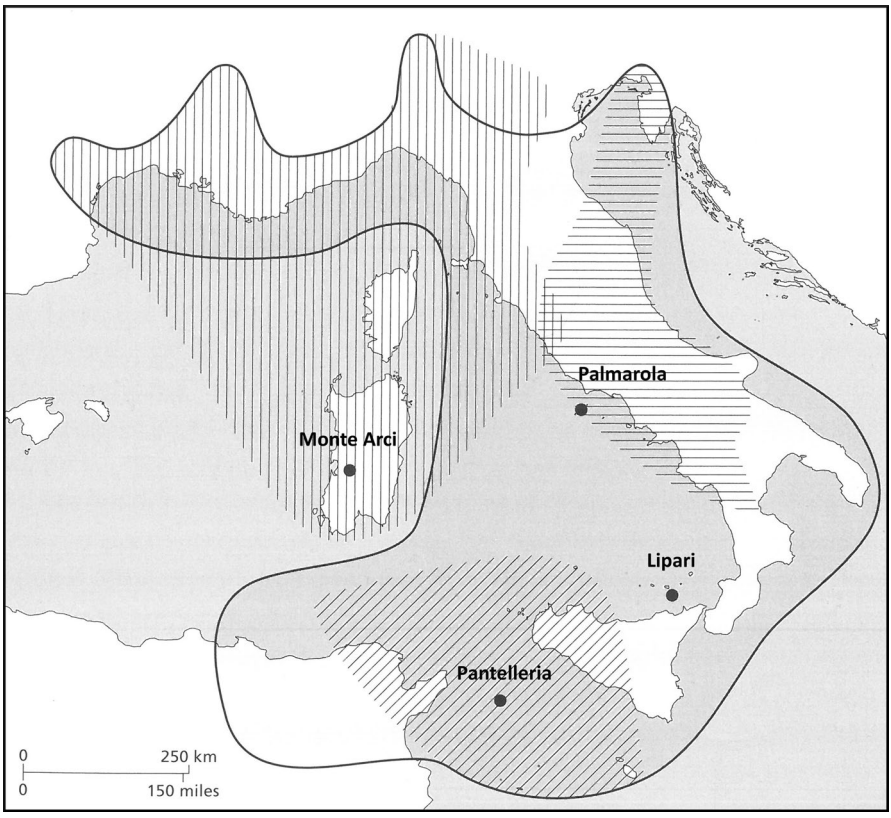

Fig. 4 Dispersal pattern of central Mediterranean obsidian, aggregated over time. By the turn of the fourth millennium BC, the exchange network of Lipari obsidian had grown to encompass most of the region at the expense of Monte Arci, Palmarola, and Pantelleria sources (modified after Broodbank 2013)

visual and mechanical properties could not compete with the shiny, eminently workable obsidian from the Lipari quarries (Pessina and Radi 2005; Robb and Farr 2005).

Targeted research has clarified the mechanisms of obsidian production and exchange. Evidence from coastal sites in Calabria, where Lipari obsidian makes up over 90% of the stone toolkit, suggests that people in this "interaction zone" accessed the source directly through seasonal maritime expeditions (Robb and Farr 2005). Farther away, however, the amount of Lipari obsidian progressively decreases to 10–30% of lithic assemblages. Prevalent coastal distribution patterns suggest that seagoing canoes shuttling back and forth from the direct procurement area were used to supply this "secondary contact zone." From there, the tools circulated down the line, mainly via terrestrial routes. Yet not all tools were traded in this manner. Obsidian-rich hotspots located hundreds of miles away from the quarries indicate that certain communities had preferential access to the material and, in turn, acted as regional brokers in their redistribution (Ammerman 2003; Ammerman and Polglase 1993; Pessina and Radi 2005). Furthermore, alternative procurement systems often coexisted side by side in the same area; in Late Neolithic Abruzzo, for example, Lipari obsidian clustered by the coastline, while Palmarola obsidian mostly reached inland communities. It is presumed that the latter moved over land from the Tyrrhenian Sea through the river valleys and mountain passes of southern Latium (Pessina and Tiné 2008, p. 239).

As interest has largely focused on the spatial and temporal dynamics of obsidian exchange, relatively little has been said apropos the social mechanisms underpinning it. It is frequently assumed that the prehistoric residents of Lipari must have controlled the quarries (e.g., Malone 1986 cited in Skeates 2013, p. 16). As proceeds from the "trade" soared during the fifth millennium BC, so did the risks of unfriendly visits from overseas. To fend them off, the bulk of the populace would have moved to the naturally defended Acropolis site, where, unperturbed, they continued to reap the benefits of an increasingly profitable business. Less modernist explanations have been proposed of late. Noting that trade in tribal societies is often conducted for the sake of the social relations created through it rather than for the mere procurement of commodities, Robb (2007) posited that the communities located in the interaction zone sought Lipari obsidian through seasonal visits. In his view, both Lipari dwellers and visitors engaged in cooperative quarrying, core preparation, and ostentatiously skilled knapping at coastal aggregation sites such as Contrada Diana. Feasting would have eased social interactions between visitors and locals; this is hinted at by the open-air hearths and grinding stones unearthed at Contrada Diana.

With so much research focused on obsidian, other materials and objects have received less attention. As Broodbank (2013, p. 229) perceptively noted, most materials sought by late Neolithic communities were sourced locally; the clay and temper used for domestic pottery are a case in point (Forte and Medeghini 2017). Other materials were displaced over 100–200 km, either because they were not available in the nearby landscape or because of the social value added by exchange. This is the case with high-quality flint from the Monti Lessini and the Gargano peninsula, basalts from northeast Sicily, diorite from Calabria, and, anticipating later trends,

red jasper and steatite from Liguria and Tuscany (Barfield 1999; Leighton and Dixon 1992; Pessina and Tiné 2008).

Two intertwined phenomena took place in the early fourth millennium BC: the crash of long-distance greenstone and obsidian exchange and, at the same time, a growing interest in different workable materials including, in central Italy, red jasper and steatite. Jasper is a silica-rich stone often containing high amounts of iron, hence its distinctive blood-red color; it is found in the ophiolithic complexes of Liguria and Tuscany, worked since the Paleolithic. It is only in the Copper Age, however, that demand for this material grew exponentially and quarrying reached levels unknown before, or since. At a Copper Age quarry in Valle Lagorara (Campana and Maggi 2002), jasper was extracted using diorite and basalt hammerstones, knapped on site into oval pressure-flaked blanks, and subsequently exchanged down the line. At domestic sites, the blanks were turned into bifacial barbed-and-tanged arrowheads and small daggers, presumably intended for hunting and warfare.

Steatite, or soapstone, has a high talc content that makes it an excellent carving material. Like jasper, it crops up in the ophiolithic complexes of Liguria and Tuscany, where it is found in colors varying from off white to green. Though utilized since the Early Neolithic, this stone became increasingly popular in the fourth millennium BC (Pessina and Tiné 2008). A Copper Age steatite workshop has been excavated at Pianaccia di Suvero in eastern Liguria. It is presently unclear if this was purely a workshop site, as the excavators believe (and is the case with the jasper quarries-cum-workshops from the region; Campana and Maggi 2002; Campana et al. 1998), or if the stone was worked by a settled village community. Whichever the case, excavations have ascertained that the soapstone was brought to the site from a yet unidentified quarry and was expertly turned into round beads, small pendants, and, in the mid/late third millennium BC, Beaker-style V-bored conical buttons. The stone was worked following standardized operational sequences. The blocks and nodules from the quarry were first roughed out, then perforated, and finally carved into shape, smoothed out, and polished. Lithic tools were utilized in the first and second step of the sequence, while metal blades were preferentially employed in the third (Gernone 1998). Although steatite circulation patterns have not been analyzed in detail, it appears that, as with jasper, artifacts made from this stone were exchanged over distances of 100–200 km from the production areas. Chert was extracted and worked in a similar manner at numerous sites along the eastern edge of the Apennines, as well as farther south (Skeates 2003; Tarantini and Galiberti 2011).

Obsidian continued to be in demand in the Copper Age, but only close to the sources. In the Aeolian archipelago and Sardinia, in particular, obsidian remained the principal knapping stone until the late Bronze Age. Farther afield, however, procurement of this material declined rapidly. Comparison of two residential sites in Rome's hinterland show this decline: Lipari and Palmarola obsidian make up 42% of the lithic assemblage at Late Neolithic Quadrato di Torre Spaccata (Anzidei and Carboni 1995), while at Copper Age Le Cerquete-Fianello, only three bladelets were recovered during extensive investigations (Manfredini 2002). This trend can be followed throughout the entire central Mediterranean region and is compounded by the equally rapid shrinking of greenstone exchange networks after 4000 BC (Cazzella

1994; Melis 2009; Vaquer 2006). As with the island sources of obsidian, high-altitude Alpine quarries continued to be visited in the Final Neolithic and Copper Age, but axe heads and other objects made from greenstone were now displaced within a 200 km radius. As their Europe-wide exchange network fizzled out, greenstone objects metamorphosed from value-laden symbolic artifacts into humble workaday tools (Pétrequin et al. 2008, p. 272; see Malta for a significant exception: Skeates 1995b). Obsidian likely underwent a similar transmutation in its social significance, perhaps outcompeted by a material of unprecedented surface shine: metal.

The Emergence of Metallurgy

A large band of Tyrrhenian Italy stretching from eastern Liguria to northern Latium (also extending into the northern Apennines) is home to some of the richest ore-mineral deposits in Europe. From late fifth to late third millennia BC, copper, silver, and antimony were extracted from theses ores. Copper is found as a native metal and also was extracted from iron-copper sulfides (e.g., chalcopyrite, bornite), sulfosalts (e.g., tetrahedrite and tennantite), and oxides/carbonates (e.g., malachite and azurite). Silver was reduced from argentiferous "dry ores" (e.g., cerargyte and fahlores), lead compounds (e.g., galena and cerussite), and perhaps sourced as native silver. Antimony was extracted from a sulfidic ore called stibnite. Cassiterite (tinstone) deposits are known in Tuscany, but it is unclear if they were ever exploited in prehistoric times (Giardino 1998, pp. 134–135). Similarly, it is doubtful if the arsenic and iron-arsenic sulfides (e.g., arsenopyrite, orpiment, and realgar) that occur in small concentrations throughout the region were mined at this time to make arsenical copper. Several scholars suggest that this early alloy may have been obtained from the smelting of arsenic-rich copper minerals such as tennantite (Craddock 1995, p. 289; Killick 2014), which fits the central Italian evidence rather well (Dolfini 2014). Important nonmetallic minerals also are present in the region, including cinnabar, a blood-red mercury compound sought in prehistory as a pigment. Ore deposits do not extend east of the Apennines or south of the Tiber Valley due to the different geological history of these areas (Carobbi and Rodolico 1976; Cavinato 1964; Lotti 1910).

After a long period of stasis in the 1980s and 1990s, interest in the beginnings of copper mining, smelting, and working in central Italy has surged recently (Dolfini 2013a). The new research agenda has focused on two long-standing problems: the chronology of early metalworking and objects, and early copper-alloy technology and exchange. Dramatic developments in both subjects have disproved deeply held views and misconceptions, leading to important new insights into the evolution, transmission, and social significance of early metallurgy, as outlined below.

The Chronology of Early Metalworking in Central Italy

For most of the 20th century, the origins of central Italian metallurgy were framed by two competing metanarratives: diffusion and independent development (Roberts

et al. 2009). Following the migrationist paradigm prevailing at the time, early culture historians maintained that newcomers from either the eastern Mediterranean or the Balkans introduced copper technology into Italy. These scholars saw the Chalcolithic migrants not as peaceful settlers but as warring nomadic shepherds who conquered the local Neolithic farmers thanks to their superior metal weapons (Laviosa Zambotti 1943; Peet 1909; Puglisi 1959; Trump 1966). Barker (1971, 1981) and Renfrew and Whitehouse (1974), among others, rebutted early diffusionist models. They stressed the local character of early Italian metalworking, whose impressive florescence they credited to a combination of local advances and information exchange with areas of earlier metal production. In the same years, fine-grained chronologies were first put forward to date early metal axe heads, daggers, and halberds based on empirically constructed typologies. These, however, were not underpinned by formalized seriation sequences or radiocarbon (Bianco Peroni 1994; Carancini 1993; Peroni 1971).

Due to the speculative nature of the typological work, the evidence was pulled in two opposite directions. On the one hand, several prehistorians divided early central Italian metals into two clear-cut horizons marked by specific object types. They controversially assigned the first horizon to the advanced Copper Age (c. 3000–2200 BC) and the second to the initial Early Bronze Age (c. 2200–2000 BC) (Carancini 1993, 2001; Peroni 1996). To account for the objects occasionally found at earlier sites, they posited that a protracted phase with "incipient metallurgy," fed by occasional imports from the northern Alps and the Balkans, preceded the first metallurgical horizon (Carancini 2001, p. 236). A similar, if slightly backdated chronology was later proposed by De Marinis (2006); this was widely accepted until recently (Strahm 2007; Strahm and Hauptmann 2009).

On the other hand, a minority group of researchers claimed that the origins of Italian metallurgy were rooted in local Neolithic practices. Barfield (1966, 1996), in particular, assigned certain archaic-looking axe heads to the Middle Neolithic, while Skeates (1993) and Pearce (2007) took a more cautious approach, arguing for the (mainly) Late Neolithic origins of Italian metallurgy. Because few radiocarbon dates were available at the time, the problem was largely left unresolved, and a consensus of sorts coalesced around two notions. The first postulated that metallurgical knowledge was introduced into central Italy significantly later than in the northern Alps and Sardinia. The second maintained that early metals from the region could typologically, and perhaps technologically, be divided into two clear-cut horizons; first, the Middle/Late Copper Age and, second, the Late Copper Age and Early Bronze Age. Italy was thus consigned to the limbo of areas that, in accounts of the origins of world metallurgy, were rarely mentioned due to their perceived role as centers of secondary development (Dolfini 2013b).

Recent research has dramatically disproved both notions and has clarified the overall developmental sequence of early metal technology in the region. Radiocarbon dating of metal-rich chamber graves and funerary caves provided the most striking results (Anzidei et al. 2011a, 2012; Dolfini 2010; Manfredini et al. 2009; Petitti et al. 2011). These showed that the chronology built by the typologists of old was at odds with the historical realities of early Italian metal making. Objects that were previously thought to be Late Copper Age turned out to be Final Neolithic,

and objects once dated to the Early Bronze Age were newly assigned to the Early Copper Age. In a few instances, whole classes of artifacts were shown to be 1000 years older than previously believed, and perhaps older still. While many radiocarbon dates cluster in the Early Copper Age, none fall squarely in the Early Bronze Age, proving that central Italian metallurgy is neither late nor necessarily derivative. The new chronology has, in fact, aligned the onset of metallurgy in this region with the northern Alps and Sardinia, highlighting previously unsuspected instances of rapid knowledge exchange over remarkable distances (Dolfini 2013b). Radiocarbon has also shown that ternary copper-arsenic-antimony alloys, previously thought to reflect a late technological horizon (De Marinis 2006), were mastered from the mid-fourth millennium BC alongside pure and arsenical copper. This demonstrates the sophistication reached by central Italian smiths at the dawn of metal production.

Overall, the new research has revealed that copper, silver, and antimony metallurgy began in earnest in the Early Copper Age (3600–3300 BC), following sustained experimentation (limited to copper) in the Late Neolithic (4500?–3800 BC) and Final Neolithic intensification (3800–3600 BC). Metallurgical knowledge was likely introduced from the western Balkans via the eastern Alps and northern Italy (Dolfini 2013b). Awls and axe heads were the first objects made from copper in central Italy; they overall date to the Late Neolithic and not the Middle Neolithic as was once proposed (Dolfini 2013c). Smelting slags found at Orti Bottagone, an early fourth millennium BC site in Tuscany, suggests that objects were manufactured in the region using locally sourced copper (Artioli et al. 2007; Fedeli and Galiberti 2016, p. 147), disproving earlier suggestions that Neolithic metallurgy relied on imports from farther away. Possible slags and crucibles from Botteghino (northern Italy) may push the onset of extractive metallurgy south of the Alps farther back in time, pending the necessary scientific analysis (Mazzieri and Dal Santo 2007).

Metal production surged in the mid-fourth millennium BC. By this time, central Italian smiths had mastered all steps of the *chaîne opératoire* of copper extraction, enabling them to fashion several types of axe heads, daggers, and halberds using pure and arsenical copper (Dolfini 2010, 2013b, 2014). An important component of this technological intensification was the application of extractive metallurgy to ores other than copper, including silver and antimony. This is one of the earliest instances of antimony extraction in world history. This metal was likely discovered independently in Tuscany (where stibnite ores abound) through a trial-and-error process involving the adaptation of copper-smelting technology to a different ore. Silver and antimony were used to cast several types of ornamental beads. Importantly, the mid-fourth millennium technological outburst was accompanied by crucial developments in the signification of metals, which first entered the funerary domain as markers of gender, age, and perhaps status (see below).

Metal production seemingly varied little until the mid-third millennium BC. The earliest objects containing appreciable amounts of tin—a ring from Poggio Olivastro and a bead from Prima Ciappa—date to this time (Bulgarelli and Giumlia-Mair 2008; Campana et al. 1996). Arsenic and other impurities revealed by chemical analysis suggest that these objects were probably obtained from smelted copper-tin ores (e.g., stannite) rather than by adding metallic tin to the copper melt. This would be in line with Copper Age metallurgical practices in the region, featuring ore selection

rather than alloying to obtain the desired metallic substances. Moreover, these isolated objects predate the development of tin-bronze technology in Western Europe from 2300/2200 BC (Pare 2000).

It is presently unclear when exactly tin-bronze technology was introduced into central Italy and where the tin came from. In their study of early metal flows in the Alpine region, Perucchetti et al. (2015) showed that tin appeared in the western Alps earlier than farther east, perhaps coming from southwest Britain around 2200–2000 BC. According to De Marinis (2006), during the initial Early Bronze Age, central Italian smiths still relied on arsenical and arsenical/antimonial alloys, with tin-bronze technology emerging after 2000 BC. He argues that the two technologies then coexisted for a while, until tin bronzes became exclusive from 1800/1700 BC (see also Pare 2000; Spindler 1971). Although the technological sequence described by De Marinis seems correct overall, it is nonetheless grounded in an outdated chronological framework that assigns many Copper Age metals to the Early Bronze Age (see above). Considering the overall backdating of early metalwork discussed above, it is likely that the entire sequence should be shifted back some two centuries, aligning central Italy with the western Alps (Dolfini 2010). Currently, this is an open question that should be targeted in future investigations.

Early Copper Technology and Metalwork Exchange

Recent interdisciplinary research has clarified aspects of the *chaîne opératoire* of copper extraction, working, and exchange. At two copper mines in Liguria—Libiola and Monte Loreto—chalcopyrite (presumably supplemented by now-depleted surface deposits of copper oxides/carbonates) was extracted through underground working and tunneling, aided by fire to loosen the rock face. The copper minerals were crushed outside the mine with basalt hammerstones, then hand sorted to separate the ore from the gangue (but not smelted on site). Once a vein was exhausted, miners backfilled the gallery, perhaps urged by cultural preoccupations. Radiocarbon dating has pinpointed the inception of ore mining at both Libiola and Monte Loreto to the mid-fourth millennium BC (Maggi and Pearce, 2005; Pearce, 2007, pp. 62–70); this dovetails with the metallurgical surge discussed above. Further evidence of early ore-mineral extraction is present at Buca di Spaccasasso and Poggio Malinverno; the former is a third millennium BC cinnabar quarry where burial was also performed, while the latter is presently undated (Cavanna and Pellegrini 2007; Giardino and Steiniger 2011; Volante 2014). If considered with the historic evidence (e.g., Aranguren and Sozzi 2006; Cocchi Genick and Grifoni Cremonesi 1989; Mochi 1915), these discoveries greatly strengthen the case for the antiquity and scale of prehistoric mining in west-central Italy.

New excavations and scientific analysis have also increased our knowledge of early smelting technology. Excavations at San Carlo-Cava Solvay, a now-destroyed domestic site in Tuscany (Fedeli and Galiberti 2016), brought to light several fired-clay platforms partly surrounded by curvilineal limestone walls. These are similar to early smelting installations in southern France and the eastern Alps (Ambert et al. 2005, 2013; Perini 1992). The analysis of slags and crucibles from the site

has revealed that copper and iron-copper compounds, some containing appreciable amounts of arsenic and zinc, were co-smelted on the platforms using a surprisingly efficient reduction technology. The smelting charges variously comprised chalcopyrite, sulfosalts (e.g., tetrahedrite and tennantite), and copper oxides/carbonates (e.g., cuprite); these were reduced in crucibles heated from above by blowpipes and/or bellows (Artioli et al. 2016). The process led to the formation of well-reacted silica slags lacking the unreacted ore fragments and entrapped copper droplets typical of early metallurgical residues (Bourgarit 2007). This is all the more remarkable considering the late fourth millennium chronology of San Carlo-Cava Solvay, which makes it one of the earliest metallurgical sites in Europe. Future research will clarify if this technological leap is unique to this settlement, or whether it is shared by other early smelting sites in the region.

Although the smelting evidence, and most metalwork, cluster near the ore deposits of west-central Italy, alleged casting and working residues have been found all over the region, including in resource-starved Marche and Abruzzo (Dolfini 2014). Many of these residues, however, are difficult to assess due to the lack of targeted scientific analysis. Some look like genuine casting scraps (e.g., at Conelle; Palmieri and Cazzella 1999, fig. 48.4); others, however, might be highly fragmented and eroded objects (e.g., at Querciola and Maddalena di Muccia; Manfredini et al. 2005b; Sarti 1997). Whatever the case, metal waste of this kind offers much-needed clues that copper circulated well beyond the extraction zones of Tuscany and Liguria. Multiple strands of evidence support this reading. For example, bone artifacts from Conelle, a Copper Age site in Marche, were carved into shape using metal tools (Cristiani and Alhaique 2005); yet these tools are nowhere to be found, except for a single nondescript knife (Palmieri and Cazzella 1999, fig. 48.3). More generally, metal objects are extremely rare in east-central Italy including at burial sites that, west of the Apennines, teem with copper-alloy weapons. A major visibility bias is in operation here, probably caused by widespread copper recycling as well as divergent social behaviors that dictated the placing of metals with the dead in the western and eastern peninsula (Lemorini 2012; Pearce 2009).

Recent applications of lead isotope analysis—a not uncontroversial provenancing method (Pernicka 2014; Radivojević et al. 2019)—have provided yet more inklings as to the wide circulation of early metals and how visibility biases may obscure it. The technique was applied to the axe head carried by the Iceman, a late fourth millennium BC mummy from the eastern Alps, and a coeval (and typologically similar) implement from Zug-Riedmatt, Switzerland. The analyses revealed that both objects were made from copper likely sourced in the Colline Metallifere ("Ore Mountains"), a conspicuous ore body in Tuscany (Artioli et al. 2017; Gross et al. 2017). Orti Bottagone and San Carlo-Cava Solvay lie in this area. Recent lead isotope analysis of 20 axe heads and daggers from central Italy (Dolfini et al., in press) shows that while most objects were fashioned from metal from Tuscany, others were made from copper whose isotopic signal points to the western Alps and southern France. Occasionally, metals came from farther away, such as an axe head from Rome's hinterland, whose Levantine shape and Cycladic isotopic fingerprint suggest an eastern Mediterranean origin (Anzidei et al. 2018). Considering the abundance of cupriferous ores in Tuscany, such instances of "bringing coals to Newcastle" open

up unexpected scenarios regarding early metalwork circulation, which only future research can elucidate.

The objects themselves provide a great deal of information concerning early metal technology. Giardino (2009–2012) observed patterns of wrinkles stretching along the vertical axis of two late Neolithic axe heads, as well as, in one specimen, congealed copper droplets (caused by the mold cracking under thermal stress) running downward from the butt (Fig. 5). Both features, which he reproduced experimentally, demonstrate use of bivalve molds at the very inception of copper metallurgy. The wear analysis of 48 Copper Age axe heads, daggers, and halberds further suggests early use of bivalve molds in the region (Dolfini 2011; Iaia and Dolfini, in press). The research highlights several features that are incompatible with one-piece molding including, in axe heads, hollowed-out faces and blowholes (on both sides) caused by trapped gases; v-shaped shrinkages on axe butts due to insufficient quantities of metal being poured in; and, in bladed implements, symmetrical

Fig. 5 Late Neolithic copper-alloy axe head from Rapolano, Siena. Congealed droplets running down from the butt suggest that this object was cast in a bivalve mold, indicating knowledge of two-piece casting since the very beginning of metal production (photograph reproduced by courtesy of the Museo delle Civiltà 'L. Pigorini,' Rome)

midribs. Objects cast in monovalve molds (as suggested by marked asymmetries in object profiles) are present in the sample but not in great numbers. This goes against received wisdom postulating that "more advanced" bivalve molds followed early experimentation with "simpler" monovalve ones. Emphatically, the data show that this is not the case, for two-piece and one-piece molds were used side by side in early central Italy, the former not just predating but also greatly outnumbering the latter (Dolfini 2011; Iaia and Dolfini, in press). Similar patterns are found in other areas of early Europe (Crellin 2018; Kienlin 2010; Kuijpers 2018).

Wear analysis has shown, moreover, that evidence of shaping and smithing may be discerned on axe heads in the form of thickened or flattened margins, raised flanges, and bevels between axe bodies and cutting edges. Hammer marks also were observed on the cutting edges of certain axes, suggesting work-hardening prior to use. Work-hardening poses a much-debated problem in early European metallurgy, one that intersects notions of technological evolution, skill, and knowledge transfer. It is generally presumed that prehistoric copper-alloy tools were hardened to lengthen their use life and increase their performance. While the procedure was routinely deployed in the Bronze Age, it is presently unclear when, and how consistently, it was performed prior to that. Scientific analyses suggest that, in the northern Alps, early axe heads were frequently hardened, while in the southern Alps Copper Age smiths were either unaware or mostly uninterested in enhancing tool functionality through hammering (Artioli 2007; Kienlin 2008, 2010). Recently, Kuijpers (2018) has argued that the problem needs retheorizing, for performance is a cultural concept that stems from contingent factors, including alloy composition and "the standard of the time" or the technological baseline to which smiths and users refer in judging the quality of a tool. While the problem cannot be solved with regard to central Italian metals pending further analyses, the coexistence of monovalve and bivalve molds disprove long-standing ideas of linear technological change, which might apply to work-hardening, too. The new research shows that different communities of practice adapted technical knowledge to the specific social and material conditions in which they operated, and that an array of factors including the skill and experience of the coppersmith contributed to determining the quality of the finished objects.

Funerary Practices and Ideas of the Body

For much of the Italian Neolithic, the village acted as a cultural pivot for the daily enactment of social relations and the reproduction of individual and collective identity. Burial was mostly performed in domestic contexts: under house floors, in pits and trenches scattered across settlement sites, and, significantly, in ditches marking the symbolic boundaries of village communities (Robb 2002, 2007). Things began to change in the fifth millennium BC, when the dead were first interred at distinct locales within the village, signifying separation from daily life. At the same time, mortuary rites grew more formalized and featured increasingly elaborate bone manipulation, fragmentation, and reburial customs (Dolfini 2015).

The beginning of this long-term trajectory can be traced back to the advanced Middle Neolithic, when, in southern Italy, discrete burial grounds were first established at the edge of inhabited or recently abandoned villages (Conati Barbaro 2007–2008). The trend toward burial segregation gained momentum in the late Neolithic, as seen for example in the extramural cemeteries of Masseria Bellavista, Scoglio del Tonno, and Cala Tramontana (Palma di Cesnola 1967; Quagliati 1906). These sites display frequent reorganized burials and standardized grave goods, anticipating widespread Copper Age features. As a further intimation of things to come, hypogeal burial chambers appeared at this time at Arnesano, Serra d'Alto-Fondo Gravela, and perhaps Scoglio del Tonno (Manfredini 2001; but see Pessina and Tiné 2008, pp. 289–291, for problems of interpretation).

In central Italy, key evidence for fast-changing ideas of the dead comes from Ripoli (Cremonesi 1965), where the Late Neolithic village featured a discrete burial ground consisting of nine trenches that cut across the inhabited space. The exact layout of these burials is unclear, however, as they were investigated in the early 1900s (Rellini 1934). At least 44 individuals were interred in the Ripoli trenches, varying from one to 14 per feature. Skeates (1995a) maintains that the mourners first placed a body in the grave; they would then leave the grave open to allow the soft tissues to decompose. After some time, they would return to the grave to manipulate the dry bones and carry out funerary feasts whose conspicuous remains characterize many burials at the site. However, Grifoni Cremonesi (2003a, p. 266) pointed out that any reconstruction of the burial process at Ripoli is hampered by the scant evidence available. Alongside open settlements, caves were used in the Late Neolithic for funerary practices, especially in the Apennine uplands. Even at these sites, however, burial and ancestor veneration rituals were progressively moved into the deeper recesses, away from the cave mouths where domestic life concentrated (Skeates 1997b; Whitehouse 1992a). This is most apparent at Grotta dei Piccioni, where inhumation, skull curation, and other ritual performances were carried out in a secluded space at the bottom of the cave (Cremonesi 1976).

The lengthy process of separating the dead from the living ended in the Final Neolithic and Copper Age. Burial was moved out of the domestic space, and cemeteries were created in the landscape as separate and often secluded locales for the performance of funerary rites. At the same time, mortuary practices acquired an increasingly formulaic character, to the point that funerary customs shared recurrent traits over large, if not necessarily bounded areas. Two such customs characterize central Italy in the fourth and third millennia BC: interment in caves, the Vecchiano tradition, and burial in hypogeal chambers (occasionally supplemented by trench and cist tombs), the Rinaldone tradition. The former concentrates along the Tyrrhenian coast and in inner Tuscany and upland Abruzzo, while the latter clusters in southern Tuscany/northern Latium, the lower Tiber Valley, and the Adriatic lowlands. In Rome's hinterland, Rinaldone burials interdigitate with cemeteries in the Gaudo and Laterza styles that characterize the southwestern and southeastern peninsula, respectively. Gaudo burials feature hypogeal chambers similar to Rinaldone's (but the goods and mortuary rites are partly different), while Laterza cemeteries consist of individual trench burials (Anzidei et al. 2011a, b, 2012; Cocchi Genick 2009; Negroni Catacchio 2006). Burial continued to be performed at open

villages during the Copper Age, but evidence is so scant and indistinctive to give us the impression that this was not a significant countertrend to what was going on in the broader landscape.

Most burial caves are poorly known due to infrequent modern excavations and high rates of looting. It is presumed that, at most places, mortuary rites began with the inhumation of articulated bodies followed by the manipulation and fragmentation of the dry bones. The archaeological outcomes of these processes, whose taphonomy may be exceptionally hard to disentangle, are thick deposits in which large amounts of bone fragments are mingled with potsherds, dismembered necklaces, and stone and metal weapons. Burial caves were used by communities ranging from a single lineage (e.g., Prima Ciappa; Maggi and Formicola 1978) to large coresidential groups (e.g., Grotta San Giuseppe and Grotta del Fontino; Cremonesi 2001; Vigliardi 2002). Radiocarbon shows that many of these sites remained in use for centuries.

The Rinaldone burial tradition is typified by small cemeteries, seldom exceeding 20 graves, organized in clusters of low-ceilinged, subterranean chambers cut in the soft tufa or limestone bedrock. Entrance shafts or short corridors precede the tombs, which normally included a small number of individuals, both articulated and reorganized. Women, men, and children of all age groups were afforded formal burial, although infants and young children are absent or significantly underrepresented at all but a handful of sites. More often than not, articulated bodies were placed, legs flexed, on their left sides regardless of gender, while dismembered remains were carefully arranged along the chamber walls or near the entrance (Fig. 6). However, variation is high both within and between sites, thus suggesting that mortuary behavior was predicated upon an array of context-specific customs and conventions (Dolfini 2006a).

Gender and age were frequently stressed in articulated burials through recurrent sets of goods. Typically, weapons were placed with men, while ornaments such as composite necklaces and pins accompanied women and children. Copper-alloy awls, whose lifetime function and funerary uses are still debated (Pearce 2007, pp. 48–50), were given to all gender and age groups, as were bottles and flasks containing an intoxicating drink akin to mead (Carboni et al. 2015). To some extent, gender and age also were expressed through bodily layout. In Copper Age burials, however, the focus was not on orientation (as in the Neolithic) but on manipulation, or lack thereof, as male skeletons remained articulated more often than those of women and children (Dolfini 2006a, b).

An unprecedented degree of ritual elaboration characterized Copper Age mortuary practices. Evidence from Rinaldone-style chamber graves, albeit not uniform, suggests that the burial process encompassed three main steps: interment of a fleshed (and often furnished) individual, flexed sideways; manipulation of the dry bones, which were removed, partly or totally, from the grave and probably recirculated among the living; and reburial of selected remains (normally skulls and long bones), which were mixed with ancestral bones and stacked along the tomb walls or near the entrance (Table 2). This echoes the tripartite structure of rites of passage discussed by Van Gennep (1909), comprising rites of separation of the dead from the living; rites of liminality marking the transition to their new

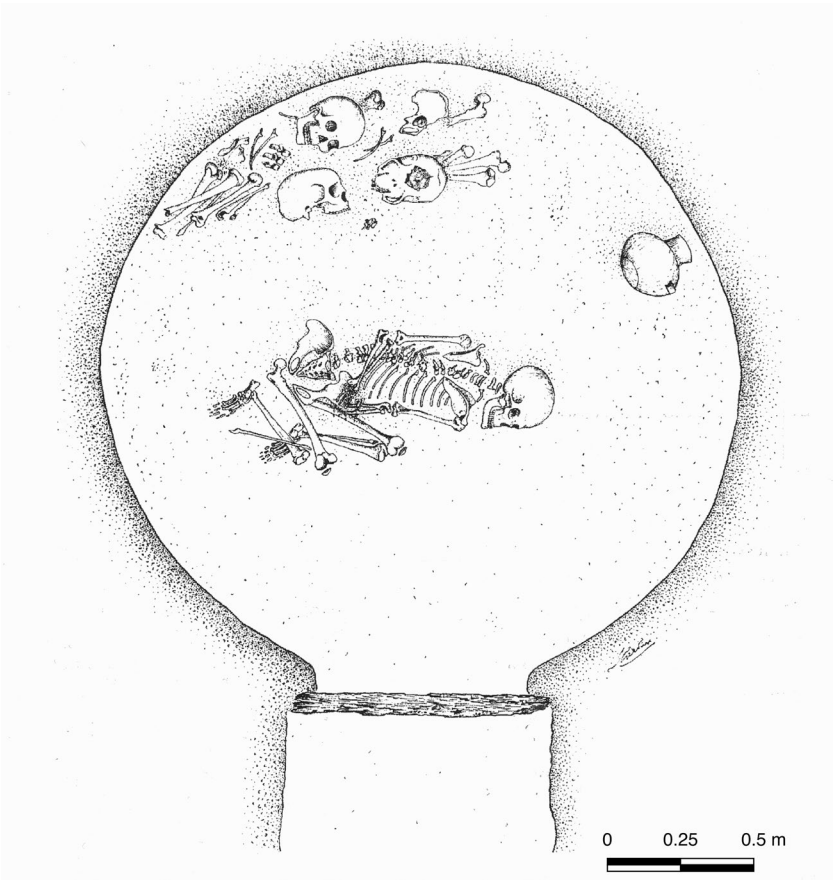

Fig. 6 Articulated burial and dismembered human remains from Ponte San Pietro, tomb 22. The chamber tomb is typical of the Rinaldone burial custom that arose in central Italy during the fourth millennium BC (Miari 1995)

state; and rites of incorporation sanctioning their final integration into the world of the dead. In Copper Age funerals the intermediate step (i.e., Van Gennep's rites of liminality) was especially elaborate. This featured an astonishing variety of bone manipulation practices ranging from the removal of the skull to the complete disarticulation of the skeleton. Objects also were removed from the grave to be circulated and sometimes redeposited with disarticulated burials. This is especially true of the drinking vessel accompanying the deceased. The vessel was broken up as the skeleton was reorganized, and its fragments were presumably distributed among the living along with body parts. Eventually, select potsherds and bones were returned to the grave to mark the end of the burial process and the incorporation of the deceased into the realm of the ancestors. In burial caves, bodily fragmentation took a more extreme form than in chamber tombs, for the

Table 2 The funerary program deployed in Copper Age chamber tombs entailed three main steps: interment, manipulation, and reburial

	INTERMENT	MANIPULATION	REBURIAL
TIME ↓	TIME →		
	Interment of an articulated body, crouched on the left-hand or right-hand side	Manipulation or removal of the skull	Reburial of the skull
	Interment of further articulated bodies	Manipulation or removal of the upper body; the lower limbs are left in situ	Reburial of the upper body, reorganized
		Manipulation or removal of skull and limbs; spine/ribs (and occasionally feet) are left in situ	Reburial of the entire body, reorganized
		Manipulation or removal of the entire body; tiny bone fragments are (unintentionally?) left in situ	Reburial of the entire body, reorganized and mixed with other bodies
			Reburial of the long bones and skulls of several bodies, stacked together

As in Van Gennep's (1909) cross-cultural examination of rites of passage, the intermediate step (or 'rites of liminality') may be especially elaborate and long lasting (Dolfini 2015)

bones of the dead were systematically broken and mixed with ancestral relics, until no recognizable human form could be discerned in the commingled deposit.

Despite much local variation, the widespread occurrence of this tripartite burial custom suggests that Copper Age mortuary practices aimed to remove the individual identity and lifetime persona of the deceased. This process would have ensured that the newly dead was integrated into a nonindividualized community of the ancestors (Cocchi Genick 2004; Dolfini 2004; Skeates 1995a). As a counterpoint to this prevalent practice, however, certain bodies were left undisturbed in the grave. Significantly, their goods were left beside them, untouched, and their funerary vessels were not broken.

To understand this minority burial custom, we turn to another medium of bodily representation found in central Italy at the time: stelae. Anthropomorphic statuary emerged in many regions of Europe during the fourth and third millennia BC (Robb 2008, 2009), including Lunigiana, a mountainous area straddling present-day Tuscany and Liguria. Lunigiana stelae depict the human body in a formulaic manner. Body features include flexed arms with fingered hands, a horizontal line standing for the shoulders, and nonindividualized faces with straight noses, round faces, and, occasionally, two circles on either side of the head, presumably indicating ears or earrings. The lower body is never engraved. The head was carved into two alternative styles. The Pontevecchio style features short hemispherical heads directly attached to the torso; the Malgrate style presents peculiar crescent-shaped heads joined to the shoulders by carved-out necks (Fig. 7). As the two head designs occur in different areas of Lunigiana, their visual differences might have marked out distinct tribal identities (De Marinis 1995; Maggi 2001).

It appears that the Lunigiana stelae stood aligned in the open landscape, away from habitation or burial sites. They might have been erected along transit routes leading to mountain passes or high-altitude pastures, which gained economic and social relevance in the fourth and third millennia BC (see above). At Pontevecchio,

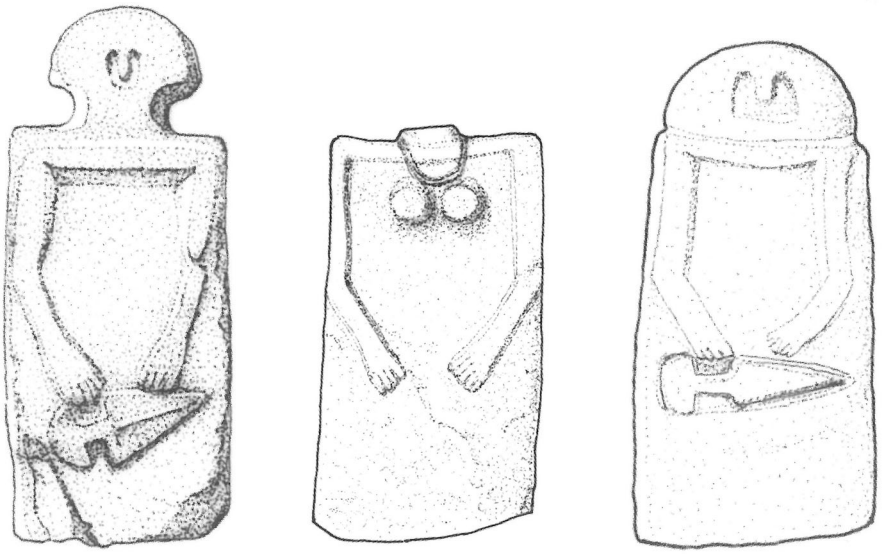

Fig. 7 Selection of Lunigiana stelae: left, Malgrate type, male; center, Malgrate type, female; right, Pontevecchio type, male. Note the gender markers, namely daggers (phallus-like, on the hips) for the males and breasts and necklaces for the females. Approximate height of complete stelae is 120 cm (modified after Cocchi Genick 2004)

a row of eight stelae were uncovered in the early 20th century (Mazzini 1909), and there are later discoveries from Minucciano (Ambrosi and Mannoni 1972). Alignments of stelae presumably acted as foci for ritual performances. Although no quality contextual data are available for stela sites in Lunigiana, recent findings from Ossimo-Anvoia (south-central Alps) provide much-needed clues to the cultural activities performed at such locales. Ossimo-Anvoia consists of a small mountainside plateau rising 860 m above sea level. The site was visited for about 1000 years, from the late fourth to the late third millennium BC, for ritual performances focusing on the erection, modification, and removal of anthropomorphic stelae and monoliths. Culturally significant artifacts were deposited near the stelae, including unusual natural stones, fossils, pottery, arrowheads, and scatters of fire-altered human remains (Fedele 2004, 2008). Like Fosso Conicchio, the site was seemingly devoted to the processing of human remains during the liminal stage of the burial process, when the bones were removed from the grave and circulated among the living. This practice would have reinforced the cultural bonds tying together the living and the newly dead and secured their transformation into ancestors.

Insights into the cultural logic underpinning Copper Age bodies, both real and imagined, are provided by the diacritic signs defining personal identity on stelae and in articulated burials. The first is gender, which was expressed in a dichotomized form that differs from the more fluid representations of gender typical of Neolithic Italy (Robb 1994a, 2007; Whitehouse 1992b, 2001). In both stelae and burials, maleness is denoted through weapons, while femaleness is expressed through ornaments, especially necklaces. The second is age. As well as being gender-specific,

the grave goods placed with articulated burials are also age-specific, as weapons and other markers of adulthood never accompany individuals under 11–12 years of age (Dolfini 2006a, b). Small stelae lacking breasts or weapons, often taken to indicate children, may mirror this funerary behavior (De Marinis 1995, p. 199; Robb 2009, p. 175). The third is the substances of the body. It is no coincidence that stelae where engraved in stone, as this material has distinctive physical and temporal properties such as endurance and immutability (Robb 2009). Stone was likely used in this context to emphasize a culturally constructed opposition between the living and the dead. Once again, this is something we encounter in burials, where ancestral bodies are defined by the hard, dry bones resulting from the decay of living (or transitioning) fleshed bodies. Stone may have stood for what the ancestors were made of (Bradley 1991, 2012; Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina 1998). Building on these considerations, I argue that the stone people should be interpreted as "special" ancestors, singled out by the living for distinct acts of remembrance. A similar practice was carried out at burial places by preserving the bodily integrity and furnishings of select deceased.

It appears that, in Copper Age central Italy, the dead could be channeled into two alternative pathways based on their personal identity, the circumstances of their death, and other factors that may no longer be discernible to us. The more common of the two—disarticulation—would have secured their integration into the undifferentiated realm of the collective ancestors; articulation, on the other hand, was reserved for select deceased whose life, death, or identity dictated singular, and perhaps individualized, commemoration.

Understanding Late Neolithic and Copper Age Society in Central Italy

Prevailing scholarly narratives maintain that three intertwined changes in central Italian settlement and subsistence strategies occurred during 4500–2200 BC: the breakup of the long-lived nucleated village, the colonization of marginal landscapes, and the onset of more diversified economic practices grounded in mobile herding. Since the fall of early migrationist theories, these changes have alternatively been explained as an unintended "snowball" effect caused by population growth (Barker 1981, p. 158) or a response to drier and more unpredictable climatic regimes (Broodbank 2013, pp. 264–265). Social explanations have also been proposed that focus on the ethics of reciprocity engendered by meat consumption. This is conceptualized as a potent expression of intergroup relatedness, which would have intensified at a critical juncture marked by the stretching of social networks over a wider, less permanently settled landscape (Robb 2007, pp. 311–313).

In this review, I have nuanced this picture by showing that the change was less abrupt than previously surmised and that significant elements of continuity existed with earlier settlement patterns and economic regimes. I also have highlighted a plethora of regional differences that were likely motivated by distinctive social choices as well as environmental constraints. Within a broader trajectory toward more fragmented village communities, presumably breaking up along descent lines, one can discern a minority countertrend, which is especially visible in the fertile

lowlands and alluvial plains. There, new productivity-boosting farming technologies allowed communities to stave off the growing risks of crop failure. It was, therefore, possible for them to dwell in large permanent settlements, which—and this is hardly a coincidence—reappeared in prehistoric Italy in the third millennium BC, following the widespread adoption of the plow and cart. Animal husbandry data display similar countertrends. For any community that intensified mobile herding, and set the mountains ablaze in the process, there were many others that took advantage of the naturally available meadows and deciduous woodlands surrounding their abode to sustain the year-round keeping of pig, sheep/goat, and cattle. For most of them, and perhaps all, mixed farming continued to be a pillar of the productive economy.

Such diverging approaches to subsistence, however, might have responded to an overarching principle that tied them all together. This is a new, more flexible concept of the residential group, which grew progressively disengaged from Neolithic ideas of the village as the place where the community would have dwelled together "since the beginning of time" (Dolfini 2015; Robb 2007). In the palimpsest of impermanent villages, dispersed farmsteads, and seasonally inhabited caves emerging from the late fifth millennium BC, one senses the ghost of large social units splintering along gender, age, and kin lines for subsistence tasks that took them away from the village and into the broader landscape. Tending to gardens, foraging in the woods, and moving the herds from pasture to pasture were now activities that might have characterized subsections of the social group more markedly than in the full Neolithic. Some of these tasks, such as hunting red deer during youth initiation rites and sharing the meat of a slaughtered cow to seal a marriage, would have served the purpose of reinforcing corporate identity as much as of supplementing a largely vegetarian diet.

As the tie between co-residence and the common history of the group stretched to a breaking point, burial was gradually reshaped as *the* medium around which social relations could newly coalesce (Dolfini 2015; Robb 1994b). This is perhaps unsurprising considering that, since the sixth millennium BC, burial had been a prime means for ascribing group identity and structuring social interaction. Yet, as it changed in nature and grew in importance, burial underwent three profound alterations in its form and meaning. The first was a new social desire to create a special locus for the dead, separate from the living; the extramural cemetery was thus born. As I have argued, its waxing was concomitant to the slow waning of the nucleated village as a cultural resource. It could perhaps be said that the demise of the village, social if not always physical, necessitated the cemetery to be invented, insofar as smaller and more dispersed communities did require meaningful places to bury their dead, commemorate their ancestors, and ultimately reinforce the common genealogic ties that the new lifestyle had loosened.

The second alteration concerns the very nature of burial. Mortuary practices grew increasingly complex (but also normative and formulaic) in the Copper Age, to a degree unparalleled in the Neolithic world. This change may be explained with the growing importance of genealogy. Since kin group ancestors had become the core medium of social reproduction, a straightforward funerary rite no longer responded to the novel need to commune with them. Genealogy had to be played up to tie together the threads of a common history that the diminished role of the village had

thrown into jeopardy. The ancestors, either real or conveniently "rediscovered," were the obvious means for doing so (Robb 1994b). In the fourth and third millennia BC, people increasingly defined themselves by handling, circulating, breaking, mixing, and reburying the physical bodies of their forebears in a bewildering array of ritual practices. Formally, such practices would have been justified by a richer and more subtle categorization of the deceased in terms of gender, age, and perhaps status (Fowler 2018). At a deeper level, however, they were motivated by a fresh desire to stress group identity and lineage ties across generations. Importantly, these practices required a grave structure that could be shared by the living, the newly dead, and the ancestors on equal footing; hence the chamber tomb and burial cave.

The third and perhaps deepest change lay in the social understanding of the human body. It appears that in central Italy, as elsewhere, the body was reconceptualized as a more partible and transgressible entity than it had been previously (Chapman 2000; Fowler 2008, 2015; Jones 2005). Body parts and substances endowed with symbolic qualities could now be extracted from the dead and employed in a wide range of ritual interactions and exchanges. Though hardly new, the practice grew in frequency, complexity, and social significance during the fourth and third millennia BC. Material culture played a major role in the process. As the bodies of the dead were broken up to secure their transformation into ancestors, their grave goods, presumably matched with specific body parts (e.g., head/battle-axe and limbs/arrows; Fig. 8), were recirculated among the living in mutually reinforcing signification processes. Comparatively rare articulated burials offer insights into the cultural logic underpinning this behavior. By using recurrent, stereotyped sets of goods, individual burials presented the identity of the dead as normative, institutionalized, and immutable (Dolfini 2006a, b). Such a significant countertrend to prevalent disarticulation practices has long attracted researchers' attention.

It is frequently suggested that the rich panoplies of stone and metal weapons accompanying articulated male bodies indicate that the deceased was invested in life with political leadership. Some see these individuals as the forerunners of a social archetype of the European Bronze Age: the "warrior-hero" (Hansen 2013; Jeunesse 2014). Following a well-rehearsed ethnographic analogy, others interpret them as

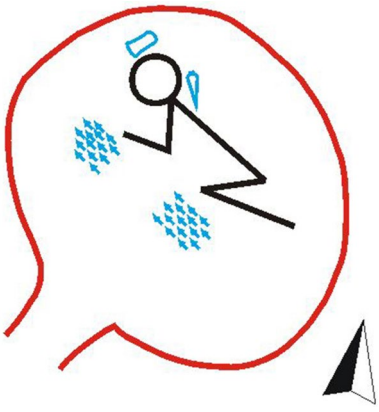

Fig. 8 Reconstructed layout of furnished male burial from Rinaldone, tomb 8. Note the stone battle-axe placed above the head, the metal dagger at the back of the head, and the two sets of flint arrowheads lying next to the limbs. The chamber grave had a south-facing entrance corridor; dimensions are unknown (Dolfini 2004)

"Big Men" who would have grounded their power in the procurement and display of prestige-giving *exotica* (Cazzella 1998, 2003; Dolfini 2004). Both groups of scholars see in occasionally well-furnished child burials instances of ascribed status (Cazzella and Guidi 2011; Guidi 2000, pp. 58–59). This is taken as further proof that structured inequalities emerged at this time out of largely egalitarian Neolithic society. Robb (1999) has put forward a thought-provoking explanation for the emergence of social ranking in Late Neolithic and Copper Age Italy. He maintained that, in the Early and Middle Neolithic, the disparate forms of prestige created through various activities were not organized around unitary kinds of value associated with social eminence. One could be a religious leader, a master potter, or a fearsome warrior, but not all of them at once, for these domains of action were not commensurable. This changed from the late fifth millennium BC, and increasingly so in the fourth and third millennia, as personal prestige could first be accumulated by a person through manifold fields of action. Grounding their deeds in the new gender ideology gaining momentum at the time—Robb posited—successful political leaders could now rise to prominence and naturalize their claim to power through the display of iconic goods, first and foremost metal weapons. This would be a "great simplification" in sociopolitical structures akin to the shift from "Great Man" to "Big Man" societies in the ethnographic landscape of highland Papua New Guinea (see also Robb 2007).

While all these readings retain elements of value, I caution interpreting the social changes in overtly political terms. First, both Big Man and warrior-hero explanations focus on relatively infrequent articulated burials (especially if male and weapon-rich) at the expense of widespread disarticulated, female, and poorly furnished inhumations. As we have seen, however, both articulation and disarticulation were employed in Copper Age Italy as meaningful funerary practices. They were ostensibly used for different categories of people based on aspects of their personal identity, the circumstances of their death, and other context-specific factors that may be difficult for us to map out. At several chamber grave cemeteries, moreover, and at all burial caves, no well-furnished articulated burials survive. Does it mean that these communities lacked political leaders worth remembering? Or did they dispense with structured leadership altogether? While these are, of course, possibilities worth considering, one could propose alternative explanations. These should focus on the broader cosmological meanings embodied by burial, including the desire to preserve the bodily integrity of select individuals in death and to reconfigure aspects of their personal identity in a highly stylized manner (Dolfini 2006a). In Copper Age Italy, not all routes to ancestorhood followed the same path. While most of the dead had their individual identities erased during the burial process, others had theirs refashioned following strict cultural norms and conventions. These were men, women, and children alike. Some were given identity-enhancing objects, others were not. Current political interpretations create an artificial separation between a few male, well-furnished, articulated burials and "the rest." This invites caution in receiving them.

Second, current readings tend to overlook the complex taphonomy of Copper Age funerary sites. Most chamber graves, and virtually all burial caves, were venues for multiple interactions between the living and the dead; on occasion, these lasted for hundreds of years (Conti et al. 1997). At these sites, what we see as archaeologists

is the final stage of the burial process, but we do not know (except for the articulated burials) how the process started, or, for that matter, how it unfolded. Political readings of Rinaldone-style and coeval burials are grounded in the unspoken assumption that lavish assemblages of goods were solely placed with the articulated dead. However, several clues suggest that this practice was far more prevalent than we can now appreciate, for objects were frequently moved out of the grave following the body parts to which they were symbolically tied. For example, funerary vessels and necklaces, which are invariably found broken and incomplete in reorganized burials, were laid whole at the time of the funeral (as seen in articulated burials). These objects were ostensibly fragmented and scattered during the burial process to create enchained relations (*sensu* Chapman 2000) linking the living, the newly dead, and the ancestors. This also may be true of the weapons occasionally found with disarticulated and commingled burials. Once again, readings focusing on the social need to express different kinds of identity in death and to erase or maintain it during the burial process might better account for the evidence than overtly political interpretations.

Third, sociopolitical explanations invariably assume that metals were intrinsically valuable and rare commodities in the Copper Age world. As the archetype of all prehistoric prestige goods, it is frequently presumed that metal was appropriated by self-aggrandizing individuals to naturalize their claims to power. However, large-scale phenomena of metal accumulation, hoarding, and display are conspicuously absent in Copper Age central Italy; the richest individual burial known to date features six metal objects, while other alleged elite burials have merely one to four (Dolfini 2004, p. 227). In nearly all cases, metals are part of wider grave assemblages comprising flint, hardstone, and bone objects; there is nothing there, but our intrinsic bias, to underpin the belief that metalwork was more important or valuable because of the material of which it was made. Furthermore, it is not clear how rare a commodity copper was in early Italy. Though far from exhaustive, the latest research shows that much more ore was extracted and smelted, and much more copper was cast and used, than the archaeological record would have us believe (Lemorini 2012; Pearce 2009). As we have seen above, people routinely crafted and used metal tools at settlement sites, but these have become invisible due to widespread recycling. If metal was not a scarce commodity in early Italy, what was the source of its value? This might have resided in its striking visual and technological properties, or its novel funerary uses. Metal may have been valued for its unparalleled luminosity, its color palette, and its ability to be refashioned into new objects (and thus be inscribed with new meanings). Of course, it also was valued as a powerful diacritic for new gendered and aged personae (Dolfini 2008; Keates 2002; Robb and Harris 2013).

The notion that metal was the ultimate trigger of social inequality is usually compounded by the claim that it was exchanged over long distances as a prized, prestige-giving material. In this respect, too, established interpretations need nuancing, as the data do not point to a steady intensification of social interaction from late fifth to late third millennia BC; they signal instead two separate trajectories: the peaking of long-distance communication and exchange in the late fifth millennium BC, and its sudden reversal to more self-contained circulation spheres in the early fourth millennium BC. Multiple, overlapping markers such as the exchange of Lipari obsidian

and Alpine greenstone, as well as the spread of superregional pottery styles, hint at heightened connectivity in the Late Neolithic. However, these trade networks broke down abruptly, and all at the same time, in the Final Neolithic. In a time span of no more than two centuries, the reach of obsidian and greenstone receded from more than 1000 km to less than 200 km, while once-pervasive pottery styles splintered into myriad craft traditions. New materials such as red jasper and steatite, and of course copper, came to the fore instead; long known to people, they had never elicited so much attention, by so many, prior to this time. Silver and antimony were perhaps the only materials to be genuinely new to Copper Age society. They might have been discovered by adapting copper reduction sequences to noncopper ores. Certainly, they were locally invested with social meanings stemming, it is presumed, from their unique white-silvery color, superb shine, and unparalleled reflectivity. All these materials, with the partial exception of metal, traveled no farther than 200 km from their sources, and often much less.

These considerations cast further doubts on the ability of power-hungry individuals to leverage the exchange of desirable artifacts for political purposes. Jasper, steatite, and most metal would have traveled through the network in a few days or weeks. Could control over them really attain political power? Even if they were displaced by longer lasting down-the-line or other indirect procurement mechanisms, it is unclear what special status could ever arise from objects that may have been within the reach of most adults in most communities (Robb and Harris 2013, p. 71). Compared with the sprawling web of Late Neolithic obsidian exchange, the Copper Age prestige goods economy, if it ever existed, must have had a decidedly local flavor. This is counterintuitive: if the power of distance bestowed tribal leaders with political authority, why did it wane when emerging Big Men would have needed it the most to consolidate their grip on increasingly scattered communities? Once again, we are left to wonder whether current political interpretations of Copper Age society are overstated. Rather than being the cradle of social inequality, I maintain, this period might be better understood as a turning point in the development of new cosmological beliefs and ideas of the person, laying the foundation for the Bronze Age world.

Conclusion

In providing a critical synthesis of the archaeology of Late Neolithic and Copper Age central Italy, 4500–2200 BC, and placing it in its wider peninsular context, I have discussed the latest research advances in the fields of relative and absolute chronology; settlement strategies and the productive economy; the circulation and exchange of socially significant materials; the rise of copper, silver, and antimony technology; and changes in funerary practices and ideas of the body. Specialists have frequently interpreted the new data in light of well-trodden narratives that stress the inevitable rise of social inequality, focusing on the appropriation of metals and other prestige goods to naturalize chiefs' claims to power and, for some authors, the right to transmit it to their offspring.

I argue that the evidence should be interpreted differently. First, the idea that the long-distance trade of valuable substances would legitimize political power is problematic in the context of prehistoric Italy. Sought-after stone materials were widely exchanged in purportedly egalitarian Neolithic society, but their sprawling network came crashing down at the onset of the Copper Age. This is precisely the time when elites are alleged to rise. It is hard to imagine a worst time to rid society of a readily available source of prestige: the power of distance (Helms 1983). Proponents of these readings suggest that a shiny new valuable, metal, replaced early stone materials as the prestige good *par excellence*. Yet this is grounded more in an act of faith than in a dispassionate examination of the evidence.

Metals were doubtless important to Copper Age people; just consider the way they were used in carefully choreographed funerals. Yet they were too abundant and widespread to be sources of economic value, and they were used too often as mundane cutting tools (e.g., to work animal bone and steatite) to become the blanket prestige material that they are alleged to be. As for being exchanged over long distances, the jury is still out pending further provenance analyses. Based on the limited data presently available, however, it appears that most metals were procured locally, although some did come from faraway lands. Even those objects, however, were refashioned into familiar-looking axe heads and daggers by central Italian smiths; most likely, any memory of their being rare and prestigious *exotica* was lost on remelting (Dolfini et al., in press). Things undoubtedly changed in the Bronze Age, when tin trade once again connected distant regions of prehistoric Europe with one another. Prior to this time, however, the social value of metals was principally phenomenological, situational, and performative. Metals would have been appreciated for their unparalleled shine and luminosity, their ability to be inscribed with new meanings through recasting and refashioning, and their power to mark out increasingly salient gendered and aged identities in burial.

Furthermore, the pulverized settlement patterns that characterized central Italy from late fifth to late third millennia BC do not show power and resources being concentrated in emerging central places. Quite the opposite, as people lived more scattered and dispersed lives at this time than ever before. This began to change in the third millennium BC, when substantial villages were again established in fertile plains and river valleys due to improved farming technology. Even these settlements, however, lack the telltale markers of inequality seen, for example, at fortified Chalcolithic settlements in Iberia. Barring sensational new discoveries and revelations, Copper Age Italian settlements are best conceptualized as medium-to-large agrarian villages made possible by transformations in the productive economy. Their ditches and palisades were not constructed do defend the metal wealth of tribal chieftains but, more prosaically, the crops and animals of farming and herding communities.

Finally, I have argued that well-furnished individual burials should not be taken as proof of emerging political leadership—a reading that I, too, espoused earlier in my career (Dolfini 2004, 2006a). These interpretations stand on a selective reading of the burial record, focusing on a handful of articulated male inhumations at the expense of many hundreds of disarticulated, female, and poorly equipped burials; on a misinterpretation of the Copper Age funerary process, which possibly entailed a much higher number of organized and furnished interments than we see

archaeologically; and on an overestimation of the importance of metals, which were invariably part of broader assemblages comprising stone and bone objects, too. Following Robb (2007) and Robb and Harris (2013), I have suggested that individual burials signal the rise of new forms of personal identity stressing gender, age, and other aspects of the deceased's personhood that may be harder for us to discern. Unlike them, however, I maintain that these burials can be understood only as part of a broader spectrum of funerary practices used by society to turn the newly dead into ancestral beings. This is especially the case in central Italy, where both articulation and disarticulation were meaningfully employed as legitimate pathways to ancestorhood. The former would have integrated the newly dead into the undifferentiated realm of the community's forebears, while the latter would have secured singular, and perhaps individualized, remembrance.

This does not mean that structured forms of leadership did not exist in early Italy, or that self-aggrandizers lacked opportunities to elevate their standing by manipulating multiple domains of action. What I have questioned instead is the idea that political power was single-mindedly expressed in the grave through supposedly rare and prestigious metal objects. Indeed, funerals and metalwork may have played a role in prehistoric power struggles, and they probably did. However, aspiring leaders would have maneuvered these media in more subtle, varying, and context-specific ways than current readings have us believe. Their strategies did not necessarily leave any discernible imprints in the burial record.

In this review, I have highlighted several problems deserving further research. First, the atomization of domestic pottery styles in the fourth and third millennia BC, and the parallel growth of normative funerary ceramics over wide areas, invite social explanations away from worn-out and poorly theorized notions of the "archaeological culture." Second, the reappearance of substantial village communities in the third millennium BC requires dedicated research focused on the role of the plow and cart in their rise, and on the relationship between settled and mobile communities. Third, the imbalance between hyper-studied Neolithic obsidian and greenstone exchange and understudied Copper Age stone and metal trade must be addressed urgently. New research will clarify if the realignment in trade networks discussed above is as all-encompassing as it now appears; if metal became the new material affording wide-ranging exchange, and when it did so; and what social mechanisms and agents underpinned the new networks. Fourth, the evolution of copper smelting and working sorely needs reappraisal. Questions regarding the transformation of copper reduction technology from the Late Neolithic to the Late Copper Age bear important consequences for our understanding of technological change and knowledge transfer in early Italy. The same is true of metal casting, smithing, and working.

Perhaps the biggest challenge of all, however, lies in aligning Italian prehistoric studies with the growing amount of research into mobility and migration in Neolithic and Bronze Age Europe. Cutting-edge scientific methods including stable isotope analysis and ancient DNA sequencing are now being used to rewrite the early history of Europe (e.g., Kristiansen et al. 2017; Parker Pearson et al. 2016). Yet they have seldom been deployed to prehistoric Italy, with no studies yet available for the central peninsula, 4500–2200 BC. Out of many hundreds of Late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age Europeans whose ancient DNA has now been sequenced, only eight are

from south of the Alps (at the time of writing); of these, seven are from northern Italy (including the famous Iceman mummy) and the eighth is from Sicily (Allentoft et al. 2015; Keller et al. 2012; Olalde et al. 2018; Sikora et al. 2014). As for stable isotope analysis highlighting residential mobility, the few studies published to date overlook the central peninsula, as well as much of the period in question (Cavazzuti et al. 2019; Tafuri et al. 2016).

Significantly, I have provided a critical context for evaluating mobility and migration in central Italy (as and when isotopic and genomic data will become available), preempting some of the more controversial interpretations proposed for the continental evidence. For example, the earliest instances of individual inhumation and warrior burial seem to predate the spread of steppe ancestry and related cultural phenomena across western Europe. It appears that, in Italy, the new burial customs arose out of internal dynamics rooted in Neolithic social practices. Moreover, I have raised fresh questions that could profitably be addressed through archaeological science. How was kinship expressed in burial? To what extent did the communities of the dead laid out in chamber tombs and burial caves reflect communities of the living? What social mechanisms underpinned the trade of valuable materials, and how did they change from the Neolithic to the Copper Age? Who was in charge of moving greenstone and obsidian over long distances, and who took care of the copper, jasper, and steatite? Did individuals move across vast geographical and social landscapes, or did they pass materials and objects down the line? Finally, did Italian society contribute to the spread of new ideas concerning burial and the body across prehistoric Europe? To what extent was Italy on the receiving end of the momentous social changes that affected the continent in the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic, and to what extent did it contribute to them? The revised chronology discussed in these pages, assigning the birth of the Italian Copper Age to the mid-fourth millennium BC (a time predating the inception of Late Neolithic/Chalcolithic practices in most of western Europe), suggests that not all light may come from the Orient, after all. It is perhaps time that we started looking south.

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When the Phoenicians Were Swedish: Rudbeck's *Atlantica* and Phoenician Studies

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Olof Rudbeck's *Atlantica* (1679–1702) is a characteristically wide-ranging example of Early Modern scholarship in which the author draws on a compendious assortment of evidence to argue that his native Sweden was the cradle of human civilization. Within this discussion, he devotes particular attention to the Phoenicians, whom he attempts to paint as descendants of "Scythians" who had migrated to the Mediterranean from an original Swedish homeland. Drawing upon the work of earlier Phoenician scholars such as Joseph Scaliger and Samuel Bochart, as well as his own, often rather creative, etymologies, he seeks to demonstrate a relationship between the Phoenician language and Swedish. This paper explores how Rudbeck engages with and utilizes the Phoenician people and the Phoenician language in service of his wider proto-nationalist goals and places his work within the wider context of Phoenician studies in Early Modern Europe, a few decades before Barthélemy's decipherment of the Phoenician script (1758). While clearly wrong in many of his conclusions, Rudbeck's work can tell us much about perceptions of Phoenicians at an important time of transition between Renaissance scholarship and the beginnings of modern archaeological and linguistic research.

The *Atlantica*, Proto-Nationalist History, and the Emergence of Phoenician Studies

Born in 1630, the son of a bishop, Olof Rudbeck came to the university at Uppsala at age sixteen. It was there that he would spend most of his life, with the exception of a year-long stay at the University of Leiden. Rudbeck held the chairs of both theoretical and practical medicine—his most notable achievement was the identification of the lymphatic system in 1652, in parallel with Thomas Bartholin in Denmark. This was only part of his expertise. Rudbeck was a true Early Modern polymath and was proficient in mathematics, architecture, and music as well as other disciplines. His magnum opus *Atland eller Manheim,* usually referred to by its Latin title *Atlantica,* incorporates mythology, linguistics, archaeology, history, and ethnography into its argument.

At four volumes and three thousand pages, the *Atlantica* is not a work that permits easy summarization. Like many of the sprawling tomes of Renaissance and Early Modern schol-

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arship it defies modern disciplinary boundaries, offering conclusions on history, geography, linguistics, genealogy, and religion. It is in essence a work of proto-nationalism, from its subject matter to the choice of language. In an academic world where the use of Latin was ubiquitous, Rudbeck instead wrote in Swedish and commissioned a Latin translation to be published together with the original. The main thesis is that Sweden, especially the old pagan settlement Gamla Uppsala (about five km from the center of Uppsala), is the cradle of civilization.[1]

Rudbeck's argument is not primarily based in biblical reference, as much research at the time was, and he never claims that Sweden was the location of the garden of Eden or that Swedish was the original language spoken by Adam and Eve. However, like many Early Modern writers he connected his nation's earliest origins with the travels of Noah's offspring. He proposed that Japheth, the eldest son of Noah, who during Early Modern times was often seen as the ancestor of the Europeans, migrated from Mount Ararat, up through Russia and into Sweden. Once he was there, a rich culture flourished. During an exodus around four thousand years ago, led by kings who are now remembered as the Nordic gods, Swedish culture and customs influenced the civilizations around the Mediterranean. Some Swedes settled there and eventually became other people, such as Trojans, Persians, and Phoenicians. Rudbeck also counts the Scythians among them, while simultaneously using the ethnonym *Skyter* "Scythians" for the prehistoric Swedes. This could be under the influence of the Scythian hypothesis, which argued that the Scythians were speakers of the mother language of Europe.[2]

The *Atlantica* is thus part linguistic treatise, part sacred geography, part nationalist origin-myth. The Phoenicians appear as supporting players, wheeled on to lend credence to the wider project of cementing Sweden's linguistic and cultural pre-eminence in European prehistory. For the Phoenicians, this was a familiar role. They had been playing it for centuries in a succession of nationalist epic histories and sacred geographies aimed at forging legitimating links between the prestigious pasts of the Old Testament and classical history and contemporary European nation-states and the monarchs who controlled them.

One might easily draw parallels between Rudbeck's project and that of the late fifteenth-century historiographer and fabulist Annius of Viterbo, whose *Antiquitates* (1498) sought to overturn the traditional supremacy of the Greeks and Romans in narratives of human civilization by positing a direct connection between the Etruscans and Noah.[3] Annius's work cast his native Viterbo as the crucible of postdiluvian Europe and its eclipsing by Greece and Rome as both a lamentable fall and a cruel rewriting of history (Stephens 1989: 98–138; Grafton 1993: 77–78; Collins 2000).[4] This type of argument was common during the early modern period throughout Europe. From Goropius Becanus (1519–72) in the Low Countries (Krop 2016: 109–14) to Vassily Trediakovsky (1703–69) in Russia (Breuillard and Polouektov 1994), biblical genealogy is used to back up claims of specific populations, countries, and languages being particularly ancient. The roots of much of this can be found in the

1. This is calculated between the church at Gamla Uppsala, adjacent to the Vendel Period burial mounds, and the Gustavianum, the main university building during the seventeenth century. Rudbeck planned and led the building work to add an anatomical theatre to the building. The Gustavianum now serves as the university museum.

2. This is seen by some as the scholarly ancestor of the Indo-European hypothesis (Gren-Eklund 2007: 26–27; Campbell and Poser 2008: 19; Burman 2017: 81).

3. Rudbeck was aware and fond of Annius, but accepted that his work was based on forgeries (Rudbeck 1698: 37; Wifstrand Schiebe 1992: 66).

4. Although the formerly lost or fragmentary sources presented by Annius were soon recognized as forgeries, their impact was undeniable. Guillaume Postel based his *De Etruriae Regionis quae prima in orbe europaeao habitata est* (1551) on Annius's material (Kuntz 1981: 37 n. 113; Bouwsma 1957: 46).

political and religious rivalries of the day. Scholars were both themselves sincerely religious and also keen to appeal to the legitimatory agendas of their patrons, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal.

Near Eastern evidence—both real and invented—played a big role in constructing and justifying these world histories. It goes without saying that the Bible and surrounding Jewish traditions were a key touchstone, but there was also an increasing willingness to draw upon extra-biblical sources from the East. Central to Annius's roster of forged ancient sources were the Egyptian Manetho and the "Chaldean" (that is, Babylonian) Berossos, both in reality only known in fragments cited by classical writers. The Phoenicians were brought into the discussion in earnest in the later sixteenth century, with the linguistic discussions of Guillaume Postel (1510–81) and his student Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609). Much of this concerned the Phoenicians' role as transmitters of Levantine civilization to Europe, and in particular the Phoenician writing system's status as intermediary between the Hebrew of the Bible and the Greek and Latin scripts of the classical world. Even without Phoenician epigraphic evidence from which to draw, this seemed clear: Postel had recognized the resemblance between Samaritan writing and Greek and correctly concluded that the letters used by the Samaritans must represent a survival of a form earlier shared with the Jews (Grafton 1993: 629).

This idea led Scaliger to depend on cognates between languages with a directly attested historical link, preferring contemporary and native historical accounts, even if they came from pagans, over more removed sources with better religious credentials. Scaliger's principal discussion of Phoenician comes in his commentary on the *Chronicle* of St. Jerome, where he devotes a lengthy digression to comparing the Greek and Roman alphabets with the Phoenician (inferred from Samaritan). He rightly argued that the latter was used originally throughout Canaan before the development of the square Hebrew script (Scaliger 1658: 110; Grafton 1983: 176; Grafton 1993: 628–29). The Phoenician inspiration of the Greek alphabet was mentioned already in ancient sources such as Herodotus (*Histories* V.58.2), but this was the first time the ancient account had been verified using something approaching modern philological techniques and epigraphic evidence.

The first full-length work devoted to the Phoenicians was Samuel Bochart's *Geographia Sacra* (1646).[5] Similar to the *Atlantica* in its massive scope, this sought to describe all the peoples descended from Noah, and as such dissolved the ever-porous boundaries between sacred geography and world history. More pertinently, its entire second part was devoted to Canaan. The first of its two books deals with the history and geography of Phoenician expansion into the West; the second addresses the Phoenician language. In many ways, the *Geographia Sacra* sets the pattern for the predominant modes of engagement with the Phoenicians to this day: focus on their maritime voyages and impact on the classical world on the one hand; the Phoenician language's linguistic and philological relationship with Greek and Hebrew on the other.

Bochart was a Protestant cleric at Caen, and, unlike Scaliger and Rudbeck, took the Bible as the supreme source. He was a keen etymologist, and found misbegotten Phoenicianisms everywhere. Despite these shortcomings, Bochart brought not only a direct focus on the Phoenicians which had previously been lacking, but also prodigious direct expertise in several Semitic languages: Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac evidence were all brought in alongside the Phoenician, Greek, and Latin (Shalev 2012: 30). His *Geographia Sacra* achieved great success across Europe, significantly raising the prominence of the Phoenicians in the schol-

5. For a more thorough discussion of Bochart and his scholarship, see Shalev 2012; Delcor 1991.

arly consciousness and securing their reputation as itinerant Semites who could be imagined anywhere, presenting a ready solution for linking almost anywhere in Europe with the classical and biblical pasts.

This ubiquity seems to have been met with particular enthusiasm on Europe's northern margins, where the distance from the East Mediterranean made attempts at forging such links, such as wandering Trojan refugees, somewhat unsatisfactory. In 1652, soon after the publication of the *Geographia Sacra*, Bochart made a rare excursion from Caen to take up an invitation to spend time at Queen Christina's court (Shalev 2012: 190). During this stay, he crossed paths with Rudbeck. Forty years later, Rudbeck recounts hearing Bochart speak on the myth of Cadmus and Hermonia at a scholarly gathering assembled by the court physician Pierre Bourdelot (Eriksson 2002: 55; Rudbeck 1698: 26–27).

In Britain, there had been earlier attempts to rope the Phoenicians into the construction of a national origin-story, most notably that of John Twyne (ca. 1505–81), but Bochart inspired a new wave of adherents keen to identify Phoenician influence on their own land. Aylett Sammes drew heavily and uncritically from Bochart in his own etymology-fueled fantasy of a connection between Welsh and Phoenician (Brisby 2009: 2; Gerritsen 2012: 186–87). He, in turn, inspired still more outlandish concoctions, such as Charles Leigh's notion of a New Canaan in Lancashire's Ribble Valley or William Stukeley's theories of the Tyrian origins of the Druids (see Shalev 2012: 194; Parry 1995: 308–30; Piggot 1986: 116; Quinn 2018, especially chapter nine).

Rudbeck's work comes at a time of transition for Phoenician studies. Bochart has been seen by some as the beginning of the discipline, but despite the great popularity he brought, in many ways the wave of followers he spawned marks the final phase of the largely Protestant nationalist-historical and sacred-geography mode of Phoenician research. Rudbeck's work comes toward the end of this, merely a few decades before gradually increasing epigraphic evidence and Barthélemy's decipherment of the language inaugurated a new era in which the Phoenicians could for the first time be approached on their own terms though direct sources.

RUDBECK'S PHOENICIANS: ORIGINS AND APPEARANCE

Rudbeck spends more time on discussing the Phoenicians than the other people he includes as descendants of the "Scythians." Much of his discussion of their origins centers around the color red, which is often associated with the Phoenicians in both ancient and modern discussions. There was an ancient belief, most famously reported in Herodotus I.1, that the Phoenicians were from the ἐρυθρά θαλάσσα 'red sea'. This is generally interpreted as meaning the Persian Gulf,[6] although elsewhere (e.g., Demosthenes XIX.304), the "red sea" was clearly an archetypal far-off country that was ill-understood. The ethnic "Phoenician" is frequently connected to the Greek word φοινός 'blood-red'.[7] In modern times, the most common explanation of this is the color of the purple dye famously exported from Phoenicia, but sometimes modern scholars bring up the possibility that it is related to Phoenician appearance.[8] Rudbeck combines this argument and the Phoenicians' association with the

6. According to Liddell and Scott 1940, s.v. ἐρυθρός, Herodotus was not aware of the Persian Gulf but meant what we now call the Red Sea. This is not supported by the rest of the text.

7. On the etymology of φοινός, see Chaintraine 2009: 1220.

8. The first modern scholar to suggest the explanation based on skin color appears to be Pietschmann 1889: 107. It is mentioned in Speiser 1936: 122, but is not given any credence. It is exceedingly rare to find it discussed or mentioned in twentieth-century scholarship, but it is still mentioned as a possible alternative, along with references to purple dye, in both Salles 2012: 1139 and Bryce 2016: 172.

Red Sea to support his preconceived notion of the origin of the Phoenicians in the far north (Rudbeck 1698: 696).

His argument is two-fold. The first is geographical. He rejects the idea that the ἐρυθρά θαλάσσα is either the Persian Gulf or the modern Red Sea, observing that it is impossible to sail from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean without having to circle the entire continent of Africa. Such a dangerous trip would be foolish if one did not know where one was going.[9] Based on this, it made more sense to Rudbeck that the Phoenicians would have lived to the north, in the Baltic, as it is far closer by sea.

His second argument is linguistic. He rejects that ἐρυθρός means 'red', ignoring (or being unaware of) instances where the word is used in reference to bronze, gold, and blood.[10] Instead, he argues it is an example of Greeks misunderstanding the Swedish sentence:

> inom Eira-Sund är inra hafwet, ock burtom Eira Sund Er ytra hafwet
> within Öresund is the inner sea, and beyond Öresund is the outer sea (Rudbeck 1698: 696)[11]

The two words *Er ytra*, 'is' and 'outer', were misinterpreted by the listener as *Erytra*, i.e., ἐρυθρά.

However, he is also keen to connect ἐρυθρός with the Phoenicians' physical appearance, and in these cases he does interpret it as 'red'. He quotes Strabo I.35, where the Persian Gulf is described as ἐρυθρός 'red', but Rudbeck suggests instead that the adjective refers to the Phoenicians' hair (Rudbeck 1698: 695).[12] He renders ἐρυθρός as *Gulröd*, 'yellow-red', which may mean 'orange'.[13] Later on, he claims that the word "Phoenician" means "the color that is light, bright red, and yellow like the Sun"[14] (Rudbeck 1698: 749). He also argues that the Phoenicians have red skin, which is also how he describes the complexion of northern Europeans (Rudbeck 1698: 717).[15] His main source is the Roman comedy *Poenulus* by Plautus, which features the Phoenician character Hanno. Rudbeck assigns the entire passage to the character Milphio: "What is this bird, that comes wearing a coat? Might he

9. Rudbeck must have been unaware of the ancient sources describing Phoenician voyages around Africa. Herodotus (*Histories* IV.42) describes a Phoenician expedition sponsored by the Egyptian pharaoh Necho II (610–595 BC) to circumnavigate Africa from the Red Sea to the mouth of the Nile. Another Phoenician African expedition is attributed to the Carthaginian Hanno, whose voyage down the West African coast is recorded in a Greek periplous and referred to by Herodotus (*Histories* IV.196) and Pliny (*Natural History* II.169). The extant text has been interpreted as describing the Punic sailors reaching around as far as Senegal, but in this case there is no indication of a full circumnavigation.

10. Ἐρυθρός is used for bronze at *Iliad* XIX.265, gold at Hesiod, *Theogony* 450, and blood at Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 265.

11. All translations from Rudbeck's *Atlantica* are by A. Burman.

12. Rudbeck's interpretation of the Strabonian passage makes very little sense, which supports the observation that his knowledge of Greek was poor (Nelson 1947: 760; Burman 2017: 87). However, it may also be explained by a tendency to careless reading. In the same passage, Rudbeck quotes Bochart, making it sound like he thinks ἐρυθρός should be taken as meaning 'red', but in fact he only quotes part of his argument. Bochart goes on to say that this sea is not named after its color but after the Hebrew king Erythras, i.e., Edom, the royal name of Esau, which incidentally means 'red' (Bochart 1681: 341).

13. The adjective "orange" is first attested in Swedish in 1654, but is then not found until 1840 (see *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok*, s.v. *orange* II). The more common term into the twentieth century was *brandgul,* literally 'fire-yellow'.

14. "den färgen som är lius, högröd och gål som Solen."

15. In the first volume, Rudbeck speaks of Scandinavians being "vita till hull och hår" "with white skin and hair," but in the third volume, he instead conceptualizes skin color on a spectrum of red and black/blue (Rudbeck 1698: 694).

have come out of the baths? Yes indeed his face is nice and red"[16] (Rudbeck 1698: 733). This bears little resemblance to the original, which is a dialogue between Milphio and Agorastocles. Only the first clause is correctly rendered by Rudbeck.

MIL Sed quae illaec avis est, quae huc cum tunicis advenit?
numnam in balineis circumductust pallio?
AGOR Facies quidem edepol Punicast.

MIL But what is this bird, who comes wearing a tunic?
Do you think he had his cloak stolen at the baths?
AGOR By Pollux, he looks like he's Punic.
(Plautus, *Poenulus* 975–77)

The mention of the baths has nothing to do with Hanno's skin color, but is about the fact that he is not wearing a cloak (not mentioned in Rudbeck's rendition). The baths would be an obvious place to lose a piece of clothing, as it would be left unattended. However, Rudbeck claims that when someone is *mycket rödbrusigh* 'very ruddy', it is a common idiom to say that the person looks like he has come straight from *Badstugan*—a Scandinavian sauna (Rudbeck 1698: 734).

Thus Rudbeck's argument is that the Swedish origins of the Phoenicians are proven by their supposed red complexion, which differentiated them from the neighboring peoples with darker complexions. Notably, this goes against Rudbeck's explanations of human phenotypes in the first volume of the *Atlantica.* There, he criticizes the Dutch historian Georgius Hornius's claim in *De Originibus Americanis* (1652) that hair color is hereditary, and argues that changes in phenotype are the result of environment, temperament, and health. According to this theory, appearance cannot be used to prove heritage, as it will change depending on the environment. Therefore, it should only be possible to use this argument in relation to the actual people who emigrated, as when Rudbeck brings up Athena's epithet γλαυκῶπις, which he renders as 'blue-eyed' and compares to Scandinavians (Rudbeck 1698: 681).[17] Rudbeck's argument from the first volume is not useful when discussing their distant descendants.

It is difficult to tell if Rudbeck had changed his mind about the origin of phenotypes or held contradicting views. The first and third volumes of the *Atlantica* were written some twenty years apart, giving him plenty of time to reconsider, either because of some evidence or simply for the convenience of the Phoenician argument. There is also the possibility that he did not see this as a contradiction. He may have seen Swedish/Scythian/white features as more "resilient" and therefore more likely to survive even under environmental pressure. However, it is also possible that Rudbeck put aside his earlier belief in order to use this particular argument.

RUDBECK'S PHOENICIAN: SCRIPT

When Rudbeck first discusses the Phoenicians in the first volume of the *Atlantica,* his focus is on writing systems. In his mind, the Greek, Latin, and Phoenician scripts are all descended from Scandinavian runes.[18] He cites Priscian, Pliny, and Plutarch, who state

16. "Hwar är denna för en Fogel, som kommer i en Råck gånganeds? mån han hafwer kommit uhr Badstugun? Ja ha hans Ansickte är sannerligen fiint och rödt[.]"

17. The epithet γλαυκῶπις is often translated as 'grey-eyed' or 'with gleaming eyes', although sometimes as 'blue-eyed' (Liddell and Scott 1940, s.v. γλαυκός, γλαυκῶπις).

18. Notably, Rudbeck does not argue that runes are the first writing system, as he mentions antediluvian inscriptions (Rudbeck 1698: 11), which he may have seen as Hebrew, a writing system he views as separate from the Runic

that the Greek alphabet originally had sixteen characters, the same number as the Younger Futhark (Rudbeck 1679: 835).[19] Much of the discussion is dedicated to the question of the direction of this relationship. If the Scandinavians had got their writing system from Greek (at least after the Trojan war, when additional letters were supposedly added, cf. Herodotus, *Histories* V.58; Pliny, *Natural History* VII.192), there would have been twenty-four runes, not sixteen (Rudbeck 1679: 838). He argues against the idea that the Greek script comes from Phoenicians for similar reasons, and that Phoenician "had seven other [characters] that were not among the Greeks"[20] (Rudbeck 1679: 847).

Having discussed the origin of the scripts, Rudbeck moves on to show how the Younger Futhark turned into Greek and Phoenician scripts. His labeling of Phoenician graphemes is based on Greek, leading to him reading *aleph* as /a/ (in fact [ʔ]), *ʿayin* as /o/ (in fact [ʕ]) and *šin* as /s/ (in fact [ʃ]). Although all characters are included in the table in volume three (see Fig. 1), not all are discussed in volume one, as Rudbeck believes only some are derived from Runic. Here, Rudbeck covers fifteen Phoenician characters, corresponding to fifteen of the sixteen runes of the Younger Futhark. The sixteenth rune, ᚢ, does not have a Phoenician counterpart. Rudbeck sees the fact that "the Phoenicians did not have a *V*" as evidence that Greek, which has the letter <υ>, corresponding to Latin <v>, cannot have been derived from Phoenician (Rudbeck 1679: 847).[21]

Rudbeck's description includes drawings of the characters being discussed, counting the number of end-points of each character (see Fig. 2). A character such as <𐤀>, which has three strokes, has six "ends," two for each stroke. Over time, characters are written faster and become more elegantly rendered. Rudbeck thus sees this rune as the origin for Phoenician *aleph,* which he draws with a rounded belly, unlike the common pointed version: <𐤀>. The two diagonal strokes have been turned into a loop. He frequently characterizes Phoenician lettering with the word *wig*, 'nimble', enough that he criticizes one character (probably a poorly drawn *koph*): "I can see no nimbleness, only the utmost un-nimbleness"[22] (Rudbeck 1679: 845).

He also identifies many characters, such as <𐤓> *res,* which he sees as related to <ᚱ>, as derived from *wändrunor,* literally 'turned runes', i.e., mirrored runes. Rudbeck wonders if this use of mirrored runes, as well as what he claims is *i,* a three-pronged character reminiscent of an *m* with a curved upper part, is an attempt to obfuscate the origin of their script. He never gives any reason why this might be. Already here, he acknowledges a connection between Phoenician and Hebrew, noting that the custom of 'turned runes' led to the Phoenician script getting Hebrew pronunciation (Rudbeck 1679: 848). Despite this connection, Hebrew is clearly seen by Rudbeck as separate from the Runic tradition.

To Rudbeck, the meaning or origin of the Phoenician script is no mystery. He believes it to be readable but rare, as much of the writing has been lost. Although Rudbeck ascribes phonetic values to Phoenician both implicitly and explicitly, it is much more about extrapolation from Greek alphabetic order than strong arguments of Phoenician sound values. Crucially, Rudbeck does not distinguish between written and spoken language. He demonstrates

tradition. Rudbeck dates the oldest rune stones to 2000 *Anno Mundi* based on stratigraphy (Rudbeck 1679: 849) or four to five hundred years after the Great Flood (Rudbeck 1679: 833).

19. The references are not written out, but are probably Pliny, *Natural History* VII.192; Prisican, *Grammatical Institutions* I.12; Plutarch, *Platonian Questions* 1009f. He does not appear to be familiar with the Elder Futhark, but assumes the Younger Futhark is the original.

20. "haft 7 andra, som ey woro ibland dhe Grekers."

21. "Phenicerna hade intet *V.*"

22. "kan jag intet see någon wighet utan största owighet uti."

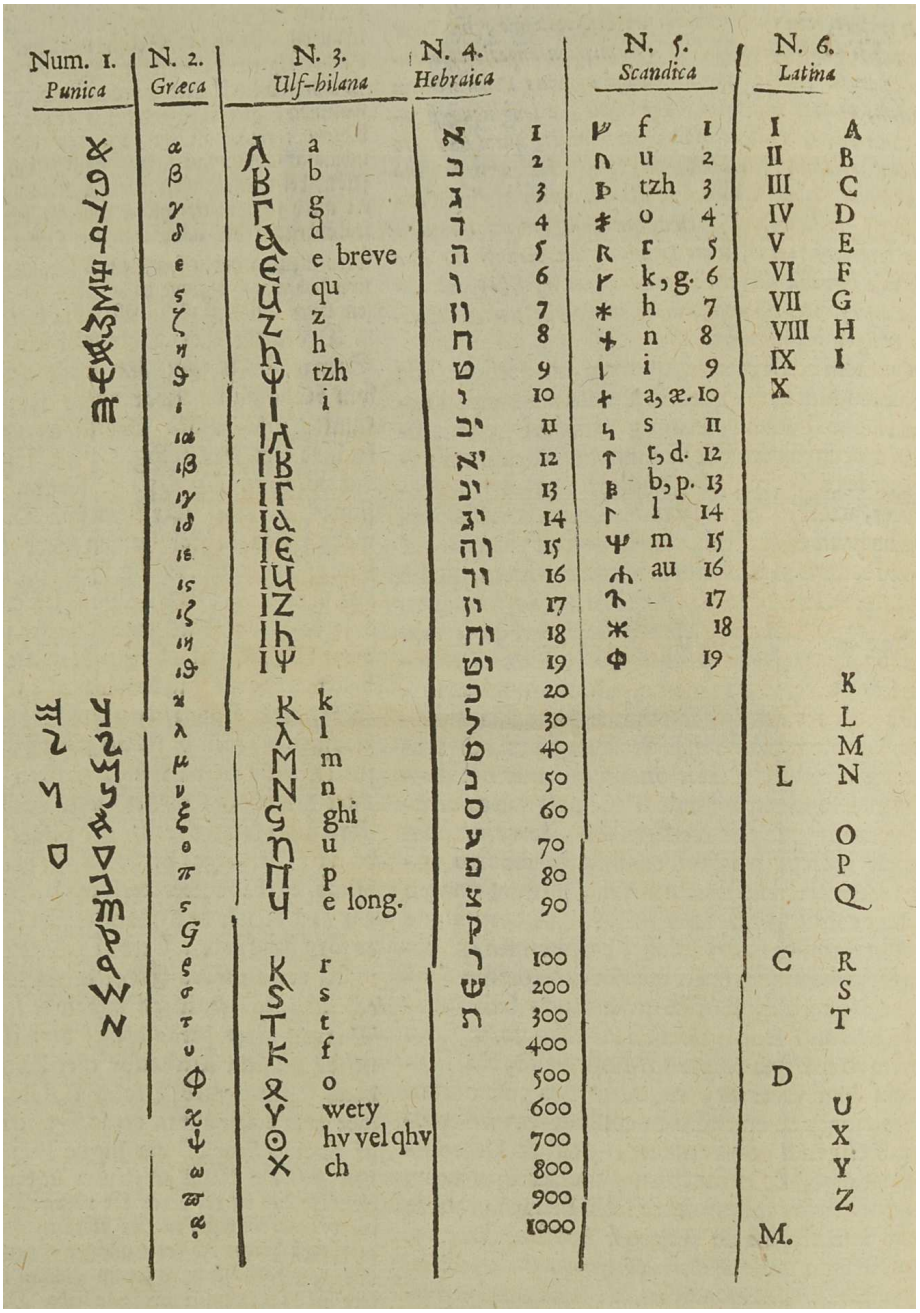
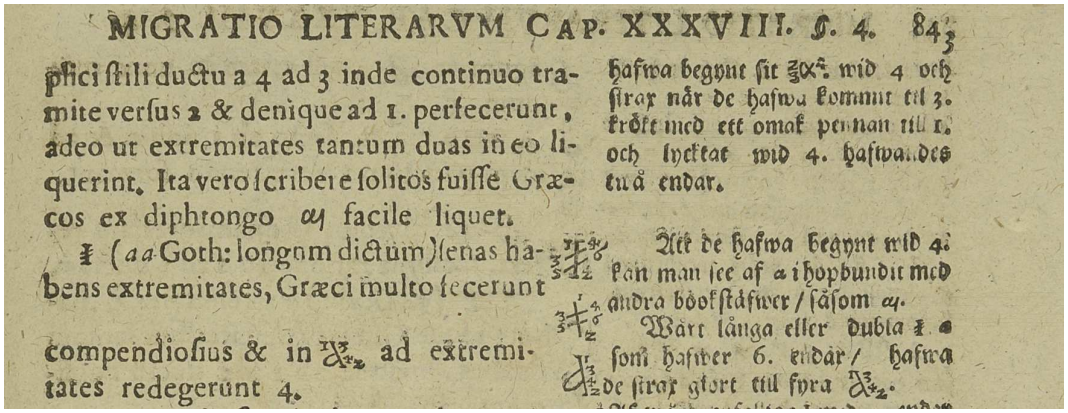


Fig. 1. Table comparing the Phoenician, Greek, Gothic, Hebrew, and Latin scripts and Younger Futhark from Rudbeck 1698: 16, taken from the facsimile in The Swedish Literature Bank, https://literaturbanken.se/forfattare/RudbeckOaldre/titlar/AtlandDelIII/sida/16/faksimil, retrieved March 3, 2020

how Runic <ᚠ> /f/ corresponds to Greek <π> /p/ (Rudbeck 1679: 840), using words he had previously used to illustrate the variability between /f/ and /p/, including several true cognates such as Swedish *fader* and Greek πατήρ 'father', Swedish *fut* and Greek ποῦς 'foot' (Rudbeck 1679: 19). Rudbeck sees the written form and the spoken as intrinsically linked, meaning that the observable relationship between Swedish /f/ and Greek /p/ in many words


MIGRATIO LITERARVM CAP. XXXVIII. §. 4. 843

plici ſtili ductu a 4 ad 3 inde continuo tramite verſus 2 & denique ad 1. perfecerunt, adeo ut extremitates tantum duas in eo liquerint. Ita vero ſcribere ſolitos fuiſſe Græcos ex diphtongo αι facile liquet.

(aa Goth: longum dictum) ſenas habens extremitates, Græci multo fecerunt compendioſius & in ad extremitates redegerunt 4.

hafwa begynt ſit wid 4 och ſtrax när de hafwa kommit til 3. krökt med ett omak pennan till 1. och lycktat wid 4. hafwandes twå endar.

Att de hafwa begynt wid 4. kan man ſee af a i hopbundit med andra bookſtäfwer / ſåſom αι.

Wärt långa eller dubla som hafwer 6. endar / hafwa de ſtrax giort till fyra

Fig. 2. Rudbeck demonstrating the number of stroke-ends in Runes, Greek, and Latin characters. Rudbeck 1679: 843, taken from the facsimile in The Swedish Literature Bank, https://litteraturbanken.se/forfattare/RudbeckOaldre/titlar/AtlandDelI/sida/843/faksimil, retrieved March 3, 2020

can be applied to the Runic and Greek graphemes too. When Rudbeck lines up the Phoenician, Greek, Gothic, Hebrew, Younger Futhark, and Latin scripts, he is not interested in the values of the individual characters, but the general similarity in form (Rudbeck 1698: 16).

Both the passages discussing Phoenician scripts are isolated from Rudbeck's discussion of Phoenicians as Scythian descendants. When dealing with the Phoenician language, his sources are all onomastic or from Graeco-Roman accounts. However, he is acutely aware of the potential of evidence being lost and unrecoverable. In the opening of volume three, he refers to Josephus's story of the children of Seth who erected two inscribed pillars outlining astrological observations (*Ant* I.70), and points out that as these pillars are not preserved, we cannot use them, but "only talk about those [inscriptions] that are [copied] in books or inscribed and chiseled into stones, metal or wood"[23] (Rudbeck 1698: 11).

During his main discussion of Phoenicians, after twelve pages of tables comparing Scythian and Phoenician words, Rudbeck addresses the question of inscriptions: "[I]f we had some complete Phoenician texts, like those we have of the languages of other old peoples, I am sure we could make this much more complete, but now one has to make do with the things taken from here and there in scholars' books, who here and there mention some words that they received from them"[24] (Rudbeck 1698: 730). During Rudbeck's lifetime, Phoenician and Punic inscriptions had been found, although they remained little known until the second quarter of the eighteenth century.[25] This serves to emphasize the time it could take for discoveries to be recognized in the centers of European scholarship. Even when studies were available, scholars like Rudbeck still relied on early modern trade routes and books could take years to be delivered.

23. "nu allenast tala om sådanna som i dag antingen i Skriffter eller på Stenar, Metall eller Trä hugne och stuckne äro."

24. "hade man några fullkomlige Phœniciska Skriffter, såssom man uti andra gambla Folkz språkhafwer, så är iag säker att man det än mycket fullkomligare göra kunde, men nu måste man låta sig nöja med det man här och där tagit utur de Lärdas Böcker, som här och där nämna några ord hwilka de bekommit ifrån dem."

25. The Phoenician/Greek bilingual *cippi* from Malta, which Barthélemy later used to decipher Phoenician, were likely discovered sometime in the late seventeenth century, although the exact circumstances are unclear. Barthélemy (1764: 406) states that "For a long time two marbles have been preserved in Malta … Neglected by the Vice-Chancellor Abela, who had published the antiquities of this island, ignored by the rest of Europe, they were brought from this obscurity around 1735 by M. the Commander de Marne" (translation by P. Boyes).

RUDBECK'S PHOENICIAN: LANGUAGE

Rudbeck's main argument in favor of Phoenicians being descended from the Scythians is linguistic. He argues that two peoples who live in different places but speak the same language must be the same people (Rudbeck 1698: 719). A point Rudbeck returns to frequently is his belief that Phoenician and Hebrew, and by extension the people who spoke them, are not the same. Some arguments are taken from the Bible, such as when Rudbeck brings up the Jewish custom of not shaving or cutting one's hair and the prohibition of idolatry, things that he asserts the Phoenicians do. Other characterizations of the Jews in Rudbeck's work appear extrapolated from biblical stories, such as that they, unlike the Phoenicians, did not trade by sea. Other points, such as the claim that Jews were not supposed to mix with other peoples, may be rooted also in Rudbeck's understanding of contemporary Judaism, which was likely to have been sketchy. Jews were seldom allowed to settle in Sweden, despite multiple attempts, although the law forbidding immigration of non-Christians without baptism was not introduced until 1686. At most, he may have had dealings with individual Jewish scholars in Leiden, and may well have crossed path with Queen Christina's Jewish doctor Benedictus de Castro when he was invited to do anatomical demonstrations at court in 1652.

While Rudbeck rejects the idea of Hebrew and Phoenician being related, he does not deny the similarities between the languages. Instead, he explains them as the result of language contact (Rudbeck 1698: 719, 730, 752). Rudbeck suggests that these loans caused Bochart to attempt to shape the Punic monologue in Plautus's *Poenulus* into something more Hebrew-like (Rudbeck 1698: 730).

The Bible is generally absent from his discussion of Phoenician. In dismissing the genetic connection between Phoenician and Hebrew, Rudbeck approaches the Phoenicians from a perspective different from Bochart's biblical one, allowing other avenues to be explored. Rudbeck's secularized approach can be seen in much of his life, most clearly his involvement in the Cartesian contentions in Uppsala, where the debate regarding the influence of the Bible on non-religious matters raged. Although his conclusions are strange to us, his approach to the Phoenicians as their own people outside the biblical paradigm is more modern than that of his contemporaries. Rudbeck also differs from other scholars of his time through the emphasis on language contact as a valid avenue of change (Rudbeck 1698: 160; Burman 2017: 88). He has no patience with the rejection of the importance of loanwords, observing that the ancients were not ashamed of the existence of Scythian loanwords in their language. The situation now, he says, is different. As soon as someone "starts dipping his nose into Greek, Latin, or Hebrew," he attempts to derive everyone else's languages from them, "as if there are no languages other than these in the world"[26] (Rudbeck 1698: 737).

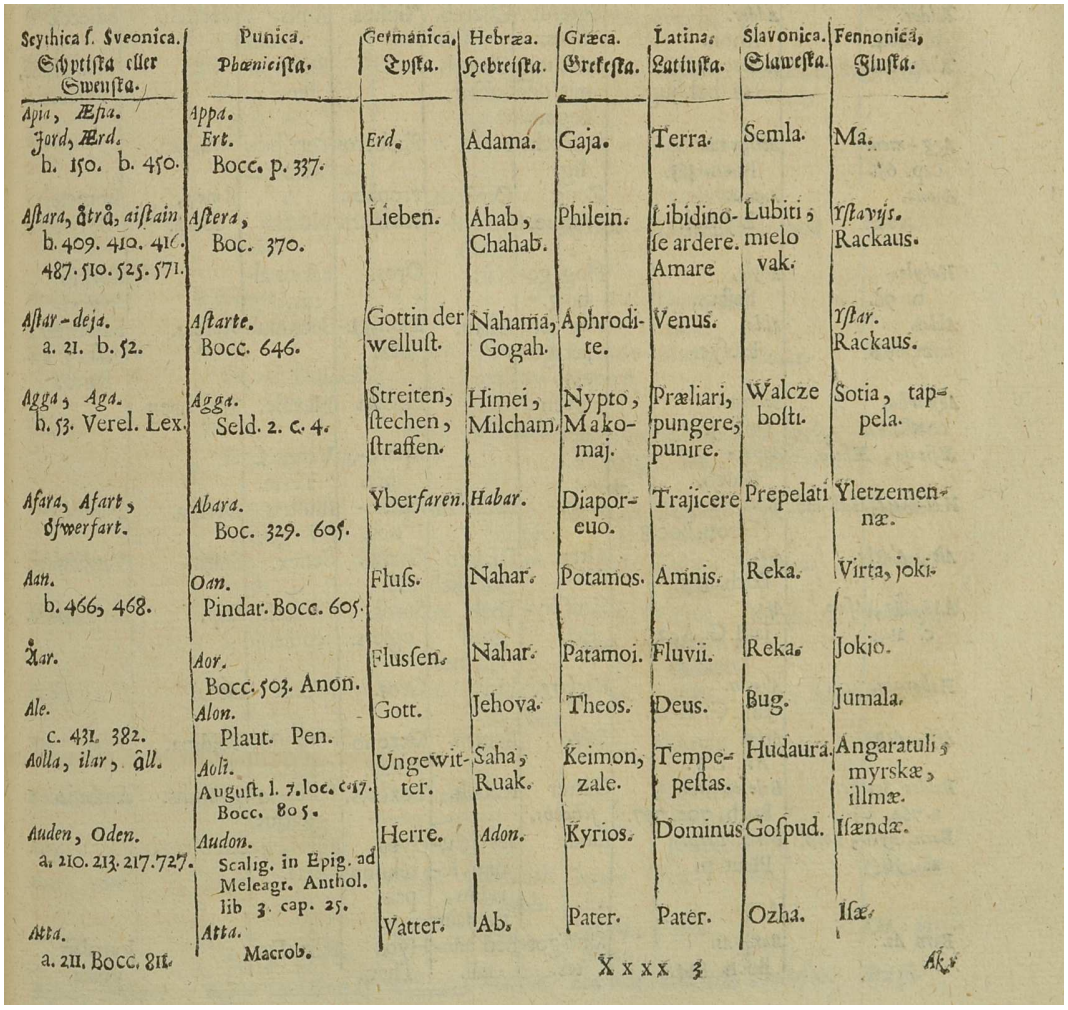
In order to show that Swedish and Phoenician are one and the same, Rudbeck gives twelve pages of comparative material between "all the noblest languages"[27] (Rudbeck 1698: 719). This encompasses some 250 entries. Rudbeck later implies that there are far more, and that listing them all would require a book as long as the whole of the *Atlantica* (Rudbeck 1698: 736). Rudbeck argues that his material proves that Phoenician is descended from Swedish "since the words agree"[28] (Rudbeck 1698: 730).

The material in the first column, marked "Scythian or Swedish," includes both actual Swedish words and names, and hypothetical forms clearly influenced by the Phoenician

26. "att en som först sätt näsan innom Grekeska, Latinska eller Hebraiska språket', 'lijka såsom intet språk woro mehrea till i werlden."

27. "alla dhe förnämsta Språken."

28. "emedan orden äro eense."



Scythica ſ. Sveonica. Schytiſka eller Swenſka.	Punica. Phœniciſka.	Germánica. Tyſka.	Hebræa. Hebreiſka.	Græca. Greckeſka.	Latina. Latinſka.	Slavonica. Slaweſka.	Fennonica. Finſka.
Apia, Æfia. *Jord, Ærd.* b. 150. b. 450.	*Appa.* *Ert.* Bocc. p. 337.	*Erd.*	Adama.	Gaja.	Terra.	Semla.	Ma.
Aſtara, åtrå, aiſtain b. 409. 410. 416. 487. 510. 525. 571.	*Aſtera,* Boc. 370.	Lieben.	Ahab, Chahab.	Philein.	Libidinoſe ardere. Amare	Lubiti, mielo vak.	*Yſtavvjs.* Rackaus.
Aſtar-deja. a. 21. b. 52.	*Aſtarte.* Bocc. 646.	Gottin der welluſt.	Nahama, Gogah.	Aphrodite.	Venus.		*Yſtar.* Rackaus.
Agga, Aga. b. 53. Verel. Lex.	*Agga.* Seld. 2. c. 4.	Streiten, ſtechen, ſtraffen.	Himei, Milcham.	Nypto, Makomaj.	Præliari, pungere, punire.	Walcze boſti.	Sotia, tappela.
Afara, Afart, öfwerfart.	*Abara.* Boc. 329. 605.	Yberfaren.	*Habar.*	Diaporeuo.	Trajicere	Prepelati	Yletzemenæ.
Aan. b. 466, 468.	*Oan.* Pindar. Bocc. 605.	Fluſs.	Nahar.	Potamos.	Amnis.	Reka.	Virta, joki.
Åar.	*Aor.* Bocc. 503. Anon.	Fluſsen.	Nahar.	Patamoi.	Fluvii.	Reka.	Jokio.
Ale. c. 431. 382.	*Alon.* Plaut. Pen.	Gott.	Jehova.	Theos.	Deus.	Bug.	Jumala.
Aolla, ilar, åll.	*Aoli.* Auguſt. l. 7. loc. c. 17. Bocc. 805.	Ungewitter.	Saha, Ruak.	Keimon, zale.	Tempeſtas.	Hudaura.	Angaratuli, myrskæ, illmæ.
Auden, Oden. a. 210. 213. 217. 727.	*Audon.* Scalig. in Epig. ad Meleagr. Anthol. lib 3. cap. 25.	Herre.	*Adon.*	Kyrios.	Dominus	Goſpud.	Iſændæ.
Atta. a. 211. Bocc. 811.	*Atta.* Macrob.	Vatter.	Ab.	Pater.	Pater.	Ozha.	Iſæ.

Fig. 3. Table of "Scythian," Phoenician, German, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Slavic, and Finnish. Rudbeck 1698: 719, taken from the facsimile in The Swedish Literature Bank, https://litteraturbanken.se/forfattare/RudbeckOaldre/titlar/AtlandDelIII/sida/719/faksimil, retrieved March 3, 2020

glosses. For instance, *Thor, Taur*, and *Tharan,* all variants of the same Norse theonym, look suspiciously like the supposed Phoenician words *Taran* and *Thoor,* for which Rudbeck gives Eusebius as a source (Rudbeck 1698: 729).[29] Scythian here represents the ideal pre-form of Swedish. This column frequently includes references to this and previous volumes of the *Atlantica*. The second column is Phoenician. Most words have references, the most common being to Bochart. There are also references to ancient sources such as Festus, Hesychius, and Plautus, and early Christian sources, such as Eusebius and Julian the Apostate. The other six columns are German, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Slavic, and Finnish. These columns never include sources to the words. Sometimes, one or more of these six columns are left blank or

29. The reference is likely to Eusebius's *Preparation for the Gospel* I.10, which mentions the supposed Phoenician god *Tauthus* and the Egyptian *Thouth.* The <o> form is thus not glossed as Phoenician by Eusebius, but is still given since it looks rather like the Swedish *Thor.*

marked with dashes (cf. Rudbeck 1698: 725). If there is a difference between these ways of marking the lack of a corresponding word, it is not made clear.

When the modern linguist looks at Rudbeck's table, the immediate instinct is to approach it as comparative material. However, it is not often that all the material matches. The truly comparative material is found in the two first columns, Scythian/Swedish and Phoenician. The others serve rather to show the dissimilarities. It cannot be a coincidence that Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Slavic, and Finnish are all identified elsewhere as *Hufwudspråk* 'main languages', Rudbeck's version of the mother languages in modern linguistics. Thus this can be seen more as the translation or explanation of these words than comparative material in itself. Often the Latin is the most literal translation of the Swedish. This use of Latin for glossing is seen later in volume three, when he discusses Phoenician and Swedish placenames (Rudbeck 1698: 740–49).

Bochart is without doubt Rudbeck's most commonly cited source in the table, being cited for ninety-three words, most often as the only source. His use of the material is at times eclectic. In some cases, Rudbeck cites a word as Phoenician that Bochart connects to another language, particularly Hebrew, but also Syriac, Chaldean, and Arabic.[30] Usually, when a reference to Bochart exists in the Phoenician column, words in the Latin column tend to be taken from Bochart too. Sometimes, the words are simply similar, e.g., Bochart's *libidine ardere* and Rudbeck's *libidiose ardere* (Bochart 1681: 370; Rudbeck 1698: 719). Elsewhere, the same Latin words appear, e.g., *arx* (Bochart 1681: 583; Rudbeck 1698: 724) and *coercere* (Bochart 1681: 602; Rudbeck 1698: 726). However, Rudbeck tends not to engage with the Hebrew material in Bochart in his Hebrew column. The reference is always given in the Phoenician column.

At times, Rudbeck interprets Bochart's material very freely. The reference to Bochart supporting "Phoenician" *Ura* leads only to a discussion of the name *Urania* (Bochart 1681: 371; Rudbeck 1698: 729). Elsewhere, he gives a Phoenician word as *kachar,* which Bochart gives as *chacra* (Bochart 1681: 602; Rudbeck 1698: 724). Some page numbers are incorrect, as when he cites a page of Bochart containing the word *daula* (instead of *daal,* which Rudbeck quotes).[31] In some instances, we have been unable to find the material Rudbeck ascribes to Bochart. It is possible that they are fabricated, but Rudbeck does not mind giving words without references, making this unlikely. He may simply have referred to different editions of Bochart.[32]

30. The Hebrew words taken as Phoenician by Rudbeck are *kar* (Bochart 1681: 405; Rudbeck 1698: 725), *hall, halmis* (Bochart 1681: 391; Rudbeck 1698: 723), and *car* (Bochart 1681: 405; Rudbeck 1698: 724). The Syriac words are *marnas* (Bochart 1681: 824; Rudbeck 1698: 726) and *nesib* (Bochart 1681: 827; Rudbeck 1698: 726). *Rheda* is Phoenician in Rudbeck 1698: 729 but Chaldean in Bochart 1681: 746–47. Rudbeck 1698: 729 gives *tya, teja* as Phoenician, while Bochart 1681: 829 gives Arabic *taier*, from the root *tair.* Arabic also appears in Bochart's discussion of the etymology of *Camulodunum* (Bochart 1681: 755), which he claims is derived from Arabic *kamala, kimal* 'master'. Rudbeck gives *gimala, giemala, kamala* in the Phoenician column for Scythian/Swedish *hamala, giomala, gumme* (Rudbeck 1698: 723).

In a notebook (held at R13 Carolina) of Rudbeck's containing comparative lists much like the one found in Rudbeck 1698: 719–29, he includes Chaldean, Egyptian, and Arabic in this column. His stance on the origin of Arabic and other Afro-Asiatic languages is unclear.

31. Rudbeck 1698: 722 claims *daal* is on p. 735 of Bochart 1681, while it is in fact on p. 440.

32. Most references align with the 1646, 1651, and 1681 editions. For the sake of simplicity, we refer to the 1681 edition, which fits the whole of *Geographia Sacra* into one volume. The Aurivillius catalogue of Uppsala University library, which lists volumes in the university library in 1796, lists only the 1692 volume, where the page numbers differ from the 1681 edition considerably. This indicates that this version was either acquired after Rudbeck's work on Phoenician and the university owned an earlier edition that he used, or that Rudbeck had his own copy, which he preferred to the university's 1692 edition.

Rudbeck cites very few other contemporary authors. After Bochart, the most common is the Dutch cartographer Jans Janssonius (1588–1664), who is cited for sixteen toponyms (Rudbeck 1698: 720–24, 726, 728–29). The English Hebraicist John Selden (1584–1654) is cited four times (Rudbeck 1698: 719, 721–22). Scaliger (Rudbeck 1698: 719) and the Swiss botanist and doctor Caspar Bauhin (1560–1624) (Rudbeck 1698: 723) are cited for one word each.[33] The majority of the sources cited are ancient. These include Hesychius, Macrobius, Josephus, and Livy. He also cites both the epitomizer Festus and the fourth-century CE writer Festus Avenius, but appears to see them as one and the same.[34] He also includes eighteen words ascribed to Plautus, all of which are found in the first five lines of Hanno's Punic speech, discussed below. Early Christian and Byzantine writers such as Jerome, Tzetzes, and Eusebius also feature. Frequently, Rudbeck does not give specific references, but only puts down the author's name, as was common at the time.

Throughout this table, Rudbeck is liberal with the meaning of the words. He gives *Aphaca* as Phoenician for 'Venus s[iue] Terra', citing Eusebius where there is a mention of a place called Aphaca, where there is a temple to "the hateful demon Aphrodite" (Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* III.55.2, quoted after Cameron and Hall 1999: 144.) When aligning the gloss *Arc* with words meaning 'ship', his source is the *Argonautica Orphica*, apparently in reference to the ship *Argo* (Rudbeck 1698: 720).[35] This tendency is seen several times in Rudbeck's use of toponyms found in Bochart, where the words in the six last columns are all the same, meaning 'town' or 'city' (see Table 1). Rudbeck may well have been aware that words meaning 'town' or 'market' were common place names, such as *köping* 'market-town', which appears as a toponym, on its own and in compounds, throughout southern and central Sweden. However, he has turned this on its head and approached every toponym as a possible word for 'town'.

As with his etymologies elsewhere, Rudbeck's comparisons between Scythian and Phoenician allow for a lot of difference. Both vowels and consonants are frequently exchanged. In the first volume, he sketches out common routes of language change, including some now well-known mechanisms such as contraction and metathesis. He also observes that some changes happen more easily than others, such as changes between stops with the same point of articulation (Burman 2017: 85). The idea of regular and exceptionless language change is not one Rudbeck is familiar with, but he believes that there are changes that are more likely to happen than others.

The most extensive "Phoenician" text Rudbeck and his contemporaries had access to was Hanno's Punic speech in Plautus's comedy *Poenulus*. It was transmitted with an accompanying Latin text, which has now been shown to be generally correct (Gray 1923; Gratwick 1971, 1972; Krahmalkov 1988). Like Bochart before him, Rudbeck makes use of this Latin interpretation and attempts to analyze the Phoenician. Of the eleven lines of Hanno's speech, Rudbeck discusses four and a half of them (*Poenulus* 930–33, 939). All eighteen words in the table of comparison whose source is given as Plautus are from these lines. Rudbeck

33. Despite only citing him once in the table, Rudbeck praises Scaliger elsewhere for his learnedness (Rudbeck 1698: 730).

34. Rudbeck cites Paulus-Festus, two epitomes based on the Augustan antiquarian Marcus Verrius Flaccus's *De Verborum Significatu,* twice. One, given as *mappula, mamphulla* by Rudbeck 1698: 726, is described as Phoenician in the source (Festus 132–33L, *mapalia*), which is not the case with *abyle* (Rudbeck 1698: 720), given as *abynes in* Paulus ex F. 17L. Rudbeck cites Festus Avenius's *Descriptio Orbis Terrae* (lines 98–103, 615)*,* a translation of a Hellenistic geographic poem by Dionysius Periegetes, in relation to the toponym *Gadir* twice, once at length (Rudbeck 1698: 699–702) and the other in the table of glosses (Rudbeck 1698: 722).

35. The Phoenicians are never mentioned in the *Argonautica Orphica.*

Table 1. Three examples from Rudbeck's Phoenician table of words purportedly meaning 'town'

Scythian/ Swedish	Phoen.	German	Hebrew	Greek	Latin	Slavic	Finnish
Holb	olbo, obla	stat	ir kiriah	polis	civitas	mestu	caupungi
Tun, tunum, tuna	tuna	stat	ir kiriah	polis	civitas	mestu	caupungi
Thaeby	Thebe	stat	ir kiriah	polis	civitas	mestu	caupungi

Note: *Holb* = Rudbeck [1698] 1947: 716, *tuna* and *Thaeby* Rudbeck [1698] 1947: 718. In the original, references to Bochart are included in the Phoenician column: *olbo* Bochart 1681: 463, *tuna* Bochart 1681: 390 and *Thebe* Bochart 1681: 463.

gives his own version of the Latin interpretation, which means roughly the same as the text found in the manuscripts, but has different wording and is in prose rather than verse. The reason for this is probably that Rudbeck seeks to provide a word-for-word interpretation to support the way he has broken up the text. He argues that the text, which has survived in *scripta continua*, has multiple instances of elision. In the first line, he interprets *Thalonim* as *The Alonim*. Generally, his rendition of the Punic lines is the same as in the *Poenulus*, with two exceptions. All manuscripts give the beginning of *Poenulus* 930 as *Ith* or *Yth*, while Rudbeck gives *Ni th*, with an extra <n>, making it look more like the Swedish first person plural pronoun, which during Rudbeck's lifetime had started shifting from *I* to *ni.* In line 934, he renders an <m> as <rn>, reading *byrna* instead of *byma,* making it more like *barna* 'the children' (Rudbeck 1698: 732). This appears to be a case of Rudbeck getting ahead of himself, because in the previous line, he gives *bymi,* which he interprets as the same word, only later reinterpreting it as *byrni*.

Although Rudbeck's approach to language is comparative in many ways, he generally does not create hypothetical forms. His analysis of Hanno's speech is an exception to this. He gives four versions of the first line, meaning "you [gods] above and below, who govern this city" (here given with Rudbeck's italics intact):

1.	*Ni*	*th*	*Alonim*	*Valonji*	*th*	*si*	*cora*	*thissima*	*consith,*
2.	Ni	the	Aloni	Valoni	the	sim	garda	thissima	gansitha,
3.	Ni	de	Aloner	Valoner	the	som	gardarna	thessa	besittia,
4.	*Vos*	*illi*	*Superi*	*inferiq.*	*illi*	*qui*	*urbi*	*huic*	*praeseditis*

(Rudbeck 1698: 732)

The first is Plautus's Phoenician text with Rudbeck's word divisions. Sentences three and four are translations thereof, provided by Rudbeck. It is the second line that is of particular interest. It bridges the gap between the Phoenician and the seventeenth-century Swedish, both filling in elided vowels in the Phoenician (*th* and *the*) and explaining changes in the language (*cora* and *garda*). In the case of the last word, Rudbeck gives the form *gansitha* as a transitional form between *consith* and *besittia,* using a voiced velar to broach the gap between the voiceless velar and the voiced dental. Only twice does Rudbeck refer to words

that are lost.[36] Both times he cites Olaus Verelius's lexicon *Index Linguæ Veteris Scytho-Scandicae sive Gothicae* (1691), which Rudbeck helped edit.

Rudbeck describes this second line as "how our language expresses them [Plautus's verses] in our old texts," but immediately after this he refers to Ulfila's Gothic Bible (Rudbeck 1698: 732).[37] The line is not recognizable as Old Swedish, and seems not intended to be that. Perhaps these old texts are not any extant works, but the runic books Rudbeck claims were burned when Sweden became Christian. The expressed purpose of presenting the versions of this one line is "so that it can be observed how well they align"[38] (Rudbeck 1698: 732). While it is placed in the middle, the second line is not a missing link between Phoenician and Swedish, but is an ancestor. In essence, it is a primitive form of linguistic reconstruction. It only has two supposed cognates, and uses little to no theoretical framework or well-defined methodology, but at its core, its purpose is the same as the proto-language reconstructed by a modern-day comparative linguist. In the words of Roger Lass: "To reconstruct is to reverse time, and make the products of that reversal accessible: as objects of intellectual contemplation, portions of the historical record, sources of new knowledge" (Lass 1993: 157).

Rudbeck does not have asterisks to show what is hypothesized and what is not, and his understanding of the burden of proof is radically different from ours. Furthermore, there is no genetic relationship between Swedish and Phoenician as he proposes. The argument itself is alien, even laughable, to us, but Rudbeck's reasoning that led him there is reminiscent of methods now central to the discipline of historical linguistics.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The discussion of Phoenician in the third volume is the first to deal with language, rather than the etymology of individual words, since the first volume. His ideas outlined there have now been fleshed out. In the first volume, he discusses "main languages," a concept not unlike language branches. At times one language (e.g., Scythian) will be set up as a main "node." In the third volume, Rudbeck makes statements that rather imply his belief in the existence of a mother language. He observes that it is fascinating that there are words that Phoenicians and "we," i.e., Swedish speakers, share, and have been using in the same meaning for four thousand years, the time that has elapsed since the Scythian exodus (Rudbeck 1698: 734). The next observation is based on the idea that Germans, English, Danes, and Dutch, as well as some Italians, French, and Spaniards are descended from Scythians: "And I think […] that if one found some of their old writings there, one would probably find some words, which could show that they spoke one language"[39] (Rudbeck 1698: 735). As such writings are not available, Rudbeck says he will work to "search for them" (Rudbeck 1698: 735), presumably the words showing that these peoples spoke one language.[40]

Rudbeck advocates caution in this kind of etymologizing, giving an example of an absurd Scythian translation. He reports that on the Indian island Malabar, there is an herb called *Kakka-schiti.* Jokingly, he suggests that this could be from Scythian, as every letter is the

36. The first lost word is *ische* or *hiske* (dialectal *häske* 'family, kin', see Verelius 1691: 119; *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok*, s.v. *häsk*). The second is *Thoihom* 'damage', the reality of which is more unclear. This may be a case of Rudbeck extending the meaning of Swedish *tom* 'empty, poor' to posit the word *Thoi* 'misfortune'.

37. "såsom wårt måhl dhem utförer i wåra gambla Skriffter."

38. "att de kunna sees huru rätt dhe träffa."

39. "Och tror jag wäl […] att der man fingo några af deras gambla Skriffter, skulle man wäl finna några ord, som och kunde wijsa att de hafwa talat ett Språk."

40. "dem efftersökia."

same as Scythian words, even if the words do not mean an herb. He gives an example of a far-fetched semantic argument: "this herb has got its name from the fact that when an ox, cow, or horse eats of it, it cacks and shits"[41] (Rudbeck 1698: 737). Although modern audiences mainly remember Rudbeck for his more far-fetched etymologies and this passage shows a lack of self-reflection, it also shows his sense of scholarly discipline and integrity, even if he was not good at applying this to himself.

Rudbeck's project and methods show both similarities and differences with the prevailing fashions in serventeenth-century Phoenician studies. His work draws from and resembles that of Bochart in its scope and its interest in geography, and is in line with many other works of the time in its patriotic concern with seeking the origins of modern nations in ancient population movements. However, he does not share Bochart's sense of the absolute preeminence of the Bible as a source; his more secular approach to sources is closer to that of scholars like Scaliger. Like him, Rudbeck sees value in a people's own literature as a source for their early history. When dealing with Swedish history, he prefers to use the Eddas and other Old Norse works rather than other sources. His tendency to reinterpret sources to fit into his own history of the Scythians, though academically dubious (to say the least), showcases his understanding that sources cannot be taken at face value. Rudbeck is reluctant to accept anything supernatural or otherworldly that is not found in the Bible, which leads him to reinterpret mythical elements as more prosaic ones, both in Graeco-Roman myths and Old Norse ones. Gods become generals and kings, strange creatures become machines of war and ships.

This goes well with his more hands-on approach to antiquity. He discusses runic inscriptions extensively, and uses archaeology and stratigraphy, especially when proposing chronologies. Rudbeck's interest in language contact puts him apart from his contemporaries, as does his view of the Bible. While Rudbeck was wrong about the relationship of Phoenician and Hebrew, his hypothesis that these two languages are not related but are only similar through contact depends on his view of the Bible as not necessarily central in all instances.

This being said, Rudbeck does not put this methodology into practice throughout his work. When he mentions that he wishes that Phoenician books had survived, it is a comment on the language, not on getting information from a Phoenician perspective. The only Phoenician inscriptions he mentions are coins, which were sent to him by his correspondents, among them Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld, who conducted a "Gothic tour" to North Africa and southern Europe where he looked for evidence of the Swedish exodus (Eriksson 2002: 429). He does not spend much time discussing them, but only says that they bear "pure Gothic runes"[42] (Rudbeck 1698: 38). We do not know how well preserved these coins were, but even if they were in good condition, Rudbeck's convictions were strong enough to skew his reading. He would have been unlikely to have been able to see any Phoenician inscription longer than coin legends in person. Sweden, despite its new position as a geopolitical power, was still a poor country in both finance and culture. No inscriptions from the Mediterranean would be brought there during the seventeenth century. Rudbeck himself only left Sweden once, when he spent time in Leiden as a young man, long before starting work on the *Atlantica.*

It is partly this geographical isolation that is the reason why Rudbeck does not have a position in the history of Phoenician studies. The isolation was also ideological. Rudbeck's

41. "den Örten bekommit nampn deraf, emedan när en Oxe, Koo eller Häst äter där af, så Kackar och skiter han."

42. "rena Gothiska Runer."

proto-nationalist focus on Swedish prehistory was alienating to scholars abroad and served to hinder wider notice of other parts of his scholarship contained in the *Atlantica*. This is the greatest difference between Rudbeck and many of his contemporaries. The studies of Phoenicians by other European scholars of the seventeenth century tended to concentrate specifically on the Phoenicians. When there was a broader point argued, it would concern biblical narratives or the Graeco-Roman world, both well-established parts of the intellectual framework. Rudbeck uses the Phoenicians, as well as all other peoples he discusses at any length, as a means to an end. This end was to create a prehistory of Sweden that rivaled the geopolitical expansion that had taken place during the seventeenth century. Ultimately, Rudbeck's goal undermined his own broader international legacy.

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La vita pubblica e privata degli Ebrei in Egitto nell'età ellenistica e romana

BIBLIOTHÈQUE S. REINACH

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La vita pubblica e privata degli Ebrei in Egitto nell'età ellenistica e romana.*

BIBLIOTHÈQUE LYON SALOMON-REINACH

La storia degli Ebrei ai tempi di Gesù Cristo è tutt'altro che circoscritta entro gli angusti confini della Palestina: in quasi tutte le regioni della terra allora note erano stanziati nuclei di Ebrei più o meno numerosi e di varia importanza, i quali, come rimanevano stabilmente uniti con la Madre patria, così erano in vitale contatto col mondo non ebraico, assumendo perciò una grande importanza sia per lo sviluppo interiore del-

* Brevi notizie riassuntive tratte da un lavoro critico in corso di compilazione. Noto qui le più importanti opere speciali consultate:

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Wilcken U., *Zum Alexandrinischen Antisemitismus*, in *Abh. Sächs. Ges.* 27 (1909) pp. 788 e segg.

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The public and private life of the Jews in Egypt is in the Hellenistic and Roman ages.*

he history of the Jews at the time of Jesus Christ is anything but limited within the narrow confines of Palestine: in almost all the regions of the earth known at the time there were groups of Jews of varying

importance, more or less numerous and of varying importance, who, just as they remained stably united with the Motherland, so they were in vital contact with the non-Jewish world, therefore assuming great importance both for the internal development of the

*** Brief summary information taken from a critical work in progress by compilation. Here I note the most important special works consulted:**

ACCORDI O., ***[Ethnographic research on Greek-Egyptian papyri], Hebrews and Syriacs,*** **in** ***Studi Scuola Papirol. Milan,*** **III (1920) pp. 23 and following.**

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The Jewish Encyclopaedia, **12 vols., New York-London, 1901-1906. JUSTER J.,** ***The Jews in the Romaiti Empire*** **etc., 2 vols., Paris, 1914. MORRISON WD,** ***The Jews under Roman domination,*** **Turin, 1911.**

Mo rzo B., ***The legal condition of the Jews under Roman domination,*** **in** ***Atti Acc.. Turin,*** **vol. 48 (1912-13) pp. 522 et seq.**

— ***Il*** **against luoaion** ***di Apione,*** **ibid. pp. 146 e segg.**
— ***Critical historical examination of the third book of Maccabees,*** **in** ***Entaphia in memoriam***

by E. Pozzi, **Turin. 1913.**
REINACH TH., ***Texts by Greek and Roman authors relating to Judaism,***

Paris, 1895.
SCHURER E., ***History of the Jewish people in the age of Jesus***

3 vols., Leipzig, 1901-1911.
WIIXKEN U., ***On Alexandrian anti-Semitism,*** **in** ***Abh. Sachs. Ges.*** **27**

(1909) pp. 788 et seq.

Christi,

l' Ebraismo, sia per l' influenza ch' esso ebbe sulla cultura degli altri popoli.

Tra le cause di varia indole che favorirono tali migrazioni nel periodo ellenistico-romano, una delle principali va riscontrata nelle relazioni commerciali, che attiravano gli Ebrei verso le regioni limitrofe alla Palestina e specialmente verso le principali città del mondo civilizzato.

I Diadochi, i successori di Alessandro Magno, nell'intento precipuo di consolidare i loro Stati, favorivano in ogni guisa la mescolanza delle varie nazionalità, e in molti luoghi agli immigrati era senz' altro esteso il diritto locale, o venivano concessi speciali privilegi. Sembra così che anche gli Ebrei fossero indotti a compiere emigrazioni in grandi masse. Altre cause favorirono tali spostamenti, fra le quali la situazione molto esposta della Palestina, che diveniva campo di battaglia in ogni conflitto tra Siria ed Egitto. Cosicché, già verso il 140 av. Cr., poteva ben dire la Sibilla del popolo ebraico: « Ogni terra e ogni mare sono pieni di te » (1); negli stessi anni (139-138 av. Cr.), il Senato romano emanava una circolare a favore degli Ebrei, indirizzata ai re di Egitto, di Siria, di Pergamo, di Cappadocia, ecc., e a molte province, stati e isole del Mediterraneo (2): se ne deduce che in tali località dovevano trovarsi in quel tempo Ebrei, e in numero considerevole. Strabone (3) dice, riferendosi ai tempi di Silla (85 av. Cr.), che il popolo ebraico « è ormai giunto in ogni città, e non si può facilmente trovare in tutto il mondo abitato una località che non abbia accolto questa razza e che che non ne sia stata dominata ».

Questa espansione degli Ebrei nella Diaspora viene assai ben descritta nella lettera attribuita da Filone ad Agrippa e diretta a Caligola: « Gerusalemme è la capitale non solo della Giudea, ma della maggior parte dei paesi, per via delle colonie ch'essa ha mandato nelle terre di Egitto... ecc., ecc. » (4).

(1) *Orac. Sibyll.*, III, 271.
(2) *I° Maccabei*, XV, 16-24.
(3) Presso Flav. Jos., *Antiqu.*, 14, 7, 2, § 115.
(4) Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, 36-41.

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ÿ Judaism, both for the influence it had on the culture of other peoples.

(2)

Among the various causes that favored such migrations in the Hellenistic-Roman period, one of the main ones can be found in commercial relations, which attracted Jews towards the regions bordering Palestine and especially towards the main cities of the civilized world.

The Diadochi, the successors of Alexander the Great, with the main intention of consolidating their states, favored the mixing of various nationalities in every way, and in many places local law was certainly extended to immigrants, or special privileges were granted. It thus seems that the Jews were also induced to emigrate in large numbers.
Other causes favored such movements, including the very exposed situation of Palestine, which became a battlefield in every conflict

between Syria and Egypt. So, already around 140 BC. Cr., the Sibyl of the Jewish people could well say: "Every land and every sea is full of you" (1); in the same years (139-138 BC), the Roman Senate issued a circular in favor of the Jews, addressed to the kings of Egypt, Syria, Pergamon, Cappadocia, etc., and to many provinces, states and islands of the Mediterranean (2): it can be deduced that there must have been Jews in these places at that

time, and in considerable numbers. Strabo (3) says, referring to the times of Siila (85 BC), that the Jewish people « have now arrived in every city, and it is not easy to find a place in the entire inhabited world that has not welcomed this race and that it has not been dominated by it."

This expansion of the Jews in the Diaspora is very well described in the letter attributed by Philo to Agrippa and addressed to Caligula: «Jerusalem is the capital not only of Judea, but of most of the countries, because of the colonies that it has sent to the lands of Egypt... etc., etc. » **(4).**

(1) ***Orac. Sibyll.,*** **111, 271. (2)**
Maccabees, **XV, 16-24.**
(3) At FLAV. JOS., ***Antiqu14,*** **7, 2, § 115. (4) Philo,** ***Leg. to Caius,*** **36-41**

Affluirono specialmente colonie ebraiche in Egitto, dove già molti secoli prima di Alessandro Magno si trovavano Ebrei in Elefantina, al confine meridionale verso l'Etiopia, come è stato provato da importanti papiri aramaici venuti alla luce recentemente (1) e dove anzi essi si trovavano anche prima della conquista persiana, cioè del 525 av. Cr.

Secondo il Pseudo Aristea (2) infatti, Ebrei fecero parte dell'esercito di Psammetich (certo il II: 594-89 av. Cr.) nella sua guerra contro gli Etiopi, e fu quando, appunto, molti Ebrei palestinesi si stanziarono, contro la volontà di Geremia, in varie località poste al di fuori del loro paese, per sfuggire ai Caldei.

Altra forte immigrazione di Ebrei in Egitto avvenne durante la dominazione persiana, e così un numero assai rilevante di essi vi rimase, nonostante gli inevitabili assottigliamenti, finché sotto Tolemeo I Lagide, verso il 312 av. Cr., nuove grandi masse di essi furono ivi importate come preda di guerra, mentre in numero minore altri vi affluivano ancora liberamente.

Benché fantastica, è ingegnosa, e certo dovette riuscir cara ai Tolemei, la teoria storica attribuita ad Ecateo (3), secondo la quale Egiziani, Elleni ed Ebrei avrebbero abitato in origine la stessa terra; ma poi i primi, dopo aver subito gravi flagelli da essi attribuiti all'avversione dei loro dèi per gli stranieri, avrebbero espulso gli altri due popoli, e così gli Elleni sarebbero andati in Grecia, gli Ebrei, più numerosi, nella deserta Giudea: in tal modo si fissava un precedente alla convivenza successiva, specialmente in Alessandria (4), delle tre razze.

Ai tempi di Filone, come narra egli stesso, il numero degli Ebrei stanziati in Egitto (5) si aggirava intorno al mi-

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(1) Rimando a JUSTER, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Rom.*, I, p. 476, n. 1; vedi, inoltre, PRITSCH E., *Jüdische Rechtsurkunden aus Aegypten*, in *Zeitschr. für vergl. Rechtswiss.* 27 (1912) pp. 7 e segg. (cfr. KOHLER, ibid. p. 142).

(2) § 13 ed. Wendland.

(3) *Frag. hist. gr.*, II, 391. Cfr. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *Hist. des Lagides*, I, pp. 135-136.

(4) Sembra appunto che in Alessandria Ecateo scrivesse i suoi Αἰγυπτιακά e forse anche una storia περὶ Ἰουδαίων.

(5) *In Flacc.*, 6: Filone parla di quelli sparsi nel paese « da Katabathmos presso la Libia fino ai confini d'Etiopia ».

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Colonists and Jews especially flocked to Egypt, where already many centuries before Alexander the Great there were Jews in Elephantine, on the southern border towards Ethiopia, as has been proven by important Aramaic papyri which have recently come to light (1) and where indeed they they were also found before the Persian conquest, that is, 525 BC. Cr.

According to Pseudo Aristea (2) in fact, Jews were part of the army of Psammetich (certainly II : 594-89 BC) in his war against the Ethiopians, and it was when, precisely, many Palestinian Jews settled against Jeremiah's will, in various locations outside their country, to escape the Chaldeans.

Another strong immigration of Jews into Egypt occurred during the Persian domination, and so a very significant number of them remained there, despite the inevitable declines, until under Ptolemy I Lagis, around 312 BC. Cr., new large masses of them were imported there as war prey, while others in smaller numbers still flowed in freely.

Although fantastic, the historical theory attributed to Hecataeus

(3), according to which Egyptians, Hellenes and Jews would have

originally inhabited the same land, is ingenious, and must certainly

have been dear to the Ptolemies; but then the former, after having

suffered serious scourges which they attributed to the aversion of

their gods for foreigners, would have expelled the other two

peoples, and so the Hellenes would have gone to Greece, the

Jews, more numerous, to the deserted Judea : in thus a precedent

was set for the subsequent coexistence, especially in Alexandria (4), of the three races.

In Philo's time, as he himself narrates, the number of Jews settled in Egypt (5) was around one million.

(1) Rimando a JUSTER, *Les Juifs dans VEmpire Rom.,* I, p. 476, ÿ. 1 ; vedi, inoltre, PRITSCH E., *Jewish legal documents from Egypt,* in *journal. for forget Legal*

***knowledge* 27 (1912) pp. 7 e segg. (cf. KOHLER, ibid. p. 142).**
(2) § 13 ed. Wendland.
(3) *And reg. hist. gr.,* II, 391. Cf. BOUCHE-LECLERCQ, *Misi, des Lagides,* I,

pp. 135-136.
(4) It seems that Hecataeus wrote his ÿÿÿÿÿ-

tiaka e forse anche una storia peri 'louoauov.
(5) *In Flacc.,* 6: Philo speaks of those scattered throughout the country «from Kataba-

thmos from Libya to the borders of Ethiopia."

lione (13 % della popolazione totale): di questi, in Alessandria erano circa 200.000 (i $^{2}/_{5}$ della popolazione).

Nella maggior parte delle città dove gli Ebrei emigravano, essi dapprima ebbero certamente la posizione di pellegrini, non di cittadini: ciò viene indirettamente dimostrato da Giuseppe nel « Contro Apione » (1), poiché egli rileva come cosa strana che gli Ebrei in Alessandria e in altre città godessero del diritto di cittadinanza: si vede dunque che, ai suoi tempi, non era cosa comune il possederla. In seguito, invece, tale diritto fu loro concesso in molte città, soprattutto in quelle nuove, costruite nell' età ellenistica. Nella capitale dei Tolemei, per esempio, Alessandro Magno concesse loro gli stessi diritti dei Macedoni, popolazione privilegiata (2), e i Diadochi li autorizzarono anzi a chiamarsi senz' altro « Macedoni »; in virtù di questi diritti troviamo, presso Alessandria, Ebrei possessori di terre privilegiate e fruenti di molti altri vantaggi, come vedremo in seguito.

Alcuni credono che Tolemeo IV Filopatore avesse introdotto un nuovo diritto di cittadinanza alessandrina, ispirato al culto di Bacco: siccome gli Ebrei non potevano associarsi a questo culto, essi ne sarebbero rimasti esclusi, e avrebbero conservato solamente la loro denominazione anteriore di « Macedoni », la quale però avrebbe perduto il suo primitivo valore (3); ma le ripetute asserzioni di Giuseppe (4), ove si dia loro fede, dimostrerebbero invece che da Alessandro a Vespasiano nulla fu variato nella posizione giuridica degli Ebrei di Alessandria (5).

Infatti Cesare, conquistando l' Egitto, aveva confermato tutti i diritti degli Ebrei, e li aveva fissati anzi su di una stele di bronzo (6); così essi, salvo alcuni episodî isolati,

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(1) *Contra Apion.*, 1, 22; 2, 4.

(2) Vedi n. 5.

(3) Per queste, come per altre notizie che riguardano gli Ebrei sotto Tolemeo Filopatore, vedi Morzo in *Entaphia* ecc., pp. 211 e segg.

(4) *Bell. Jud.*, 2, 18, 7; *Contra Apion.*, 1, 22; 2, 4; cfr. *Antiqu.*, 12, 1, 1; 19, 5, 2.

(5) Vedi peraltro le giuste osservazioni del Morzo in *Atti Acc. Torino*, 48 (1912-1913) pp. 524 e segg.

(6) Suo editto in Flav. Jos., *Antiqu.*, 14, 10, 1 § 188; *contra Apion.*, 2, 4 § 17.

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(4)

Lyon (13% of the total population) : of these, in Alexandria there were approximately 200,000 (i.e. 2/r> of the population).

In most of the cities where the Jews emigrated, they certainly first

had the position of pilgrims, not of citizens: this is indirectly demonstrated by Joseph in "Against Apion"(1), since he notes that it

is strange that the Jews in Alexandria and other cities enjoyed the right

of citizenship: it is therefore clear that, in his time, it was not common

to possess it. Later, however, this right was granted to them in many

cities, especially in the new ones, built in the Hellenistic age. In the

capital of the Ptolemies, for example, Alexander the Great granted

them the same rights as the Macedonians, a privileged population (2),

and the Diadochi actually authorized them to call themselves

"Macedonians"; by virtue of these rights we find, near Alexandria, Jews possessing privileged lands and enjoying many other advantages, as

we will see later.

Some believe that Ptolemy IV Philopator had introduced a new

right of Alexandrian citizenship, inspired by the cult of Bacchus: since

the Jews could not associate with this cult, they would have been

excluded from it, and would have only retained their previous denomination of "Macedonians". », which however would have lost its

original value (3); but the repeated assertions of Josephus (4), if believed, would instead demonstrate that from Alexander to Vespasian nothing changed in the legal position of the Jews of Alexandria (5).

In fact, Caesar, by conquering Egypt, had confirmed all the rights of the Jews, and had even established them upon them. a bronze stele (6) ; so they, except for a few isolated episodes,

(1) Against Apion., **1, 22; 2, 4**
(2) See n. 5.
(3) For these, as for other news concerning the Jews below

Tolemeo Filopatore, vedi Morzo in *Entapliia* ecc., pp. 211 e segg.
(4) *Bell. Judg., 2,* 18, 7; *Against Apion,* 1, 22; 2, 4; cf. *Ancient,* 12,

1, 1 ; 19, 5, 2.
(5) See also the correct observations of the ÿÿÿÿÿ in *Atti Acc. Torino,*

48 (1912-1913) pp. 524 et seq.
(6; His edict in FLAV. JOS., *Antiqu14,* 2, 4 § 10, 1 § 188; *against Apion.*

17.

lati, continuarono a goderne ancora sotto Augusto, Claudio (1), Vespasiano e altri; perciò Filone (2) aveva a ragione insistito presso Caligola, perché non fosse calpestato da Flacco un diritto riconosciuto agli Ebrei e confermato loro da 400 anni. Molti tuttavia mettono in dubbio tali asserzioni di diritti goduti, o vi oppongono teorie non prive di fondamento, che qui non credo per ora opportuno discutere.

Da Caracalla poi, in virtù della *lex Antoniana de civitate* del 212 d. Cr., la cittadinanza romana spettò indistintamente a tutti gli Ebrei, come facenti parte dell'Impero.

Si trovarono così nella città di Alessandria, in età romana, Ebrei in cinque diverse condizioni:

1) — Ebrei palestinesi, temporaneamente là residenti;
2) — Ebrei persiani (Πέρσαι), forse con funzioni militari;
3) — Ebrei greco-macedoni (3);
4) — Ebrei cittadini alessandrini (Ἀλεξανδρεῖς Ἰουδαῖοι) (4);

(1) FLAV. JOS., *Antiqu.*, 19. 5, 2 § 281.

(2) *In Flacc.*, 44-45.

(3) Interessante il papiro BGU. 1151 (cfr. WILCKEN, *Grundz.*, I, p. 63), del 13 av. Cr., in cui figura un Alessandro di Nicodemo che col fratello Teodoro — e ambedue sono Macedoni —, fa redigere gli atti che lo riguardano davanti all'ἀρχεῖον τῶν Ἰουδαίων (vedi JUSTER, op. cit., II, p. 10, nota); la lettura è però alquanto incerta.

(4) Molto importante, a questo riguardo, è un papiro conservato a Berlino, del 5-4 av. Cr. (BGU. 1140; cfr. *Archiv*, V p. 38 (N. III e n. 2); p. 109 n. 1 e p. 119) che appare corretto proprio nelle parole Ἰουδαίου Ἀλεξανδρέω[ς], alla quale ultima furono sostituite le altre: τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρε[ίας]; è un certo Eleno figlio di Trifone che rivolge al prefetto Gaio Turranio una supplica per venire esentato dalla λαογραφία (vedi più oltre dove parlo dei Censimenti); il documento ha purtroppo delle lacune, ma pare che l'istante si pentisse di dichiararsi, forse contro la verità, *cittadino alessandrino*, e correggesse sul testo « Ebreo Alessandrino », cioè « nato in Alessandria » semplicemente, mentre cittadino veramente era il padre: ἐκ πατρὸς Ἀλεξανδρέ[ως]; non si può certo trarre argomento dalla cancellatura *contro* l'esistenza di un diritto di cittadinanza alessandrina per gli Ebrei, come vogliono lo SCHUBART (*Archiv*, V pp. 109, 119) e il WILCKEN (*Grundz.*, I p. 63; *Chrestom.*, I p. 82); se ne potrebbe dedurre invece che il diritto era *ad personam*, a meno di non ammettere — non so con qual fondamento — con il MOTZO (l. cit.), che anche per il padre si tratti di affermazione falsa; ma perché l'istante non si sarebbe allora pentito anche qui, come prima? Il JUSTER poi (l. cit.) sostiene che

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sides, continued to enjoy it under Augustus, Claudius (1), Vespasian and others ; therefore Philo (2) had rightly insisted to Caligula that a right recognized by the Jews and confirmed to them for 400 years not be trampled upon by Phiacchus.

Many, however, question these assertions of rights enjoyed, or oppose

theories which are not without foundation, which I do not think it appropriate to discuss here for now.

of city

Thus they found themselves in the city of Alexandria, in Roman times, Jews in five different conditions:

1) — Palestinian Jews, temporarily residing there;
2) — Persian Jews ***(ÿÿÿÿÿÿ,ÿ),*** perhaps with military functions;
3) — Greek-Macedonian Jews (3) ;
4) — Jewish citizens of Alexandria ***(ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ Iwaaioi)*** (4) ;

(1) FLAV. JOS., *Antiq.,* 19, 5, 2 § 281.
I2) *In Flacc.,* 44-45.
(3) The BGU papyrus is interesting. 1151 (see WILCKEN, *Grundz.,* I, p. 63), of 13

av. Cr., in which an Alexander of Nicodemus appears who with his brother Theodore - and both are Macedonians - draws up the doc—um, ents that refer to him

they look before the àp/ÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ 'ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ (see JUSTER, op. cit., II, p. 10, note) ; however, the reading is somewhat uncertain.

(4) Very important, in this regard, is a papyrus preserved in Berlin, dated 5-4 BC. Cr. (BGU. 1140; cf. *Archiv,* V p. 38 (ÿ. III and n. 2) ; p. 109 ÿ. 1 and p. 119) which appears correct precisely in the words 'ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿ ÿ ÿ ÿ ÿ ÿ ÿ ÿ ÿ ÿ [ÿ], to which the others were replaced: ÿÿ ÿ ÿ ÿ ò 'ÿ ÿÿ ÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ]; it is a certain Helenus, son of Tryphon, who makes a plea to the prefect Gaius Turranius to be exempted from the ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ (see below where I talk about the Censuses); too many gaps, but it seems that the applicant regretted declaring himself, perhaps the document has
against the truth, *a citizen of Alexandria,* and corrected the text "Jew of Alexandria", i.e. "born in Alexandria" simply, while the father was truly a citizen: ÿÿ. ÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ'[ÿÿ] ; one certainly cannot draw an argument from the cancellation *against* the existence of a right of Alexandrian citizenship for the Jews, as SCHUBART *(Archiv,* V pp. 109, 119) and WILCKEN *(Grundz.,* I p. 63; *Chrestom. ,* I p. 82) ; one could instead deduce that the right was *ad personam,* unless one admits - I don't

know on what basis - with MOTZO (1. cit.), that this is also a false statement for the father; but why wouldn't the instant have repented here too, as before? The JUSTER then (1. cit.) maintains that

From Caracalla then, by virtue of the ***lex Antoniana***
of 212 AD. Cr., Roman citizenship was granted to all Jews without distinction, as part of the Empire.

5) — Ebrei contemporaneamente cittadini alessandrini e cittadini romani (come, per es., la famiglia di Tiberio Alessandro).

Forse vi erano anche maggiori disparità di condizioni che obbligavano i gimnasiarchi a tenere apposite liste distinte degli abitanti (1).

Non bisogna poi dimenticare che ogni Ebreo era pure cittadino della Nazione ebraica, per quanto lontano dalla patria, per lo meno prima del 70, cioè prima della caduta di Gerusalemme. Ma anche dopo quella data non troviamo nessun mutamento nelle espressioni usate nel nominarli. Così, per es., in un papir di Ossirinco dell'85 d. Cr. (2) leggiamo: Νικαίᾳ Σιλ[βα]νῷ... πόλεως Ἰουδαίων.

Dai Diadochi venne assegnato agli Ebrei in Alessandria un apposito quartiere, appartato dal rimanente della città, « affinché potessero condurre una vita pura e contemporaneamente mescolarsi meno con gli stranieri », come dice Apione (3).

Questo quartiere (4) era situato nei pressi del palazzo reale, cioè nella parte Nord-Est, vicino alla spiaggia. Più tardi tale divisione non venne strettamente mantenuta, come ci dice Filone (5), poiché esistevano, ai suoi tempi, sinagoghe in ogni parte della città, e molti Ebrei vivevano mischiati col resto della popolazione nei varî quartieri. Inoltre, lo stesso Filone (6) narra che dei cinque quartieri nei quali

erano entrambi cittadini, trovandone conferma nell'educazione ricevuta dal figlio, di cui parla il papiro, e non dà valore alla cancellatura, ritenendo il testo un semplice abbozzo frettoloso.

(1) Mi sono limitato — senza entrare in merito alla vasta discussione, sempre aperta — a pochi accenni sulla condizione giuridica degli Ebrei alessandrini, rimandando all'accurato lavoro del Morzo, col quale però non sempre convengo. Cfr. inoltre Juster, II, pp. 7 e segg.; Schürer, III, pp. 122 e segg., 178.

(2) POxy. 335.

(3) Flav. Jos., *contra Apion.*, 2, 4: qui sembrerebbe che la concessione risalisse ad Alessandro Magno, mentre ciò è chiaramente escluso dal passo del *Bell. Jud.* 2, 18, 7; cfr. Strabo presso Flav. Jos., *Antiqu.*, 14, 7, 2.

(4) Quartiere Δ secondo Flav. Jos., *Bell. Jud.*, 2, 18, 8, 6.

(5) *In Flacc.*, 8; *Leg. ad Caium*, 20.

(6) Ibid.

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(6)

5) — Jews who were simultaneously Alexandrian citizens and Roman citizens (such as, for example, the family of Tiberius Alexander).

Perhaps there were even greater disparities in conditions which forced the gymnasiarchs to keep special distinct lists of inhabitants (1).

We must not forget that every Jew was also a citizen of the Jewish nation, however far from their homeland, at least before 70, that is, before the fall of Jerusalem. But even after that date we find no change in the expressions used in naming them. Thus, for example, in a papyr of Oxyrhynchus from 85 AD. Cr. (2) we read: **ÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ[/3ÿ]ÿÿ... ÿÿ'ÿÿÿ ÿ**

Jews.

From the Diadochi it was assigned to the Jews in Alessan - right to a special neighborhood, set apart from the rest of the city, "so that they could lead a pure life and at the same time mix less with foreigners", as Apion says (3).

This neighborhood (4) was located near the royal palace, that
is, in the north-eastern part, near the beach. Later this division was not strictly maintained, as Philo tells us (5), since in his time there were synagogues in every part of the city, and many Jews lived mixed with the rest of the population in the various neighborhoods. Furthermore, Philo himself (6) narrates that of the five neighborhoods in which

they were both citizens, finding confirmation of this in the education received by their son, of whom the papyrus speaks, and does not give value to the deletion, considering the text a simple hasty sketch.

(1) I have limited myself - without entering into the vast discussion, which is always open - to a few hints on the legal condition of the Alexandrian Jews, referring to the careful work of the ÿÿÿÿÿ, with which however I do not always agree. See also JUSTER, II, pp. 7 and following. ; SCHURER, IH, pp. 122 et seq., 178.

(2) POxy. 335.

(3) FLAV. Jos., *contra Apion.,* 2, 4: here it would seem that the concession dates back to Alexander the Great, while this is clearly excluded from the passage
d e l *Bell. Jud.* 2 , 18, 7 ; cfr . STRABO press o FLAV. Jos. , *Antiqu14,* 7, 2.

(4) Quarter ÿ second FLAV. JOS., *Bell. Judg.,* 2, 18, 8, 6 (5) *In Flacc.,* 8; *Leg. to Caius,* 20
(6) Ibid.

Alessandria era divisa, e che erano denominati con le prime cinque lettere dell'alfabeto greco, due erano detti « quartieri ebraici »: là essi saranno stati in maggioranza; sotto Caligola poi, Flacco emanò una disposizione, in virtù della quale gli Ebrei dovettero ritirarsi in un sol quartiere, il quinto secondo Filone, disposizione che venne peraltro poco dopo revocata da Claudio. Ma ecco che sotto Traiano, a causa delle rivolte giudaiche, il prefetto d'Egitto ordina di nuovo con un editto, che gli Ebrei di Alessandria si stabiliscano in una parte, d'onde non possano assalire facilmente e all'improvviso la città: ma anche tale ordinanza venne poco dopo, sembra, revocata dall'imperatore (1). Infine, nel VI secolo troviamo ancora menzionato nel sermone sulla penitenza, attribuito a S. Cirillo, la « Via degli Ebrei » (2).

Il mantenimento della religione e delle consuetudini ebraiche, anche durante la lontananza dalla Madre patria, e poi durante la dispersione, fu possibile solo mediante l'ordinamento degli Ebrei in Comunità autonome, entro l'ambito delle quali le credenze e le leggi dei padri potevano esser conservate. Ciò avvenne certo fino dalle prime migrazioni, ma più specialmente a partire dall'età ellenistica; e il Motzo (3) scrive giustamente che, anche dove ricevevano la cittadinanza, gli Ebrei « riguardavano come loro centro naturale più il πολίτευμα indipendente, cui erano legati da vincoli etnici e religiosi, che non la πόλις in cui erano cittadini ».

La forma di organizzazione variava a seconda dell'epoca e del luogo, soprattutto in quanto queste comunità ebraiche talvolta avevano il carattere di unioni meramente private, tal'altra erano istituite con diritti politici. Non era tuttavia la Comunità una circoscrizione chiusa in sé, e quindi del tutto indipendente; anzi, all'epoca della dominazione di Roma, le disposizioni relative agli Ebrei da quella emanate sono dirette unicamente alla « Nazione ebraica », e applicabili in ciascuna Comunità simultaneamente. Questa formava così come un piccolo Stato in un altro Stato, e a volte il primo

(1) PPar. 2376 bis.
(2) JUSTER, II p. 328.
(3) Op. cit., p. 18.

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Alexandria was divided, and which were named with the first five letters of the Greek alphabet, two were called "Jewish quarters": there they must have been in the majority; then under Caligula, Fiacchus issued a provision by virtue of which the Jews had to retreat to a single neighbourhood, the fifth according to Philo, a provision which was however revoked shortly afterwards by Claudius. But behold, under Trajan, due to the Jewish revolts, the prefect of Egypt again orders with an edict that the Jews of Alexandria settle in a part where they cannot easily and suddenly attack the city : but this ordinance was also apparently revoked shortly afterwards by the emperor (1). Finally, in the 6th century we still find the "Way of the Jews" mentioned in the sermon on penance, attributed to St. Cyril (2).

The maintenance of the Jewish religion and customs, even during the distance from the Motherland, and then during the dispersion, was only possible through the organization of the Jews into autonomous communities, within which the beliefs and the laws of the fathers could be preserved. This certainly happened from the first migrations, but more especially from the Hellenistic age; and Motzo (3) rightly writes that, even where they received citizenship, the Jews "regarded as their natural center more the independent ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ, to which they were linked by ethnic and religious ties, than the ***ÿÿÿÿÿ*** in which they were citizens".

The form of organization varied depending on the time and place, especially as these Jewish communities sometimes had the character of merely private unions, at other times they were established with political rights. However, the Community was not a closed constituency in itself, and therefore completely independent; indeed, at the time of the domination of Rome, the provisions relating to the Jews issued by it were addressed solely to the "Jewish Nation", and applicable in each Community simultaneously. This thus formed like a small state in another state, and sometimes the first

(1) PPar. 2376 to. **(2) JUST, II p. 328**
(3) Op. cit., p. 18.

aveva diritti maggiori: di modo che in Alessandria gli Ebrei potevano avere una gerusia anche nel tempo in cui la città non ne ebbe per decreto dell'imperatore Augusto (1); del resto, anche prima vi erano i πρεσβύτεροι, citati dal Pseudo Aristea (2), a capo degli Ebrei alessandrini, accanto al genarca nominato da Filone (3), che forse aveva giurisdizione anche sugli Ebrei del restante Egitto, riconosciuto pure dagli imperatori romani, e da identificarsi, pare, con l'ἐθνάρχης citato da Strabone (4): « .... ὃς διοικεῖ τε τὸ ἔθνος καὶ διαιτᾷ κρίσεις καὶ συμβολαίων ἐπιμελεῖται καὶ προσταγμάτων, ὡς ἂν πολιτείας ἄρχων αὐτοτελοῦς ». (« .... colui che governa il popolo, giudica le contese, sovraintende a rapporti contrattuali e cura l'esecuzione delle ordinanze, come l'arconte di una città indipendente »).

Il numero dei componenti la g e r u s i a è incerto, e varia a seconda delle Comunità; per Alessandria, stando alla tradizione ebraica, erano 70: a capo era un gerusiarca, altrimenti detto ἐπιστάτης τῶν παλαίων oppure προστάτης (5): forse egli va identificato con l'archisinagogo, e quindi col Rabbino, che troviamo citato pure per Alessandria (6) e altrove, quale capo religioso della Comunità: ma su questo punto vi sono molte incertezze; viene usato anche il nome di φροντιστὴς (τῆς συναγωγῆς), come da un'iscrizione: Ἡζικία υἱῶ Ἰσα φροντιστὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας (7).

Molto spesso in iscrizioni e in documenti letterarî sono nominati in Egitto gli a r c o n t i, funzionarî scelti tra i componenti la gerusia per l'esecuzione delle deliberazioni; ed è curioso che il titolo di arconte è preso dai funzionarî

(1) Cfr. Cass. Dio, 51, 17.
(2) § 310, ediz. Wendland.
(3) *In Flacc.*, 10.
(4) Presso Flav. Jos., *Antiqu.*, 14, 117; vedi Motzo, op. cit., pp. 16-17.
(5) *Bull. Inst. Egypt.*, 903, 4.
(6) Vopiscus, *Vita Saturnini*, 8; cfr. Juster, I p. 450.
(7) « Frontista di Alessandria » oppure « frontista *e* di Alessandria ? » Per questa seconda interpretazione è il Clermont-Ganneau (*Archaeologic. Researches in Palestine*, 2, 133).

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it had greater rights : so that in Alexandria the Jews could have a gerusia even in the time in which the city did not have one by decree of the emperor Augustus (1); after all, even before there were the ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ,*** cited by Pseudo Aristeas (2), at the head of the Alexandrian Jews, alongside the genarch appointed by Philo (3), who perhaps also had jurisdiction over the Jews of the remaining Egypt, also recognized by the Roman emperors, and to be identified, it seems, with ***V ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** cited by Strabo (4) : « .... ***ÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** re ÿÿ ***ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** ÿÿÿ ***ÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ, ÿÿ ÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ »***. (« ·•·. he who governs the people, judges disputes, supervises contractual relationships and takes care of the execution of ordinances, like the

archon of an independent city »).

The number of members of the gerusi a is uncertain, and varies depending on the community; for Alexandria, according to Jewish tradition, there were 70 : at their head was a gerusiarch, otherwise called ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** or ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** (5) : perhaps he should be identified with the archisynagogue, and therefore with the Rabbi, who we also find cited for Alexandria (6) and elsewhere, as religious head of the Community : but on this point there are many uncertainties; the name of ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** (ÿÿÿ ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ)*** is also used , as per
an inscription : ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ 'ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ*** (7).

Very often in Egypt, inscriptions and literary documents mention the official archonschosenfromamongthemembersofth·egerusiafortheexecutionof resolutions; and it is curious that the title of archon is taken by officials

(1) Cfr. CASS. DIO, 51 (2) § 310, 17.

ed. Wendland.

(3) *In Flacc.,* 10.

(4) Press FLAV. Jos., *Antiq.,* 14, 117; see ÿÿÿÿÿ, op. cit., pp. 16-17

4.

For this second interpretation it is the Clermont-Ganneau *(Archaeological.. Researches in Palestine,* 2, 133).

(5) *Bull Inst. Egypt903,*
(6) VOPISCUS, *Vita Saturnini,*
(7) «Frontist of Alexandria» or «frontist *and* of Alexandria? »

8; cf. JUST, 1 p. 450

delle città greche ed è usato anche fuori d'Egitto, in Italia e altrove; con questi debbono essere identificati gli ἡγούμενοι del Pseudo Aristea. Li troviamo nominati per Hermopolis (1), Alessandria (2), Tebe (3), e non vanno confusi, come molti fanno a torto, coi πρεσβύτεροι, né identificati con l'intera gerusia o col gerusiarca; infatti, troviamo che Filone (4) stesso distingue tra gli uni e gli altri, e inoltre in iscrizioni sono nominati insieme come uffici separati e diversi. Né sono da parificarsi ai primati del consiglio, della gerusia, detti (per Alessandria) da Giuseppe (5) οἱ πρωτεύοντες τῆς γερουσίας, e circa quattro secoli dopo da Socrate Scolastico (6) τοὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρωτεύοντες.

Sotto Tolemeo Filadelfo, la Comunità di Alessandria viene denominata dal Pseudo Aristea (7) col nome di πολίτευμα all'ordine di ἡγούμενοι, e Strabone (8) pure fa il paragone con una πολιτεία αὐτοτελής, dal che può dedursi che gli Ebrei potevano legalmente essere assoggettati al pagamento di una tassa per i bisogni della Comunità stessa.

Come in Alessandria, troviamo nominate Comunità ebraiche in altri centri di Egitto; così in Athribis, dove sotto Tolemeo V Epifane si formò una colonia (9) ebraica detta semplicemente οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, come rilevasi da un'iscrizione del 200-100 av. Cr. (10); e con la stessa denominazione venivano indicate quella di Schedia presso Alessandria (iscrizione del 246-221 av. Cr.) (11) e di Xenephyris (12).

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(1) PLond. 907 (III p. 180).

(2) *In Flacc.*, 10 e 14; Flav. Jos., *Bell. Jud.*, 7, 10, 1.

(3) PLond. 1177 $_{57}$ (III p. 181).

(4) l. cit.

(5) *Bell. Jud.*, 7, 10, 1.

(6) *Hist. Eccles.*, 7, 13, 20.

(7) § 310 ed. Wendland.

(8) Presso Flav. Jos., *Antiqu.*, 14, 7, 1.

(9) Forse mediante coloni importati da Gerusalemme, dopo la sua conquista; cfr. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. d. Lag.*, I p. 360 n. 4.

(10) *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 13 (1889) p. 178.

(11) *Rev. Étud. Juiv.*, 45 (1902) p. 161. Cfr. Dittenberger, *Or. Graec. Inscr. Sel.*, N. 726.

(12) Vedi più oltre p. 278.

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of Greek cities and is also used outside Egypt, in Italy and elsewhere; with these the ***-ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** of the Pseudo Aristea must be identified . We find them named for Herrnopolis (1), Alexandria (2), Thebes (3), and they should not be confused, as many wrongly do, with the ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ,*** nor identified with the entire gerusia or with the gerusiarch ; in fact, we find that Philo (4) himself distinguishes between the one and the other, and furthermore in inscriptions they are named together as separate and different offices. Nor are they to be equated with the primates of the council, of the gerusia, called (for Alexandria) by Josephus (5) ***ÿÿ***

ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ ÿÿ-ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ, and about four centuries later by Socrates Scholasticu***pSrim***(6***a***)***te***ÿ***s.***ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿ***

Under Ptolemy Philadelphus, the Community of Alexandria is called by the Pseudo Aristea (7) with the name of ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** to
the order of ***-ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ,*** and Strabo (8) also makes the comparison with a ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ,*** from which he can deduce rsi that
the Jews could could legally be subjected to the payment of a tax for the needs of the Community itself.

As in Alexandria, we find Jewish communities named and in other centers of Egypt; so in Athri -

bis where under Ptolemy V Epiphanes a Jewish colony (9) was

formed, simply called ***oi "ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ,*** as revealed by an inscription dated 200-100 BC (10); and that of S was indicated with the same name chedia near Alexandria (inscription from 246-221 BC) (11) and of Xene -

fire (12).

(1) PLond. 907 (III p. 180).
(2) ***In Flacc.,*** **10 e 14; Yellow JOS.,** ***Bell. Judg.,*** **7, 10, 1**
(3) PLond. 1177 d7 (III r. 181).
(4) l. cit.
(5) ***Bell. Jud.,*** **7, 10, 1.**
(6) ***Hist. Eccles.,*** **7, 13, 20. (7) §**
310 ed. Wendland.
(8) At FLAV. Jos., ***Antiqu14,*** **7, 1.**
(9) Perhaps through colonists imported from Jerusalem, after his

conquest; cf. BOUCHE-LECLERCQ, ***Hist. d. Lag.,*** **I p. 360 n. 4.**
(10; ***Bull. Corr. Hell.,*** **13 (1889) p. 178.**
(11) ***Rev. He ate. Juiv.,*** **45 (1902)** p. **161. Cf. DITTENBERGER,** ***Or. Greek***

Register Six., **No. 726.**
(12) See further p. 278.

Ebrei si trovavano, non sappiamo se numerosi, in un villaggio dei Siri, come rilevasi dalle parole .... ἀπὸ Σύρων κώμης di un papiro del 59 d. Cr. (PHamb. 2). Già in un papiro dell'Arsinoite del 27° anno di Tolemeo II (259-58 av. Cr.) è nominata una Σύρων κώμη (1) che può forse indicare « villaggio degli Ebrei » (sebbene la loro denominazione usuale fosse quella di Ἰουδαῖοι), poiché in papiri aramaici gli Ebrei sono detti « Aramei », che equivale a « Siri »; e così in un papiro del III sec. av. Cr., Συριστί vuol probabilmente dire « in lingua ebraica » (2). Del resto spesso, come in un papiro del 238 av. Cr. (3). gli Ebrei erano detti *Siriaci,* o *Siriaci di Palestina.*

Col nome di κατοικία (4) viene indicato l'insieme degli Ebrei di Leontopolis.

Una Comunità ebraica assai importante troviamo nel periodo romano a Ossirinco, (nella parte orientale del Nilo), con un quartiere ebraico, come rileviamo da due papiri dell'85 (POxy. 335) e del 133 d. Cr. (POxy. 100), dove ricorrono le parole « ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ἰουδαικοῦ » nel primo, ed « ἐπ' ἀμφόδου.... Ἰουδαικῆς » nel secondo (5). Ostili agli Ebrei erano gli altri abitanti di Ossirinco; infatti, in un papiro del 200-202 d. Cr. (6) si rileva da una supplica di un certo Orion agli imperatori Settimio Severo e Caracalla, che nella guerra con gli Ebrei (probabilmente quella del tempo di Traiano, estesasi anche nel Medio e Alto Egitto) (7), essi avevano prestato man forte (συμμαχία), e festeggiavano ogni anno l'anniversario della vittoria.

Ad Antinoe (Antinopolis), fondata nel Medio Egitto

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(1) PTebt. II 402. Vi erano altre due località così nominate: nel territorio alessandrino (BGU. 1123 e 1132) e nell'Ossirinchite. (Vedi Accordi, in *Studî Scuola Papirol. Milano,* III p. 26).

(2) PPetrie II p. 23; III pp. 161-62 (dove è una lettura migliore).

(3) PTebt. 907.

(4) Flav. Jos., *Antiqu.,* 13, 3, 1.

(5) Neutro o femm., a seconda se è usato ἄμφοδον o ἄμφοδος.

(6) POxy. 705. Cfr. Schürer, III pp. 48-49.

(7) Vedi *Archiv* IV p. 379 n. 2. Cfr. Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.,* 4, 2, 3; Orosius, VII p. 12. Effetti di questa guerra sono gli incendî operati da Ebrei a Ossirinco (POxy. 707) e le devastazioni di Ἑπταχωμία (= Apollinopolis Parva) (Wilcken, *Grundz.,* II N. 16) e di Hermopolis (PGiss. 41; cfr. Wilcken, *Grundz.,* II N. 18); cfr. anche POxy. 1189 (e *Archiv* VI p. 292).

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(10)

Jews were found, we do not know if numerous, in a village or among the Syrians as can b e seen from the words .... ÿÿÿ ***ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿ*** of a papyrus from 59 AD. Cr. (PHamb. 2). Already in a papyrus of the A rsi ÿ ÿ ite of the 27th year of Ptolemy II (259-58
BC) a ***ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿ*** (1) is mentioned which can perhaps indicate "village of the Jews" (although their usual name was that of ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ),*** since in Aramaic papyri the Jews are called "Arameans", which is equivalent to "Syrians "; and so in a papyrus from the 3rd century. av. Cr., ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** probably means "in the Hebrew language" (2). Moreover, often, as in a papyrus from 238 BC. Cr. (3), the

Jews were called *Syriacs,* or *Syriacs of Palestine.*

The name ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ (4) indicates the set of Jews of Leontopolis.

We find a very important Jewish community in the Roman period in Oxyrhynchus, (in the eastern part of the Nile), with a Jewish quarter, as we note from two papyri from 85 (POxy. 335) and 133 AD. Cr. (POxy. 100), where the words « ÿÿ' ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** 'ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ » occur in the first, and « in' ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ.... ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** » in the second (5). The other inhabitants of Oxyrhynchus were hostile to the Jews; in fact, in a papyrus from 200-202 AD. Cr. (6)

we note from a supplication by a certain Orion to the emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla, that in the war with the Jews (probably that of the time of Trajan, which also extended to Middle and Upper Egypt) (7), they had lent a strong hand (ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ), and celebrated the anniversary of the victory every year.

Ad A ÿ ti ÿ ÿ e (Antinopolis), founded in Middle Egypt

(1) PTbt. 402. There were two other places so named: in the Alexandrian territory (BQU. 1123 and 1132) and in Oxyrhynchite. (See AGREEMENTS, in *Studi Scuola Papirol. Milano,* III p. 26).

(2) PPetrie II p. 23; IIi pp. 161-62 (where it is a better read). (3)PTebt. 907.
(4) FLAV. JOS., *Antiq.,* (5) 13, 3, 1.
Neutro ÿ femm., a seconda se è usato m©o5ov ÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ.

(6) POxy 705 . Cfr . SCHURER, III pp. 48-49 .

(7) See *Archiv* IV p. 379 n. 2. Cf. EUSEB., *fiisl. Eccl.,* 4, 2, 3; Orosius, 7 p. 12. Effetti di questa guerra sono gli incendi operati da Ebrei a Ossirinco (POxy. 707) e le devastazioni di ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ (= Apollinopolis Parva) (WILCKEN, *Grundz.,* II N. 16) e di Hermopolis (PGiss. 41; cfr. WIL-CKEN, *Grundz II* No. 18); cf. even POxy 1189 (from *Archiv* VI p. 292).

da Adriano nel 122, gli Ebrei andarono contemporaneamente ai Greci, attrattivi dal commercio col porto di Myso Hormus sul Mar Rosso (1).

A Magdola, essendo nominata in un papiro del 217 av. Cr. (2) una προσευχὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, doveva esistere una Comunità di Ebrei, e non esservi solamente Ebrei isolati (3). Lo stesso nome Μάγδωλα è semitico (מגדול), ma trovasi spesso in Egitto (4). Un *Migdol* presso Pelusium trovasi menzionato nel Vecchio Testamento (5).

A Memfi doveva esistere una importante Comunità ebraica, poichè sembra che gli Ebrei occupassero tutto un quartiere, come fa supporre anche la vicinanza del tempio di Onias (6).

Gli Ebrei di Cinopoli sono menzionati in un papiro del 117 d. Cr. (7) a proposito, sembra, della confisca dei loro beni da parte di uno stratega dell'Eracleopolite, avvenuta in quell'anno, in seguito alla ribellione del 115.

In una lista d'imposte pagate da Ebrei, si fa una distinzione molto netta fra Ebrei e non Ebrei di Arsinoe, per cui è probabile che essi formassero una vera Comunità costituita.

Dovevano essere numerosi gli Ebrei a Tebe, considerato che in una città (forse Hermopolis) del Medio Egitto, appunto gli Ebrei di Tebe avevano una Sinagoga propria, come rilevasi da un papiro del 113 d. Cr. (8).

Da alcuni documenti si apprende che gli Ebrei in Apollinopolis Magna (9) abitavano il quarto quartiere: curiosa coincidenza con quanto avveniva — secondo Giuseppe Flavio (10) — in Alessandria.

Durante il nostro studio, avremo occasione di nominare altre località abitate da Ebrei, ma non sappiamo con preci-

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(1) S. DE RICCI, s. v. *Palaeography*, in *Jewish Encycl.* cit.

(2) PLille II 35.

(3) SCHÜRER, III p. 45.

(4) WESSELY in *Denkschr. Wiene, Ak.* 50 (1904) p. 101.

(5) *Esod.* 14, 2; *Num.* 33, 7; GER. 44, 1; 46, 14.

(6) FLINDERS PETRIE, *Memphis* p. 4 (London, 1909: *British School of Archaeology in Egypt* T. 14); cfr. FLAV. JOS., *Antiqu.*, 14, 8, 2.

(7) POxy. 1189; *Archiv* VI p. 292. Cfr. MITTEIS, *Chrest.* N. 16.

(8) PLond. 907 (III p. 180).

(9) Vedi WESSELY, *Stud.*, 13 p. 8.

(10) Vedi sopra p. 258 nota 4.

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by Hadrian in 122, the Jews went at the same time as the Greeks, attracted by trade with the port of Myso Hormus on the Red Sea (1).

In Magdola, being mentioned in a papyrus of 217 BC. Cr. (2) a ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ,*** there had to be a community of Jews, and not just isolated Jews (3).
The name ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** itself is Semitic (SnjQ),

found in Egypt (4). A *Migdol* near Pelusium is mentioned in the Old Testament (5).

An important Jewish community must have existed in Memphi, since it seems that the Jews occupied an entire neighborhood, as the proximity of the temple of Onias suggests (6).

The Jews of C i ÿ ÿ ÿ ÿ 1 i are mentioned in a papyrus of 117 AD. Cr. (7) regarding, it seems, the confiscation of their assets by a Heracleopolite strategist, which occurred in that year, following the rebellion of 115.

In a list of taxes paid by Jews, a very clear distinction is made between Jews and non-Jews of A rsi ÿ ÿ e, so it is probable that they formed a truly established community.

TheremusthavebeennumerousJewsinThebesconsidering that in a city (perhaps Hermopolis) in Middle Egypt, the Jews of Thebes had their own synagogue, as revealed by a papyrus dated 113 AD. Cr. (8).

From some documents we learn that the Jews in A ÿ ÿ 1- linopoli s Magn a (9) inhabited the fourth neighborhood: a curious coincidence with what happened - according to Josephus (10) - in Alexandria.

During our study, we will have the opportunity to name other places inhabited by Jews, but we do not know precisely

(1) S. DE RICCI, S. V. *Palaeography,* in *Jewish Encycl.* cit. (2) PLille II 35. (3 1
SCHURER, III p. 45 .
(4) WESSELY in *memorandum. Vienna. Ak.* 50 (1904) p. 101. (5) *Esod.* 14, 2 ; *Num.* 33, 7 ; GER. 44, 1 ; 46,

(6) FLINDERS PETRIE, *Memphis* p. 4 (London, 1909 : *British School oj Archeology in Egypt* T. 14); cf. Yellow Jos., *Antiq.,* 14, 8, 2

(7) POxy. 1189; *Archiv* 6 p. 292. Cf. Send them, *Christ.* No. 16 (8) PLond. 907 (III p. 180).
(9) Vedi WESSELY, *Stud.,* 13 p. 8th.

(10) See above p. 258 note 4.

and

often

sione se in esse esisteva una Comunità, né abbiamo notizie del primo arrivo di Ebrei sul posto, dei quartieri loro assegnati, ecc.; in generale può valere il passo di Strabone (1): « in Egitto l'abitazione degli Ebrei è riservata a parte ».

***

Il continuo contatto con la cultura pagana non poteva non influire sull'interno sviluppo dell'Ebraismo nella Diaspora; dove poi gli Ebrei, per la loro posizione sociale, erano in condizione di appropriarsi i mezzi di cultura dei proprî tempi, come in Alessandria, l'Ebraismo prese un indirizzo che era essenzialmente diverso dall'Ebraismo palestinese: l'Ebreo colto della Diaspora non era soltanto ebreo, ma anche greco, possedendo dei Greci la cultura, la lingua, molti costumi; ed era portato, dalla forza delle circostanze, a cercare una conciliazione fra l'essenza ebraica e la ellenica. Ma il fondamento ebraico mantenne sempre una parte preponderante.

Uno dei mezzi principali per conservare la fede dei Padri negli Ebrei della Diaspora, erano le regolari riunioni nelle Sinagoghe: queste si trovavano dovunque una comunità era organizzata. In quasi tutte le fonti, e specialmente nei papiri degli ultimi secoli av. Cr., le sinagoghe in Egitto sono chiamate col nome greco di προσευχή « luogo di preghiera » (traduzione dell'ebraico בית התפלה) o di εὐχεῖον (2).

Per quanto si riferisce alla costruzione e alla manutenzione delle sinagoghe e ai terreni adiacenti in possesso delle Comunità, abbiamo alcune notizie che riassumo: numerose erano le sinagoghe di Alessandria; se ne ricorda una già nel III sec. av. Cr. (3); una iscrizione del 143 o 116 av. Cr. si riferisce forse alla ricostruzione di una sinagoga, distrutta da un terremoto, a spese di un ricco Ebreo (4); un'altra iscrizione, che secondo lo Strack (5) si riferisce al

(1) Presso Flav. Jos., *Antiqu.*, 14, 7, 2.
(2) Ricorre una sol volta in PLond. 907 (III p. 180).
(3) Accordi, in *Studî Scuola Papirol. Milano,* III p. 24.
(4) *Inscr. gr. ad res rom. pertin.*, I N. 1077.
(5) *Archiv* II p. 559.

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(12)

sion if a community existed in them, nor do we have any news of the first arrival of Jews on the site, of the neighborhoods assigned to them, etc. ; in general the passage from Strabo (i) can be valid: «in Egypt the housing of the Jews is reserved separately».

The continuous contact with pagan culture could not fail to influence the internal development of Judaism in the Diaspora;
where then the Jews, due to their social position, were in a position
to appropriate the means of culture of their times, as in Alexandria, Judaism took a direction that was essentially different from Palestinian Judaism: the cultured Jew of the Diaspora was not only Jewish, but also Greek, possessing the culture, language and many customs of the Greeks; and he was led, by the force of circumstances, to seek a

conciliation between the Jewish essence and the Hellenic one. But the Jewish foundation always maintained a predominant role.

One of the main means of preserving the faith of the Fathers in the Jews of the Diaspora was the regular meetings in the Synagogues: these were found wherever a community was organised. In almost
all sources, and especially in the papyri of the last centuries BC. Cr., the synagogues in Egypt are called by the Greek name of *ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ* "place of prayer" (translation of the Hebrew nSsrì H TV2)

0

di ***wisheon*** (2).
As regards the construction and maintenance of the synagogues and the adjacent land in the possession of the Communities, we have

some information which I will summarize: there were numerous synagogues in Alexandria; one is remembered as early as the 3rd century. av. Cr. (3); an inscription from 143 or 116 av. Cr. it perhaps refers to the reconstruction of a synagogue, destroyed by an earthquake, at the expense of a rich Jew (4); another inscription, which according to Strack (5) refers to

(1) Press FLAV. Jos., *Antiq.,* 14, 7, 2
(2) Occurs only once in PLond. 907 (III p. 180).
(3) AGREEMENTS, in *Papirol School Studies. Milan,* III p. 24. (4) *Registration gr. ad res rorn pertin.,* I N. 1077.
(5) *Archive* II p. 559

37 o 36 av. Cr., ci rende noto come ad Alessandria una sinagoga sia stata costruita al tempo di Cleopatra VII e di Tolemeo XVI, a spese di un munifico benefattore: [ὑπὲρ] βασ[ιλίσσης]ς καὶ β[ασιλ]έως θεῶι [με]γάλωι ἐ[πηκό]ωι Ἄλυπ[ος τὴν] προσε[υχὴν] ἐπόει ιε Με[χεὶρ...] (1).

Sotto Caligola, come sappiamo da Filone (2), furono incendiate e distrutte delle sinagoghe. Ma se questo delitto non venne preveduto dalla legge e quindi punito nel periodo pagano, fu invece contemplato dopo l'estendersi del Cristianesimo; il che non impedì che nel 414, quando Cirillo espulse da Alessandria gli Ebrei, egli facesse occupare i templi e li trasformasse in chiese cristiane, dando a una di esse il nome di S. Giorgio, come narra la cronaca etiopica di Giovanni Madabbar, vescovo di Nikiu (3).

La sinagoga principale di Alessandria era un vero capolavoro di edilizia greca, a forma di basilica, con doppia fila di colonne, immensa. Interessante quanto è detto nel trattato ebraico del *Talmud* (4): era tale la vastità, che la voce dell'officiante non giungeva da per tutto, per cui nel centro era un rialzo di legno, sul quale stava un incaricato con una bandiera in mano, per dare il segnale ai fedeli riuniti, quando dovevano rispondere « Amen ». Ogni maestranza aveva il proprio recinto, cosicché era facile agli stranieri trovar subito i proprî compagni in arte; una parte apposita era riservata ai membri dell'alto consiglio, con sedili di grande valore.

Sono particolarmente degne di rilievo le notizie riflettenti il tempio di Onias a Leontopolis: al tempo di Antioco V Eupatore (164-62 av. Cr.) (5), il figlio del Sommo Saserdote di Gerusalemme, Onias IV (6), visto che non aveva

(1) *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* 4 (1902) p. 86 = DITTENBERGER, *Or. Gr. Inscr. Sel.* N. 742.

(2) *Leg. ad Caium*, 20.

(3) Cap. 84, p. 465 della trad. del Zotenberg.

(4) Jer. *Succà* 4 - *Kethubboth* 25. Cfr. HAMBURGER, *Die Talm. Artik.*, p. 48.

(5) La data precisa è molto controversa: vedi BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, op. cit., II p. 41 n. 1.

(6) Altre volte è detto, ma sembra erroneamente, che fu lo stesso Sommo Sacerdote Onias III che andò in Egitto (FLAV. JOS., *Bell. Jud.*, 1,

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37 o 36 av. Cr., ***ci*** rende noto come ad Alessandria una si-nagoga sia stata buitti al tempo di Cleopatra VII e di Tolemeo XVI, a spese di un munifico **benefattore : *-eoi* [fxsJya'Xwi *e[piih.o]oi*** "Alyp[ss ***tyiv] ttroae[hygyn\ poei ie Me[heir..] (1).***

Under Caligula, as we know from Philo (2), synagogues were set on fire and destroyed. But if this crime was not foreseen by the law and therefore punished in the pagan period, it was instead contemplated after the spread of Christianity; which did not prevent that in 414, when Cyril expelled the Jews from Alexandria, he had the temples occupied and transformed them into Christian churches, giving one of them the name of St. George, as narrated in the Ethiopian chronicle of Giovanni Madabbar, bishop by Nikiu (3).

The main synagogue of Alexandria was a true masterpiece of Greek construction, in the shape of a basilica, with a double row of columns, immense. What is said in the Jewish treatise of the *Talmud* (4) is interesting: the vastness was such that the voice of the officiant did not reach everywhere, so in the center there was a wooden rise, on which stood an official with a flag in hand, to give the signal to the assembled faithful when they had to respond "Amen". Each worker had his own enclosure, so that it was easy for foreigners to immediately find their companions in the art; a special part was reserved for members of the high council, with seats of great value.

The information reflecting the times of Onias sa Leontopolis is particularly noteworthy: at the time of Antiochus V Eupator (164-62 BC) (5), the son of the High Priest of Jerusalem, Onias IV (6), since he didn't have

(1) *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* 4 (1902) p. 86 = DITTENBERGER, *Or. Or. Inscr. Six.* No. 742.

(2) *Leg. to Caius,* 20
(3) Ch. 84, p. 465 of the trans. of Zotenberg.
(4) Jer. *Succà* 4 - *Kethubboth* 25. Cfr. HAMBURGER, *The Talm. Artic*

p. 48 .
(5) The precise date is very controversial: see BOUCHE-LECLERCQ, op. cit., II

p. 41ÿ. 1.
(6) Other times it is said, but it seems erroneously, that it was the same High

Priest Onias III who went to Egypt (FLAV. Jos., *Bell. Jud.,* 1 .

alcuna probabilità di ottenere il sommo pontificato in Palestina, era andato in Egitto ed era stato benevolmente accolto da Tolemeo VI Filometore e da sua moglie Cleopatra. Il re gli cedette in Leontopolis, nel nômo di Heliopolis, un antico tempio diroccato, che prima era un santuario della ἀγρία Βούβαστις, e gli cedette pure delle terre per sovvenire ai bisogni del culto (1). Di questo fece Onias un tempio ebraico sul tipo di quello di Gerusalemme, con alcune modificazioni e più piccolo; ed essendo stati trovati facilmente i sacerdoti, fu stabilito (circa nel 160 av. Cr.) un servizio religioso che ininterrottamente funzionò sino a quando il tempio fu chiuso, all'epoca della caduta di Gerusalemme (73 d. Cr.), da Vespasiano, che, malgrado la sua tolleranza verso gli Ebrei, temette troppa centralizzazione (2): deve perciò ritenersi un atto politico.

Giuseppe Flavio più volte indica il tempio di Onias, localizzandolo in Leontopolis nel nômo di Heliopolis (e non in quello di Leontopolis, molto più a settentrione, distante circa 24 mila passi da Memfi, ad oriente del Delta); altre volte lo situa nella ἡ Ὀνίου λεγομένη χώρα (3), tra Pelusio e Memfi, identificabile forse col *Castra Judaeorum* (nella provincia Augustamnica) della *Notitia Dignitatum Orientis* (4), all'oriente del Delta. Infatti, proprio in tale luogo è situata la città araba moderna di Tell el-Jehudieh (il cui nome corrisponde ai precedenti), dove appunto sono stati trovati avanzi del famoso tempio, e una necropoli ritenuta del I sec. d. Cr., nella quale esistono molte iscrizioni col nome di Onias (5), evidentemente assai usato tutto all'intorno. Da un altro passo di Giuseppe (6) si apprende anche che il tempio di Onias fu gratificato con proprietà fondiarie.

1, 1 e 7, 10, 2, a differenza di quanto dice in *Antiqu.*, 12, 5, 1 e 9, 7; 13, 3, 1; — *Talmud bab. Menachoth* 109 *b*; *jer. Joma* VI, 3; cfr. SCHÜRER, III p. 144).

(1) FLAV. JOS., *Bell. Jud.*, 7, 10, 3 § 429.

(2) Vedi JUSTER, I pag. 246.

(3) *Antiqu.*, 14, 8, 1; *Bell. Jud.*, 1, 9, 4.

(4) C. 25 (ed. Böcking I, p. 69). Per l'ubicazione controversa vedi SCHÜRER, III p. 144. Cfr. anche *Archiv* I pagg. 48 e segg.

(5) In Ebraico חוניו (oppure חניה e a volte נחוניון); vedi SCHÜRER, III p. 144.

(6) *Bell. Jud.*, 7, 10, 3.

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(14)

no chance of obtaining the supreme pontificate in Palestine, he
had gone to Egypt and had been kindly welcomed by Ptolemy VI Philometor and his wife Cleopatra. The king gave him in Leontopolis, in the nómo of Heliopolis, an ancient ruined temple, which was previously a sanctuary of the ***ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ,*** and also gave him

some lands to meet the needs of the cult (1). From this Onias made a Jewish temple similar to that of Jerusalem, with some modifications and smaller ; and the priests having been easily found, a religious service was established (around 160 BC) which functioned uninterruptedly until the temple was closed, at the time of the fall of Jerusalem (73 AD), by Ve -Spasian, who, despite his tolerance towards the Jews, feared too much centralization (2): it must therefore be considered a political act.

Josephus Flavius several times indicates the temple of Onias, locating it in Leontopolis in the nomo of Heliopolis (and not in that
of Leontopolis, much further north, about 24 thousand steps away from Memphis, east of the Delta) ; other times he places it in the ***r, ÿÿÿÿ ÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿ*** (3), between Pelusium and Memphis, perhaps identifiable with the *Castra Judaeorum* (in the Augustamnica province) of the *Notitia Dignitatum Orientis* (4), to the east of the Delta. In fact, the modern Arab city of Teli el-Jehudieh (whose
name corresponds to the previous ones) is located precisely in
this place, where remains of the famous temple were found, and a necropolis believed to date back to the 1st century. d. Cr., in which there are many inscriptions with the name of Onias (5), evidently widely used all around. From another passage of Josephus (6) we also learn that the temple of Onias was rewarded with landed properties.

1, 1 e 7, 10, 2, a differenza di quanto dice in *Antiqu.,* 12, 5, 1 e 9, 7; 13, 3, 1; — *Talmud bah. Menachoth* 109 *b; Jer. / orna* VI, 3; cf. SCHURER, 3 p. 144).

(1) FLAV. Jos., *Bell, / ud.,* 7, 10, 3 § 429.
(2) In JUSTER, I pag . 246 .
(3) *Antiq.,* 14, 8, 1; *Bell. Judg.,* 1, 9, 4
(4) C. 25 (ed. Bocking I, p. 69). For the controversial location see

SCHÜRER, III p. 144. Cf. also *Archiv* I pag. 48 et seq.
(5) In Hebrew V31 ÿ (or ÿ^3ÿ and sometimes]V3In3J > see

(6) *Bell. Jud.,* 7, 10, 3.

Da due interessanti frammenti di iscrizioni su marmo bianco del II sec. av. Cr., riferentisi, pare, a Tolemeo IV Filometore, uno dei sovrani più favorevoli agli Ebrei, apprendiamo che il tempio di Athribis fu costruito a spese di un benefattore, aiutato in questa sua munificenza dalla Comunità intera:

« In onore del re Tolemeo e della regina Cleopatra, Tolemeo figlio di Epicide sorvegliante delle guardie e gli Ebrei di Athribis [consacrarono] la sinagoga al Dio Altissimo ».

« In onore del re Tolemeo e della regina Cleopatra e dei figli, Hermias e (sua) moglie Filotera e i (loro) figli questa esedra [donarono] alla sinagoga ».

(*ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας Πτολεμαῖος Ἐπικύδου ὁ ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακιτῶν καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀθρίβει Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν προσευχὴν Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ.*

ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας καὶ τῶν τέκνων Ἑρμίας καὶ Φιλ[ω]τέρα ἡ γυνὴ καὶ τὰ παιδία τήνδε ἐξέδραν τὴ[ι] προσευχῆ[ι]) (1).

In un papiro di Magdola, che sembra del 217 av. Cr. (2), è una supplica al re, dove è menzionata la *προσευχὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, presso il cui custode era stato deposto un mantello da una donna (3), alla quale esso era stato rubato.

Per la sinagoga di Schedia abbiamo la seguente iscrizione riferentesi a Tolemeo III Evergete (243-221 av. Cr.):

« In onore del re Tolemeo e della regina Berenice sorella e moglie e dei figli, gli Ebrei [dedicarono *o* costruirono] la sinagoga ».

(*ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης ἀδελφῆς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν τέκνων τὴν προσευχὴν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*) (4).

Da un papiro del 113 d. Cr. apprendiamo che gli arconti

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(1) *Rev. Ét. Juiv.* 17 (1888) pp. 235-38 = *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 13 (1889), pp. 178-182 = DITTENBERGER, *Or. Gr. Inscr. Sel.* N. 96 e 101.

(2) PLille II 35; cfr. SCHÜRER, III p. 45.

(3) Sembra che la donna non fosse Ebrea; cfr. *Archiv* IV p. 54.

(4) *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* 4 (1902) p. 49 = *Rev. Ét. Juiv.* 45 (1902) p. 162 = *Sitz. Ak. Berlin* (1902) p. 1094 = *Archiv* II p. 541 = DITTENBERGER, *Or. Gr. Inscr. Sel.* N. 726; cfr. POxy. 1205. L'iscrizione è conservata nel Museo di Alessandria; vedi BRECCIA, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, p. 47.

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From two interesting fragments of inscriptions on white marble

from the 2nd century. av. Cr., referring, it seems, to Ptolemy IV

Philometor, one of the sovereigns most favorable to the Jews, we

learn that the temple of Athribi was built at the expense of a

benefactor, aided in this munificence by the entire community: «In honor of King

Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra, Ptolemy son of Epicides overseer of the guards and the Jews of Athribis [consecrated] the synagogue to the Most High God."

"In honor of King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra and their children, Hermias and (his) wife Philotaera and (their) children [donated] this exedra to the synagogue."

***(over King* Ptolemy *and Queen Cleopatra* Ptole -**
maios Epikyiou *6 overseer of the Ilakites and those in AB·rivei the prayer ,* God *Most High.*

Jews

in favor of King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra and others
***children of Hermia* and Philothe'^a *the woman* and *the children did not exedra* r>5[t] *prayer[i])* (1)·**

In a papyrus of ÿ agd ÿ 1 a, which appears to date from 217 BC. Cr. (2), is a supplication to the king, where the ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** ÿÿÿ

ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ is mentioned, with whose guardian a cloak had been placed by a woman (3), from whom it had been stolen.

For the synagogue of Schedi a we have the following inscription: tion referring to Ptolemy III Evergetes (243-221 av. Cr.):

"In honor of King Ptolemy and Queen Berenice, his sister and wife, and their children, the Jews [dedicated or built] the synagogue."

(for King* Ptolemy and *Queen Berenice Adelg/ is and
wife and children the prayer of the Jews) (4).

From a papyrus dated 113 AD. Cr. we learn that the archons

(1) *Rev. One. Juiv.* 17 (1888) pp. 235-38 = *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 13 (1889), pp. 100-1 178-182 = DITTENBERGER, *Or. Gr. Inscr. Sei.* Nos. 96 and

(2) PLille II 35; cf. SCHURER, III p. 45.
(3) It appears that the woman was not Jewish; see *Archive* IV p. 54.
(4) *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* 4 (1902) p. 49 = *Rev. It is. Jewish* 45 (1902) p. 162 =

***Sitz. Ac. Berlin* (1902) p. 1094 = *Archiv* II p. 541 = DITTEN-BERGER, *Or. Gr. Inscr. Be yourself.* No. 726; cf. POxy. 1205. L'iscrizione è conservata nel Museo di Alessandria; see Breccia, *Alexandria to Egypt,* p. 47.**

Ebrei di una *προσευχὴ Θηβαίων* (forse di Ebrei venuti da Tebe), devono pagare una tassa per un *εὐχεῖον*, sembra a Hermopolis (1).

Un papiro della fine del II sec. av. Cr. (2) ci dice che a Tebtynis la sinagoga possedeva un giardino sacro (*ἱερὰ παράδεισος*); e poichè *ἱερός* in Egitto è costantemente usato per indicare cose appartenenti al culto divino, è da ritenersi che il giardino di cui si tratta facesse parte del tempio; probabilmente però il terreno era stato semplicemente dato in affitto alla Comunità, e non le apparteneva.

Un particolare architettonico interessante ci dà un'iscrizione per il tempio di Xenephyris (3): « In onore del re Tolemeo, della regina Cleopatra sua sorella e della regina Cleopatra sua nipote, gli Ebrei di Xenephyris [costruirono] il vestibolo (*o* portico) della sinagoga, essendo alla direzione [dei lavori] (*o forse:* capi della comunità) Teodoro e Achillione ». (*ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς γυναικὸς οἱ ἀπὸ Ξενεφύρεος Ἰουδαῖοι τὸν πυλῶνα τῆς προσευχῆς προστάντων Θεοδώρου καὶ Ἀχιλλίωνος*).

Sembra che alcune sinagoghe abbiano esercitato il diritto di asilo, come i templi pagani. Infatti, apprendiamo da un'iscrizione greco-latina (4) trovata nel Basso Egitto, che la regina e il re (secondo il Mommsen (5), Zenobia e Vaballathus) ordinarono di rinnovare un'antica iscrizione, il cui contenuto era che il re Tolemeo Evergete e sua moglie dichiaravano la sinagoga inviolabile, cioè garantita come asilo; si tratterà probabilmente di Tolemeo III piuttosto che

(1) PLond. 907 (III p. 183).

(2) PTebt. 86, e cfr. I p. 382.

(3) *Rev. Ét. Juiv.* 65 (1913) pp. 135-137 = PREISIGKE, *Sammelb.*, N. 5862; cfr. JUSTER, I pp. 348-49; vedi più oltre p. 270.

(4) « βασιλίσσης καὶ βασιλέως προσταξάντων ἀντὶ τῆς προαναχειμένης περὶ τῆς ἀναθέσεως τῆς προσευχῆς πλακὸς ἡ ὑπογεγραμμένη ἐπιγραφήτω · Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Εὐεργέτης τὴν προσευχὴν ἄσυλον. *Regina et rex jusser(un)t* ». *Archiv* II p. 541 e III p. 324; *Inscr. Lat.* III suppl. N. 6583 = DITTENBERGER, *Or. Gr. Inscr. Sel.* N. 129 = *Rev. Ét. Juiv.* 45 (1902) p. 164.

(5) In *Ephem. epigr.* 4 (1881) pagg. 25 e segg. Vedi anche *Jewish Encyclop.* s. v. « *Alexandria* » e SCHÜRER, III p. 41.

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(16)

Ebrei di una prayer of Thebes (forse di Ebrei venuti da Tebe), devono pagare una tassa per un *eucheion,* sembra a Her -
m o r o 1 is (1).

A papyrus from the end of the 2nd century. av. Cr. (2) tells us that in Tebtyni s the synagogue possessed a sacred garden (iepà *ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ) ;* and since *ÿÿÿÿÿ* in Egypt is constantly used to indicate things belonging to divine worship, it is to be believed that the garden in question was part of the temple; however, the land had probably simply been rented to the Community, and did not belong to it.

Un particolare architettonico interessante ci dà un'iscri-zione per il tempio di X e ì e r hyris (3): "In onore del re Tolemeo, della regina Cleopatra sua sorella e della regina Cleopatra sua nipote, gli Ebrei di Xenephyris [costruirono] il vestibolo (the portico) della synagoga, essendo alla direzione [dei lavori] *(the forse:* capi della

comunità) Teodoro e Achillione ". *(over King Ptolemy II and Queen Cleopatra's sister and Queen Cleopatra's wife the Jews from Eeneureus the pillar of prayer interceding Theodore and Agilion).*

It seems that some synagogues have exercised the -

ritt hate asylum like pagan temples. In fact, we learn from a Greco-

Latin inscription (4) found in Lower Egypt, that the queen and the king (according to Mommsen (5), Zenobia and Vaballathus) ordered to renew an ancient inscription, the content of which was that King Ptolemy Evergetes and his wife declared the synagogue inviolable, that is, guaranteed as an asylum; it will probably be Ptolemy III rather than

(1) PLond. 907 (III p. 183).
(2) PTebt. 86, e cfr. I p. 382.
(3) ***Rev. What? Juiv.*** **6 5 (1913) pp. 135-13 7 = PREISIGKE,** ***Sammelb.,*** **N . 5862;**

cf. JUSTER, I pp. 348-49; see further p. 270.
(4) "of the queen and the king, instead of the aforesaid regarding the recitation of the

prayer, a plaque or a signed inscription should be written: Vasileus Ptolemais Euergetis the prayer asylum." ***Regina et rex jusser(un)t Archiv*** **II r. 541 e III r. 324;** ***Inscr. Lat.*** **III**
suppl. N. 6583 = DITTENBERGER, ***Or. Gr. Inscr. Sei.*** **N. 129 =** ***Rev. Et. Juiv.*** **45 (1902) p. 164.**

(5) In ***Eph. epigr.*** **4 (1881) pp. 25 from sect. See also** ***the Jewish Encyclop.*** **sv "** ***Alexandria*** **" from SCHURER, 3 p. 41.**

».

del VII (che pure chiamavasi Evergete), essendo stato egli più favorevole agli Ebrei, tanto più che al suo tempo vigeva l'uso di ricordare assai frequentemente accanto al re anche la regina.

Il rispetto e la devozione dovuti da ogni persona verso l'autorità sovrana del luogo, erano stilizzati in formule dalle quali era, generalmente, proibito l'allontanarsi; ma per gli Ebrei si ammettevano quelle restrizioni ed esenzioni da codeste formule d'ossequio necessarie ad evitare che cadessero, sia pure materialmente pronunziandole, in un peccato d'idolatria; questo già sotto i Tolemei, come ci dimostrano le iscrizioni riflettenti gli Ebrei di Athribis, di Schedia, ecc. (1), dove i re d'Egitto sono nominati senza gli attributi divini loro usualmente dovuti. Del resto, gli ordini reali non avevano forza di legge presso gli Ebrei, se non conciliati con la *Thorà,* mediante l'interpretazione dell'etnarca (2). E a proposito del giuramento di fedeltà al sovrano, narra Giuseppe che davanti a Tolemeo Filometore, Ebrei e Samaritani di Alessandria giuravano per il loro Dio e per il Re (3).

Quando gli Ebrei, per effetto dell'occupazione romana dell'Egitto, passarono a dover sottostare alle loro leggi, si trovavano già in possesso di determinati diritti e di concessioni, di cui i Romani tennero conto: così successivamente vennero emanati decreti atti a garantirne la libertà di culto e la posizione giuridica.

Vediamo, pertanto, che gli Ebrei sono i primi a invocare la protezione romana, anche dove vigevano già per loro sufficienti garanzie di libertà, come ad Alessandria, e questo anzi forse spiega, in parte, l'odio manifestato allora dagli Alessandrini contro di essi. È naturale, del resto, che gli Ebrei tenessero a farsi confermare dalla superiore autorità i diritti già loro accordati dai precedenti dominatori, derivandone maggiori garanzie di quanto non sarebbe avvenuto in seguito a concessioni semplicemente emanate o confermate dalle autorità locali: infatti, le leggi romane solevano

(1) Vedi sopra a pp. 267-8.
(2) Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., III p. 148.
(3) Flav. Jos., *Antiqu.*, 13, 3, 4 § 76.

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of the VII (who was also called Evergete), having been more favorable to the Jews, especially since in his time there was the custom of remembering the queen very frequently alongside the king.

The respect and devotion owed by each person towards the sovereign authority of the place were stylized in formulas from which it was generally forbidden to deviate; but for the Jews those restrictions and exemptions from these formulas and respects were admitted or necessary to prevent them from falling, even if they were materially pronounced, into a sin of idolatry; this already under the Ptolemies, as shown by the inscriptions reflecting the Jews of Athribis, Schedia, etc. (1), where the kings of Egypt are appointed without the divine attributes usually due to them. Moreover, the royal orders did not have the force of law among the Jews, unless reconciled with the *Torah,* through the interpretation of the ethnarch (2).

And regarding the oath of loyalty to the sovereign, Josephus narrates that before Ptolemy Philometor, the Jews and Samaritans of Alexandria swore by their God and by the King (3).

When the Jews, as a result of the Roman occupation of Egypt, began to have to submit to their laws, they already found themselves in possession of certain rights and concessions, which the Romans took into account: so subsequently decrees were issued to guarantee their freedom of worship and legal position.

We see, therefore, that the Jews are the first to invoke Roman protection, even where sufficient guarantees of freedom already existed for them, as in Alexandria, and this perhaps explains, in part, the hatred then manifested by the Alexandrians against of es^i. It is natural, moreover, that the Jews wanted to have the rights already granted to them by the previous dominators confirmed by the superior authority, deriving greater guarantees than would have happened following concessions simply issued or confirmed by the local authorities: in fact , the Roman laws used

to

(1) See above pp. 267-8.
(2) BOUCHE-LECLERCQ, op. cit. OR p. 148. (3) FLAV. If. , *Ancient* 13 , 3, 4 § 76 .

generalmente rivestire carattere di perpetuità, anche quando erano a conferma di privilegi locali, come ad Alessandria. D'altra parte, come tutti i sottoposti all'impero romano, anche gli Ebrei erano tenuti al culto imperiale: troviamo però in questo tempo usate sempre, a designare un tale culto, le espressioni Σωτήρ, Εὐεργέτης, κύριος, χάρις, φιλανθρωπία, ecc., che non implicavano un significato vero e proprio di divinità; ma in un papiro del Fayum del 101 d. Cr. (BGU. 1068 $_{20}$) abbiamo frammentario il giuramento di un Ebreo per avvalorare una dichiarazione di morte, in questi termini: « ὀμνύω Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσα[ρα Νέρουα] Τραιαν[όν] σεβαστόν... ».

Un editto del prefetto d'Egitto che ordina agli Ebrei di far preghiere nelle sinagoghe in favore dell'imperatore, conservatoci in un papiro (BGU. 646), mostra come tale uso generale fosse osservato anche là, per implorare da Dio la grazia sul sovrano (1).

Molto esteso era ai tempi dei Tolemei l'uso di dedicare le sinagoghe ai sovrani, come forma di devozione e di sottomissione. Abbiamo i frammenti citati di Schedia e di Athribis (2); ad Alessandria, nel cimitero Chugafa, è stata scoperta una dedica ad una regina (3), e un'altra a Tolemeo III e a Berenice fu trovata, come si è veduto, nel canale tra Alessandria e il ramo canopico del Delta (4); a Xenephyris è stata recentemente scoperta l'iscrizione, pure già citata in parte (5), posta nel vestibolo della sinagoga, contenente una dedica a Tolemeo VII Evergete II Fiscone, alla regina Cleopatra sua sorella, e alla regina Cleopatra sua nipote, che egli sposò nel 143 av. Cr., senza ripudiare la prima moglie sposata due anni prima: è quindi databile fra il 143 e il 116 av. Cr. (6).

Altra forma con la quale si onoravano i sovrani e si ringraziavano per la protezione accordata, erano le deliberazioni delle Comunità di redigere decreti, ψηφίσματα « mozioni »,

(1) Vedi JUSTER, I p. 346 n. 3 e p. 347 n. 4 e 6.

(2) *Rev. Ét. Juiv.* 45 (1902) p. 161; 17 (1888) pp. 178-182 = DITTENBERGER, *Or. Gr. Inscr. Sel.* NN. 96, 101 e 726.

(3) BRECCIA, *Iscriz. greche e latine*, p. 272.

(4) Vedi sopra a p. 268.

(5) Vedi sopra a p. 268.

(6) Tale uso era esteso ad altre parti dell'Impero.

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(18)

generally have a perpetual nature, even when they confirmed local privileges, as
in Alexandria.
On the other hand, like all subordinates to the Roman Empire, Jews were also held at the imperial cult : however, we always find used, to designate such a cult in this time, the expressions ***ÿÿÿÿÿ, ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ, ÿÿÿÿÿÿ, ÿÿÿÿÿ, ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ,*** which they did not imply a real meaning of divinity; but in a Fayum papyrus etc., from 101 AD. Cr. (BGU. 1068 20) we have fragmented the oath of a Jew to corroborate a declaration of death, in these terms : ÿ ***ÿÿ ÿ ...***

».

An edict of the prefect of Egypt ordering the Jews to pray in the synagogue in favor of the emperor, preserved in a papyrus (BGU. 646), shows how this general custom was observed there too, to implore from God's grace upon the sovereign (1).

The use of dedications was very widespread in the times of the Ptolemies -

as a form of de- and submission. We have the cited fragments of Schedia and Athribis (2); in

Alexandria, in the Chu-gafa cemetery, a dedication to a queen was discovered (3), and another to Ptolemy III and Berenice was found, as we have seen, in the canal between Alexandria and the canopic branch of the Delta (4) ; in married in 143 av. Cr., without repudiating his first wife married two years earlier : it can therefore be dated between 143 and 116 BC. Cr. (6).

Another form with which the sovereigns were honored and thanked for the protection granted was the deliberations of the Communities to draw up decrees, ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** "motions",

(1) See JUSTER, I p. 346 no. 3 and p. 347 no. 4 and 6.

(2) ***Rev. Fr. And Juiv.*** **4 5 (1902) p. 161 ; 1 7 (1888) pp 178-18 2 = DITTEN- BERGER,** ***Or. Gr. Inscr. Sei.*** **NN 96, 101 and**

(3) BRECCIA, ***Registration. Greek and Latin,*** **p. 272.**
(4) See above on p. 268.
(5) See above on p. 268.
(6) This use was extended to other parts of the Empire.

cared for the synagogue and the sovereigns vocation .

contenenti atti di grazie e di lodi, che spesso venivano realmente pronunziati in forma solenne (1) e a volte anche sunteggiati in iscrizioni poste a perpetua memoria nei templi. Così, ad Alessandria in onore di Caligola (2) e di altri (3); a Leontopolis per un generale ebreo (fine del II sec. av. Cr. (4); l'iscrizione principia: [ἐπειδὴ... Ὀνίας] Χελκίου στ[ρατηγὸς πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ποιεῖται ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλή]θους τῶν ἐν τῶι τεμέ[νει...]).

Filone (5) ci narra però del culto molto liberale degli Ebrei alessandrini, che sebbene non ammettessero nei templi le immagini del culto imperiale, pure vi appendevano corone, scudi, vi ergevano stele e affiggevano iscrizioni, tutti segni ed emblemi relativi a tale culto; quando però sotto Caligola, tanto geloso degli onori a lui dovuti, per istigazione del prefetto, e lui consenziente, i Greci alessandrini nel 38 trasportarono nelle sinagoghe statue imperiali, gli Ebrei si opposero energicamente, tanto che ne nacquero gravi tumulti; ad essi si riferiscono gli atti di Isidoro e di Lampone relativi a un processo svoltosi dinanzi a Claudio contro di loro, quali fautori di tali moti, e terminato con la loro condanna a morte (6).

Curiosa è poi una iscrizione del Fayum dell'epoca di Augusto (7), che contiene l'invocazione al Θεῶι μεγάλω⟨ι⟩ μεγάλω⟨ι⟩, espressione propriamente egiziana, alla quale segue la parola ὑψίστω⟨ι⟩, generalmente usata dagli Ebrei per designar Dio.

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(1) Vedi Juster, I p. 436.

(2) Philo, *In Flacc.*, 12.

(3) *Rev. Arch.* 2 (1893) p. 53.

(4) Lunga iscrizione frammentaria su marmo bianco, completata dal Reinach in modo discutibile: *Rev. Ét. Juiv.* 40 (1900) p. 50; cfr. *Archiv* I pp. 48 e segg., e II p. 554 n. 36.

(5) *Leg. ad Caium*, 20; cfr. Flav. Jos., *Antiqu.*, 18, 8.

(6) Secondo il Motzo (*Atti Acc. Torino* 48 (1912-13) p. 149), il processo è del 41 e segue a una seconda ambasciata degli Alessandrini a Claudio, occasionata da una nuova sommossa quando, ucciso Caligola, gli Ebrei assalgono gli avversari con le armi; Isidoro è Gimnasiarca. Vedi anche Juster, I p. 125; il testo in Wilcken, *Chrest.* II N. 14 e in *Abh. Sächs. Ges.* 27 (1919) p. 808. Per gli atti di Paolo e di Antonino, vedi Juster, I p. 126; il testo in PPar. 2376 bis e in PLond. 1 (I p. 229).

(7) *Archiv* V p. 163 n. 10

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containing acts of grace and praise which were often actually pronounced in a solemn form (1) and sometimes also summarized in inscriptions placed in perpetual memory in the temples. Thus, in Alexandria in honor of Caligula (2) and others (3) ; in Leontopolis for a Jewish general (end of the 2nd century BC Cr. (4); the inscription Principia: [ÿÿÿÿ^... ÿÿÿÿÿ] ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ

director* of many *welfares it is done in* addition to the majority of *them wait[nei...]).

However, Philo (5) tells us of the very liberal cult of the Alexandrian Jews, who although they did not allow the images of the imperial cult into the temples, still hung crowns, shields, erected steles and posted inscriptions, all signs and emblems relating to this cult; However, when under Caligula, so jealous of the honors due to him, at the instigation of the prefect, and with his consent, the Alexandrian Greeks transported imperial statues into the synagogues in 38, the Jews opposed them energetically, so much so that serious riots arose ; the acts of Isidoro and Lampone relating to a trial which took place before Claudio against them, as supporters of these movements, and ended with their death sentence refer to them (6).

Then there is a curious inscription from the Fayum from the time of Augustus (7), which contains the invocation to ÿÿÿÿ ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ) ÿÿ-*** yaX«(t), a properly Egyptian expression, which is followed by the word ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿ(ÿ),*** generally used by Jews to design God.

(1) See JUSTER, I p. 436.
(2) Philo, *In Flacc.,* 12
(3) *Rev. Arch.* 2 (1893) p. 53.
(4) Long fragmentary inscription on white marble, completed by Reinach in a

questionable way: *Rev. Et. Juiv.* 40 (1900) p. 50; see *Archive* I pp. 48 et seq., and II p. 554 n. 36.

(5) *Leg. to Caius,* 20; cf. Yellow Jos., *Antiq.,* 18, 8

(6) According to the MOTZO *(Atti Acc. Torino* 48 (1912-13) p. 149), the trial dates back to 41 and follows a second embassy of the Alexandrians to Claudius, caused by a new uprising when, having killed Caligula, the Jews they attack their opponents with weapons; Isidore is Qimnasiarch. See also JUSTER, I p. 125; the text in WILCKEN, *Chrest.* II N. 14 and in *Abh. Sachs.*

***Jesus.* 27 (1919) p. 808. For the acts of Paul and Antoninus, see JUSTER, I p. 126 ; the text in PPar. 2376 bis and in PLond. 1 (I p. 229).**

(7) *Archiv* V p. 163 n. 10

Anche le norme per le offerte al Tempio e per i pellegrinaggi a Gerusalemme in occasione delle maggiori feste religiose annuali, erano, per quanto possibile, osservate dagli Ebrei. Soprattutto le offerte non venivano mai negate, e Giuseppe (1) osserva, riguardo al saccheggio del Tempio operato da Crasso, non dover recar meraviglia che vi fossero raccolte simili ricchezze, poiché tutti gli Ebrei dai 20 anni in su, e i proseliti di tutto il mondo, avevano, fino dall'antichità, recato tali offerte. Quasi in ogni città esisteva a tal uopo una cassa per il denaro sacro; e in date stabilite venivano designati gli uomini più degni per trasportare a Gerusalemme la somma raccolta (2).

Quando, dopo la distruzione del Tempio, il δίδραχμον fu cambiato in un'imposta a Roma, il popolo ebraico affermò la propria coesione interna mediante tributi volontarî, e una parte almeno delle offerte rituali furono devolute annualmente al patriarcato. La raccolta avveniva per opera di appositi messi del Patriarca, i così detti Apostoli, e a volte del Patriarca stesso, che compieva viaggi nella Diaspora.

***

Due correnti religiose si andavano affermando fra gli Ebrei alessandrini: una che si atteneva alla forma esteriore dell'ebraismo; e un'altra che accoglieva il contenuto spirituale della *Thorà*, adattandolo alla pratica religiosa. Filone, come è noto, si adoperò nei suoi scritti per fondere queste due tendenze, e in fondo anch'egli, con la sua interpretazione allegorica della Sacra Scrittura, contribuì solo ad un appianamento dell'ebraismo. Ma a lato di questa stretta comunione con gli altri abitanti di Alessandria per consuetudini di vita, lingua e organizzazione, gli Ebrei mantenevano, come si è detto, uno scambio attivo con la Palestina, con Gerusalemme, dove avevano una sinagoga propria (3).

(1) *Bell. Jud.* 1, 8, 8 § 179.
(2) Vedi JUSTER, I p. 377.
(3) HAMBURGER, op. cit., p. 48.

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(20)

Even the rules for offerings at the Temple and for the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and on the occasion of the major annual religious festivals were, as far as possible, observed by the Jews. Above all, the offerings were never denied, and Josephus (1) observes, regarding the sacking of the Temple carried out by Crassus, that it should not be surprising that such riches were collected there,
since all the Jews aged 20 and over, and the proselytes of all world, had, since ancient times, brought such offerings. For this purpose there was a chest for sacred money in almost every city; and on established dates the most worthy men were designated to transport the collected sum to Jerusalem (2).

When, after the destruction of the Temple, the ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ was changed to a tax in Rome, the Jewish people affirmed their internal cohesion through voluntary tributes, and at least part of the ritual offerings were donated annually to the patriarchate. The collection took place through the work of special messengers of the Patriarch, the so-called Apostles, and sometimes of the Patriarch himself,

who made trips to the Diaspora.

Two religious currents were establishing themselves among the Alexandrian Jews: one which adhered to the external form of Judaism; and another which accepted the spiritual content of the *Torah,* adapting it to religious practice.
Philo, as is known, worked in his writings to merge these two tendencies, and ultimately he too, with his allegorical interpretation of the Holy Scripture, only contributed to a leveling of Judaism. But alongside this close communion with the other inhabitants of Alexandria due to habits of life, language and organisation, the Jews maintained, as has been said, an active exchange with Palestine, with Jerusalem, where they had their own synagogue (3).

(1) ***Bell. Jud.*** **1, 8, 8 § 179.** **(2) By i JUSTER, I p . 377 .**
(3) HAMBURGER, op . cit. , p. 48 .

Nel periodo di cui ci occupiamo, gli Ebrei usavano comunemente la lingua greca, sebbene ancora nel II sec. av. Cr. troviamo a Tebe quietanze in aramaico (1), generalmente usato prima del periodo ellenistico, come per esempio nei famosi papiri di Elefantina del V e IV sec. av. Cr. Del resto, nessuna disposizione vietò mai l'uso dell'ebraico. Nelle funzioni religiose sembra che abbia avuto una parte — secondo alcuni preponderante — la lingua greca; l'ebraico, infatti, pare fosse poco usato correntemente, tanto che nelle iscrizioni tombali veniva adoperato molto il greco oltre che l'ebraico (2).

Sebbene in genere gli Ebrei, anche in Egitto, adottassero il proprio calendario, pure vi sono alcune epigrafi funerarie che contengono datazioni di uso comune; così, nella iscrizione trovata in un cimitero di Alessandria è la data (3): ἔτους β καίσαρ[ος] Μεχεῖρ κ' (= 14 Febbraio 28 av. Cr.), e in quello di Tell el-Jehudieh ne abbiamo varî esempî (4): Σάββαθε χρηστὲ πασίφιλε χαῖρε ὡς ἐτῶν ξ' ἔτους κς' Παῦνι κζ' (essendo la necropoli dell'epoca di Augusto, l'anno 26 = 5/4 av. Cr., quindi 24 Pauni = 20 Maggio 4 av. Cr.);

Νίκη ἄορον, ἐτῶν λ' · Ἀθὺρ ια' ἔτους κ' (= 7 Nov. 11 av. Cr.);

Ἔτους λ' Φαρμοῦθι κζ'. Ἰησοῦς (5) Σαμβαίου ἄωρε ἄτεκνε χρηστὲ χαῖ[ρ]ε (anno 30 di Augusto = 25 Aprile 1 d. Cr.); ecc.

È interessante rilevare la consuetudine degli Ebrei di Alessandria di festeggiare l'anniversario della traduzione della Bibbia da parte dei 70, riunendosi a banchetto nell'isola

(1) In un papiro del 200 circa av. Cr. (acquistato a Luxor), dell'età ellenistica, come vedesi dai nomi proprî greci, è un registro di conti di un mercante ebreo. (*Proceedings Soc. of Biblic. archaelogy* 29 (1907) pp. 260-272. Cfr. SCHÜRER, III p. 49 e WILCKEN, *Ostr.*, n. 1233).

(2) Vedi JUSTER, I p. 365.

(3) *Comptes rend. Acad. inscr. Paris* (1908) p. 797.

(4) *Catal. génér. antiq. Mus. Cairo*, vol. XVIII p. 60.

(5) Cfr. SEYMOUR DE RICCI in *Rev. Épigr.*, N. S. I (1913) pp. 146 e segg.; il nome *Gesù* trovasi qui per la prima volta nei testi epigrafici greco-egiziani: nei papiri però non è raro. Vedi ad es. POxy. 816 (25° anno di Augusto), e PLond. III p. 25 (105 d. Cr.), e ricorre spesso negli ostraca (WESSELY, *Stud.*, 13 (1913) pp. 8 e segg.; *Archiv* VI p. 220).

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In the period we are concerned with, the Jews commonly used the Greek language, although still in the 2nd century. av. Cr. in Thebes we find receipts in Aramaic (1), generally used before the Hellenistic period, as for example in the famous Elephantine papyri of the 5th and 4th centuries. av. Cr. Moreover, no provision ever prohibited the use of Hebrew. The Greek language seems to have played a role - according to some, a predominant one - in religious functions; Hebrew , in fact, seems to have been little commonly used, so much so that Greek as well as Hebrew was used a lot in tomb inscriptions (2).

Although in general the Jews, even in Egypt, adopted their own

calendar, there are also some funerary epigraphs that contain commonly

used datings; thus, in the inscription found in a cemetery of Alexandria there is the date (3): ***ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿ[ÿÿ]*** ÿÿÿÿ ÿ' (= 14 February 28

BC), and in that of Teli el-Jehudieh we have various examples (4) : ***ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿ ÿÿÿÿ*** ÿ' ***ÿÿÿÿÿ*** ÿÿ-' ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿ' ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ***

Augustus, the year 26 = (being the necropolis of the time of **5/4** av. Cr., therefore 24 Pauni — 20 May 4 av. Cr.);

Ntx>j ***oioron, years*** l'· ***A$yr ia! year*** k' (— 7 Nov. 11 av. Cr.); ***'Etus*** l' ***Fhrmou$i*** kz'. ***Jesus (5) Sambæus unskilled unskilled use***

July (anno 30 di Augusto — 25 Aprile 1 d. Cr.) ; etc.

It is interesting to note the Jewish custom of
Alexandria to celebrate the anniversary of the translation of the Bible by the 70th, gathering at a banquet on the island

(1) In a papyrus from around 200 BC. Cr. (purchased in Luxor), from the Hellenistic age, as can be seen from the Greek proper names, is a register of accounts of a Jewish merchant. *(Proceedings Soc. of Biblic. archaelogy* 29 (1907) pp. 260-272. Cf. SCHURER, III p. 49 and WILCKEN, *Ostr.,* n. 1233).

(2) See JUSTER, I p. 365.
(3) *Reporting. Acad. register Paris* (1908) p. 797.
(4) *Catal. gender ancient Mouse Cairo,* you 18 p. 60
(5) Cf. SEYMOUR DE RICCI in *Rev. Epigr.,* NS I (1913) pp. 14 6 et seq.

the name *Jesus* is found here for the first time in Greek-Egyptian epigraphic texts: however, it is not rare in papyri. See e.g. POxy. 816 (25th year of Augustus), and PLond. Iii p. 25 (105 d. Cr.), and often occurs in the ostraca (WESSELY, *Stud.,* 13 (1913) pp. 8 and following; *Archiv* VI p. 220).

di Faro, con la partecipazione anche dei Pagani. In tali banchetti essi mantenevano generalmente la massima sobrietà, ed è degno di nota che proprio ad Alessandria venivano invece proibiti i banchetti dei Pagani (1).

Non abbiamo notizia di associazioni sportive o simili formate esclusivamente da Ebrei: sappiamo invece che essi facevano parte di alcuni ἔρανοι Alessandrini, e fra gli associati a uno di questi è nominata anche una donna, certa Μάριον Ἰσάκιος (2).

Sebbene non sia vero, come è stato spesso ripetuto, che cimiteri separati siano indispensabili in una Comunità, certo gli Ebrei hanno sempre tenuto ad averne uno riservato esclusivamente per loro; anticamente però non era raro il desiderio di esser sepolti definitivamente in Palestina, tanto che molti, avvicinandosi la morte, si trasferivano colà, oppure lasciavano espresso il desiderio di esservi trasportati dopo morti; e sembra anzi che fossero destinate a questo scopo delle piccole casse trovate ad Alessandria da Neroutsos-Bey (3).

Antiche tombe ebraiche furono scoperte nella necropoli di Alessandria (4); un cimitero, come abbiamo veduto, si rinvenne a Tell el-Jehudieh; una iscrizione greca funeraria con nomi che appaiono ebraici (Μάρθα [?] θυγάτηρ Συμέωνος [?]) fu trovata ad Antinoe (5). Dove non esisteva un apposito cimitero, gli Ebrei venivano sepolti in quelli comuni, probabilmente in recinto a parte: così, nel 1896 venne alla luce

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(1) PHILO, *Vita Mois.*, 2 §§ 41-2; LUMBROSO, in *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* 3 (1910) p. 153.

(2) *Archiv* V p. 130; BGU. 1153 e 1157.

(3) Vedi JUSTER, I p. 478.

(4) Il BRECCIA, in *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* 9 (1907) p. 67 (cfr. *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, p. 47) giudica del III sec. av. Cr., forse anche della fine del IV, il gruppo di tali tombe; secondo altri sarebbero preesistenti alla fondazione di Alessandria, per il carattere della scrittura aramaica (Cfr. SCHÜRER, III pp. 41-42). Le iscrizioni sono conservate nel Museo di Alessandria.

(5) Vedi SCHÜRER, III p. 48.

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of Faro, with the participation of the Pagans. In such bans -
that they generally maintained the utmost sobriety, and it is worthy of note that in Alexandria, Pagan banquets were instead prohibited (1).

We have no news of sporting or similar associations formed exclusively by Jews: we know instead that they were part of some Alexandrian ÿÿÿÿÿÿ, and among those associated with one of these a woman is also named, a certain ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** (2).

Although it is not true, as has often been repeated, that separate cemeteries are indispensable in a community, Jews have certainly always made a point of having one reserved exclusively for them; in ancient times, however, the desire to be definitively buried in Palestine was not uncommon, so much so that many, as death approached, moved there, or left expressed the desire to
be transported there after death ; and it actually seems that small chests found in Alexandria by Neroutsos-Bey were intended for this purpose (3).

Ancient Jewish tombs were discovered in the necropolis of Alexandria (4) ; a cemetery, as we have seen, was found at Teli el- Jehudieh; a Greek funerary inscription with names appearing Hebrew ***(ÿÿÿÿÿ*** [?] ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ [?])*** was found in Antinoe (5). Where there was no special cemetery, the Jews were buried in the common ones, probably in a separate enclosure: thus, in 1896 it came to light

(1) PHILO, *Vita Mois.,* 2 §§ 41-2; LUMBROSO, in *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* 3 (1910) p. 153.

(2) *Archive* V p. 130; BOU. 1153 and 1157.
(3) See JUSTER, I p. 478.
(4) The BRECCIA, in *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* 9 (1907) p. 67 (see *Alexandria to*

***Aegyptum,* p. 47) judge of the 3rd century. av. Cr., perhaps also from the end of the 4th century, the group of such tombs; according to others they pre-existed the foundation of Alexandria, due to the character of the Aramaic writing (See. SCHURER, III pp. 41-42). The inscriptions are preserved in the Alexandria Museum.**

(5) See SCHÜRER, III p. 48.

nel cimitero cristiano di Antinoe un'iscrizione (1) ebraica del II sec. d. Cr. (2), molto frammentaria:

לעזר נוח
נפשו בצרור החיים

« Riposi l'anima di Eleazaro nel fascetto della vita » (3).

Vi sono inoltre raffigurati un candelabro a sette bracci e un cipresso: è così comprovato come anche in Egitto fossero comuni i motivi di figurazioni funerarie usate largamente pure in Italia, secondo dimostrarono gli scavi eseguiti nei cimiteri ebraici di Venosa, di Monteverde presso Roma, e altrove.

(*Continua*).

Firenze. ALDO NEPPI MODONA.

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(1) *Zeitschr. Aeg. Sprache* 34 (1896) pp. 164 e segg.

(2) Non antecedente, essendo Antinoe stata fondata da Adriano: questo ricorda lo scopritore C. Schmidt all'Euting che attribuiva l'iscrizione al I sec. d. Cr., giudicando dal carattere della scrittura (vedi GOTTHEIL, in *Jews Encycl.* s. v. *Antinoè*).

(3) Motivo comune: s'immaginano le anime dei defunti riunite in un fascio immortale.

Estratto da *Aegyptus* anno II, n. 3-4 (1921).

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in the Christian cemetery of Antinoe a Jewish inscription (1) from the 2nd century. d. Cr. (2), very fragmentary:

"May Eleazar's soul rest in the bundle of life" (3).

There are also depicted a seven-branched candelabra and a cypress: it is thus proven that the motifs of funerary figures used widely in Italy were also common in Egypt, as demonstrated by the excavations carried out in the Jewish cemeteries of Venosa and Monteverde. near Rome, and elsewhere.

Florence.

ALD OR NEPP I MODONA.

(Continues).

(1) *Magazine Aeg. Language* 34 (1896) pp. 164 e segg.

**(2) Not earlier, Antinoe having been founded by Hadrian:
this reminds the discoverer C. Schmidt at Euting who attributed the inscription to the 1st century. d. Cr., judging from the character of the writing (see GOT-THEIL, in *Jews Encycl.* sv *Antinoe).***

(3) Common motif: one imagines the souls of the deceased gathered together an immortal bundle.

Estrato da *Aegyptus* anno 2, n. 3-4 (1921).

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La vita pubblica e privata degli Ebrei in Egitto nell'età ellenistica e romana.*

Tornando ai rapporti col paese dove abitavano, va notato che gli Ebrei erano compresi nei censimenti generali della popolazione, che venivano eseguiti ogni 14 anni, ed erano obbligati alle denunzie di nascita e di morte all'autorità locale.

Questo ci viene provato, oltre che dal papiro BGU. 1140, di cui abbiamo parlato a proposito della cittadinanza alessandrina, anche da un papiro del 4° anno di Traiano (101 d. Cr.) trovato nel Nômo di Arsinoe, dove un padre denunzia la morte del figlio Giuseppe, ancor piccolo, e perciò non compreso nell'ultimo censimento (1).

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* *Continuazione e fine* (vedi fascicolo preced. III-IV (1921) pp. 253-275, con l'avvertenza e la nota bibliografica in principio).

(1) BGU. 1068 (cfr. *Archiv* IV, pp. 561 e segg.): Ἰσιδώρῳ βασιλικῶ γραμματεῖ.... παρὰ Σωτελοῦς τοῦ Ἰωσήπου τοῦ Θεόμνατος μετρὸς Ἐρωτίου ἀπὸ κώμης Ἀπωλλωνιάδος. Ὁ υἱός μου Ἰωσήπος μητρὸς Σάρρας ἀφήλιξ μήπω καταλήξας εἰς λαογραφίαν ἐτελεύτησε τῶ Τυβῖ μηνὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος τετάρτου ἔτους Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου. διὸ ἀξιῶ ταγῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς τετελ(ευτηκόσι). Questo papiro ha grande importanza anche perché per la prima volta si apprende che le dichiarazioni di morte — che importavano naturalmente la soppressione del testatico — venivano trasmesse dallo scriba reale a quello locale, per la conferma della verità della dichiarazione. Cfr. anche, per le denunzie della composizione delle famiglie ai fini della tassa, WILCKEN, *Ostr.* I, 436. La parola λαογραφία, oltre che in varî papiri (vedi PTebt. I, p. 447 e *Philologus* 71 (1912) pp. 24 e segg.), si trova nel III Maccabei (unica volta che ricorra in testi letterarî) e ha il valore indubbio di « censimento della popolazione », mentre era prima considerato un semplice testatico introdotto da Augusto: un'imposta era però certo dovuta da chiunque veniva compreso nella λαογραφία. Così, si riferisce al testatico di un Ebreo l'ostrakon di Luxor del 103-4 d. Cr., trovato insieme con

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referring to the relations with the country where they lived, it

should be noted that the Jews were included in the census -

general ments of the population, which were carried out

every 14 years, and were obliged to submit birth and death reports to the local authority.

This is proven to us, as well as by the BGU papyrus. 1140, which we talked about in relation to Alexandrian citizenship, also from a papyrus from the 4th year of Trajan (101 d.
Cr.) found in the Nómo of Arsinoe, where a father reports the death of
his son Giuseppe, still small, and therefore not included in the last census (1).

**** Continuation and end*** **(see previous issue Iii—IV (1921) pp. 253-275, with the warning and bibliographical note at the beginning).**

**(1) BGU. 1068 (cfr. *Archiv* IV, pp. 561 e segg.): Isidyro royal secretary... than Sotelus of Josephus of Theomnatus count of Erotius by Count Apolloniados. My son Iosipus, mother of Saras, who was born in folklore, died in the month of TybT in the current fourth year of Trajan Caesar of the Lord, for this reason I call him
one of the twenty-fourths.
This papyrus is also of great importance because for the first time we learn that
the declarations of death - which naturally involved the suppression of the testament - were transmitted from the royal scribe to the local one, to confirm the truth of the declaration. See also, for reports on the composition of families for tax purposes, WILCKEN, *Ostr.* I, 436. The word ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ, as well as in various papyri (see PTebt. I, p. 447 and *Philologus* 71 (1912) pp. 24 and following), is found in III Mac-cabei (the only time it occurs in texts literary) and has the undoubted value of a "population census", whereas it was previously considered a simple testament introduced by Augustus: a tax was however certainly due by anyone included in the ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ. Thus, the ostrakon of Luxor from 103-4 AD refers to the head of a Jew. Cr., found together with**

Sotto i Tolemei gli Ebrei erano assoggettati a un' imposta speciale assai grave, dovuta tanto dai liberi quanto dagli schiavi d'ambo i sessi, fra i tre e i sessant' anni: si tratta forse di capitazione particolare esclusiva agli Ebrei (e non di una tassa comune a tutti) mantenuta dai Romani e detta, già in documenti del I secolo d. Cr. (1), *τέλεσμα Ἰουδαίων*, dell'ammontare di otto dracme e due oboli egiziani (corrispondenti a due dracme attiche e quindi a due danari romani): questa — sembra a torto — fu dal Wilcken (2), dal Wessely e da altri, identificata col fiscus judaicus dovuto dagli Ebrei di tutto l' Impero a Roma, a beneficio di Giove Capitolino, in continuazione del mezzo siclo (due dracme) prima versato annualmente a favore del Tempio di Gerusalemme (*ἱερὰ χρήματα*) (3): esso data dunque dal 71 e fu imposto da

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un registro di tasse pagate da Ebrei, tenuto da un Δωσαρίων Ἰησοῦτος, (*Archiv* VI p. 220): Σαμβαθίω(ν) δ καὶ Ἰησοῦς Πανοῦ λαο(γραφίας) ζ (ἔτους) Τραιανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου (δραχμὰς) δ (Ἔτους) ζ Παζώ(ν) (vedi WILCKEN, *Archiv* II, p. 395; *Ostr.* I, p. 230; MITTEIS-WILCKEN, *Grundz.* I, pp. 172 e 174; cfr. MOTZO in *Entaphia* ecc., cit., pp. 226-27).

(1) Papiro dell' Arsinoite del V anno di Vespasiano (72-73 d. Cr.), pubblicato dal WESSELY in *Stud. Pal.* IV, pp. 58 e segg.; cfr. anche I, pp. 9-11, e *Actes du XIV*[e] *Congrès des Orientalistes,* Alger, (1905), T. II, Sez. II, pp. 17-22. È una nota, redatta dall'ἀμφοδάρχης del quartiere della città Ἀπολλωνίου παρεμβολή nell' Arsinoite, di coloro che sono sottoposti al pagamento dell' Ἰουδαικὸν τέλεσμα; vengono qui tassate solo donne e bambine: forse gli uomini erano compresi in un elenco a parte, ma intanto da questo documento se ne apprendono i nomi:

Τρύφαινα, esclusa dalla tassa per l'età di 61 anni.
Δωσάριον, figlia di Ἰακοῦβος e della Σάμβους, moglie di Σίμων, dell' età di 22 anni.
Φίλους, figlia di [....] e della Πτόλλους, moglie di Θεόδωρος, di 20 anni.
Σαμβαθίς figlia di Σαβῖνος e della Ἥραις, moglie di Θηγενῆς, di 18 anni.
Σ[...., figlia di....] e della Θεύδους, moglie di Σάμβαθ(ος), di 1[.] anni.
Ἐρώτιον [figlia di....] e della Εὐτέρπη, moglie di Πτόλλας, di 22 anni.
Bambine: Πρώτους di Θεόδορος e della Φίλους di 5 anni.
Πρώτους di Σίμων e della Δωσάριον di 4 anni.

(2) *Grundz.* I, p. 187 e II, p. 82.

(3) All'ammontare di tale contribuzione sembrano riferirsi due ostraka aramaici di Apollinopolis Magna, che secondo il LIDZBARSKI (*Ephem. Epigr.* 2, pp. 243 e segg.) sarebbero del II sec. av. Cr. (cfr. peraltro JUSTER I, p. 378 n. 6), e un ostrakon analogo, probabilmente contemporaneo, proveniente da Kom el-Amar, nelle vicinanze della città moderna di Minieh Medio Egitto). Vedi *Rev. Étud. Juiv.* 65 (1913) pp. 16-23.

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Under the Ptolemies the Jews were subjected to an im -
post a special and very serious, due both by free men and slaves of both sexes, between the ages of three and sixty: it is perhaps a particular capitation exclusive to the Jews (and not a tax common to all) maintained by the Romans and mentioned, already in documents from the 1st century AD. Cr. (1), ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ,*** of the amount of eight drachmas and two Egyptian obols (corresponding to two Attic drachmas and therefore to two Roman denarii): this - it seems wrongly - was from Wilcken (2), from Wessely and from others, identified with the fiscu s judaicu s owed by the Jews of the whole Empire to Rome, for the benefit of Jupiter Capitolinus, in continuation of the half shekel (two drachmas) previously paid annually in favor of the Temple of Jerusalem (3): it

ÿiepà ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ) therefore dates from 71 and was imposed by

un registro di tasse payate da Ebrei, tenuto da un Dosarion Iesutos, *(Archiv* VI p. 220) : Samva^io(n) d and 'Jesus Panos Iao(grafias) g (year) Trajan of the lord (drachma) d (" Etus) z Pazoi(n) (vedi WILCKEN, *Archiv* II, p. 395 ; *Ostr.* I, p. 230; MITTEIS-WILCKEN, *Grundz.* I, pp. 172 e 174; cfr.

etc. **MOTZO in *Entaphia* cit. , pp. 226-27).**

(1) Arsinoite papyrus from the 5th year of Vespasian (72-73 AD), published by WESSELY in *Stud. Pai.* IV, pp. 58 et seq. ; see also 1, pp. 9-11, and *Actes du XIVe Congrès des Orientalistes,* Alger, (1905), ÿ. II, Section. II, pp. 17-22. It is a note, drawn up by the ÿÿcpoÿÿpÿÿÿ of the city district 'ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ in Arsinoite, of those who are subjected to the payment of the ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿ'ÿÿÿÿÿ; only women

and girls are taxed here: perhaps men were included in a separate list, but in the meantime their names are learned from this document: ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ, excluded from the tax at the age of 61. ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ, daughter of ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ and ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ,

wife of ÿÿÿÿÿ, of the age

22 years old.
Filous, figlia di [....] e della Ptollous, moglie di Theodoros, di 20 anni. Samvais

figlia di Savinos and della Thirais, moglie di Thigenis, di 18 anni. ÿ{ , figlia di.. . .] e della Theudos, moglie di Samva^(os), di 1[.] anni. Erotion [figlia di....] e della Euterpi, moglie di Pto'llas, di 22 anni.
Bambine : Proitous di Theodoros e della Filous di 5 anni. First of

Simon and della Dosarion di 4 anni. (2) *Grundz.* I, p. 187 and II, p. 82.

(3) Two Aramaic ostraka from Apollinopolis Magna seem to refer to the amount of this contribution, which according to LIDZBARSKI *(Ephem. Epigr.* 2, pp. 243 et seq.) would be from the 2nd century. av. Cr. (see also JUSTER 15. p. 378 n. 6), and a similar ostrakon, probably contemporary, coming from Kom el-Amar, near the modern city of Minieh.

Middle Egypt). See *Rev. Etud. Juiv.* 65 (1913) pp. 16-23.

Vespasiano, mentre il τέλεσμα è menzionato in documenti anteriori e, a differenza di quest'ultimo, è dovuto solamente dagli uomini, ma anche oltre i sessant'anni, e a partire dai 20 anziché dai 3 anni.

Un'altra contribuzione — secondo il Wessely (1) — era dovuta dagli Ebrei al fisco, in relazione all'antico rito ebraico dell'offerta delle primizie (ἀπαρχή) (2), nella misura di 1 dracma. L'ammontare di queste due tasse (il τέλ. Ἰουδ. e l'ἀπ.), sarebbe dato, ad es., dall'ostrakon seguente (3): δ⁻ ἀμφόδ'(ου) Δωσαρίων Ἰησοῦτος Ἰουδ'(αίων) τε'λ'(έσματος) α (ἔτους) Τραιανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου (δραχμὰς) Θ (ὀβολοὺς δύο) ἐπ ειφ δ⁻.

Infine, la contribuzione fissa che tutti gli Ebrei devolvevano a favore del patriarca palestinese, alla cessazione del patriarcato venne incassata dagli imperatori romani (*Aurum coronarium*).

Sull'esistenza di varie imposte comuni a Ebrei e a non Ebrei ci fanno fede lunghe liste di contribuenti di Apollinopolis Magna pubblicate dal Wessely (4), dalle quali apprendiamo che venivano pagate tasse per mandrie di montoni e di pecore, (φόρος προβάτων) (5), per guardie campestri, per custodi (φυλακιτικόν – ὑπὲρ σκοπελῶν), per dighe (χώματα), per bagni, per vigne (6), ecc.

Abbiamo inoltre un ruolo di capitazione del I sec. d. Cr. con nomi ebraici e non ebraici (7), e un altro della stessa epoca, per imposte in natura (8).

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(1) *Stud. Pal.* IV, p. 60 e XIII, p. 8.

(2) Questo termine può indicare anche in generale « dono fatto a una divinità »: cfr. editto di Giulio Antonino presso Flav. Jos., *Antiqu.*, 16, 6, 7, § 172.

(3) N. 20 dell'elenco del Wessely, *Stud. Pal.* XIII, p. 8. Verrebbe così confermata l'ipotesi già espressa antecedentemente dal Wessely stesso in *Stud. Pal.* IV, p. 60, ipotesi che non trovava consenziente il Juster (II, p. 282, n. 5). Vedi, per più ampî elementi intorno all'interessante questione di tali imposte speciali, Juster I, pp. 377 e segg. e II, pp. 281 e segg.; Schürer III, p. 117, n. 62.

(4) *Stud. Pal.* XIII, pp. 8–10.

(5) Vedi anche Wilcken, *Ostr.* I, p. 286.

(6) Vedi anche pap. del 254–3 av. Cr., col ricordo di un Ebreo macedone di Filadelfia (Fayum) (*Ann. Serv.* 19 (1920) pp. 83-86, N. 38).

(7) PLond. 255 $_{151}$ (II p. 33).

(8) BGU. 776.

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Another contribution - according to Wessely (1) - was due by the Jews to the tax authorities, in relation to the ancient Jewish rite of the offering of the first fruits ***(ài:ÿÿÿÿ)*** (2), in the amount of 1 drachma. L'ammontare di queste due tasse (il tel. Iui. e I'ap.), sa-rebbe dato, ad es., dall' ostrakon seguente (3) : ***am<roa'(u) of Dosarion Jesus Iou$ '(aion)*** re'l'(last) a (years) ***of Trajan of lord (daahmas) $ (awkward two) eif d".***

Finally, the fixed contribution that all Jews donated to the Palestinian patriarch was collected by the Roman emperors upon the cessation of the patriarchate *(Aurum coronarium).*

The existence of various Jewish community taxes is supported
by long lists of taxpayers of Apollinopolis Magna published by Wessely (4), from which we learn that taxes were paid for herds of rams and sheep, ***(ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ)*** (5), for field guards, for custodians (ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ***- ÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ),*** for dams ***(ÿÿÿÿÿÿ),*** for baths, for vineyards (6), etc.

We also have a capitation role from the 1st century. d. Cr. with Jewish and non-Jewish names (7), and another from the same period, for taxes in kind (8).

(1) *Stud. Pai.* IV, p. 60 e XIII, p. 8.

(2) This term can also indicate in general "gift given to a divinity": cf. edict of Giulio Antonino at FLAV. Jos., *Antiqu.,* 16, 6, 7, § 172.

**(3) No. 20 of the WESSELY list, *Stud. Pai.* XIII, p. 8. The hypothesis already expressed previously by Wessely himself in *Stud would thus be confirmed. Pai.* IV, p. 60, a hypothesis that JUSTER did not agree with (II, p. 282, n. 5). See, for more extensive information on the interesting question of such special taxes, JUSTER I, pp. 377 et seq. and II, pp. 281 et seq. ;
SCHURER III, p. 117**

Vespasian, while the ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** is mentioned in previous documents and, unlike the latter, is owed only by men, but also over the age of sixty, and starting from 20 rather than 3 years.

n . 62 .
(4) *Stud. Pay.* XIII, pp. 8-10.

(5) See also WILCKEN, *Ostr.* 1, p. 286.

(6) See also pap. of 254-3 av. Cr., with the memory of a Jew but- cedone of Philadelphia (Phyum) *(Ann. Serv.* 19 (1920) pp. 83-86, N. 38).

(7) PLond. 255 151 (li p. 33). (8) BGU. 776.

Interessante è un papiro di Psenyris nell' Arsinoite, intorno al III sec. av. Cr., il quale ci prova come all'epoca Tolemaica esistesse forse una specie di consorzio tra gli Ebrei per le loro contribuzioni individuali, essendo essi nominati con l'espressione complessiva παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων (1); ma già verso il 150-140 av. Cr. troviamo su di un ruolo d' imposte fondiarie singoli nomi di contribuenti ebrei e non ebrei (2).

Per i possessori di schiavi esisteva pure una tassa dovuta εἰς τὰ ἀποδόχια τῆς κώμης tanto dagli Ebrei quanto dagli Elleni, in ragione di mezza dracma (ς) per ogni schiavo (ἑκάστου σώματος).

Una lunga lista di debitori di una tassa per imposta fondiaria si ha in un papiro del II sec. av. Cr. del Fayum: si tratta però forse di Samaritani (3).

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Numerosissimi erano gli Ebrei ridotti in schiavitù in massa dai Tolemei; così il Pseudo Aristea narra che Tolemeo I Lagide ne avrebbe condotti seco 100.000 dalla Palestina (4), e Tolemeo Latiro avrebbe tratto 10.000 schiavi dapprima e molti altri in seguito, per vendicarsi di aver avuto contro di sé generali ebrei (5). Abbiamo poi esempî di schiavi singoli: così sotto Tolemeo III Evergete, nel 238-7, ne troviamo uno ad Arsinoe (6). Né si limitò la schiavitù al periodo Tolemaico: in un papiro di Ossirinco del 291 d. Cr. (7) è narrato che la comunità riscatta uno schiavo ebreo e i suoi due figli, pagando una somma a dei pagani.

D'altra parte a Psenyris, verso il 230 av. Cr., esistevano già Ebrei possessori di schiavi, come rilevasi da un papiro citato (8).

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(1) PPetrie I, p. 43.

(2) PLond. 402 $_{9-12}$ (II, p. 10).

(3) Infatti nel recto del papiro è scritto τῶν περὶ Σαμαρείαν; cfr. Schürer III, p. 45.

(4) §§ 12 e segg. (ed. Wendland): cfr. Flav. Jos, *Contra Apion.*, 2, 4, § 44, e *Antiqu.*, 12, 2, 5, § 45.

(5) Flav. Jos., *Antiqu.*, 13, 13, 4, §§ 337-344.

(6) PPetrie II, p. 23 (più corretto ibid. III, p. 14).

(7) POxy. 335.

(8) PPetrie I, p. 53.

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(28) ;

Interesting is a papyrus of Psenyris in Arsinoite, around the 3rd century. av. Cr., who proves to us that in the Ptolemaic era there was perhaps a kind of consortium among the Jews for their individual contributions, they being named with the overall expression ***ÿÿÿÿ*** ÿÿÿ ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ/*** (1) ; but already around 150-140 BC. Cr. we find individual names of Jewish and non-Jewish taxpayers on a land tax roll (2).

Per i possessori di schiavi esisteva pure una tassa doutta "s the ***apodochies of the count*** tanto dagli Ebrei quanto dagli Elleni, in ragione di mezza dracma **(s)** per ogni schiavo (of each ***body).***

A long list of debtors for a land tax is found in a papyrus from the 2nd century. a\r. Cr. of the Fayum : however, they are perhaps Samaritans (3).

Very numerous Jews were enslaved -

victuals en masse from the Ptolemies ; thus the Pseudo Aristea

narrates that Ptolemy I Lagis would have brought with him 100,000

from Palestine (4), and Ptolemy Latyrus would have taken 10,000

slaves first and many others later, to take revenge for having had

Jewish generals against him (5). We then have examples of

individual slaves: thus under Ptolemy III Evergetes, in 238-7, we

find one in Arsinoe (6). Nor was slavery limited to the Ptolemaic

period: in a papyrus of Oxyrhynchus from 291 AD. Cr. (7) it is narrated that the community redeems a Jewish slave and his two

sons, paying a sum to pagans.
On the other hand in Psenyris, around 230 av. Cr., there were

already Jews who owned slaves, as can be seen from a cited papyrus (8).

(1) PPetrie I, p. 43.
(2) PLond. 402 9_Ig (II, p. 10).
(3) Infacti nel recto del papiro è scritto of the Samaritans? cfr.

SCHURER III, p. 45 .
(4) §§ 12 e segg. (ed. Wendland) : cf. Yellow Jos, *Against Apion., 2,*

4, § 44, from *Antiq.,* 12, 2, 5, § 45.
(5) FLAV. If. , *Antiqu.,* 13, 13, 4 , § § 337-344 . (6) PPetrie II, p. 23 (più corretto ibid. Iii, p. 14).
(7) POxy. 335.
(8) PPetrie I, p. 53.

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È comprovato da numerose fonti che gli Ebrei hanno sempre prestato molto estesamente il servizio militare in tutto il periodo che stiamo esaminando: già prima, nel V sec. av. Cr., a Elefantina e ad Abido erano, come vedemmo, colonie militari ebraiche; alla venuta in Egitto di Tolemeo I, dei 100.000 Ebrei palestinesi da lui condotti in schiavitù, 30.000 sono posti a guardia delle piazze forti in virtù della loro fedeltà e della loro segregazione dagli altri abitanti, a quanto almeno ci attesta Giuseppe, desumendolo dal Pseudo Aristea (1); da lui pure (2) sappiamo che Alessandro stesso invitò Ebrei e Samaritani a far parte del proprio esercito, e che ai secondi fu affidata la guardia della Tebaide; a prova di questo è attestata l'esistenza di un villaggio detto Σαμαρεία proprio nella Tebaide, dal III sec. av. Cr. al III sec. d. Cr. (3); e che soldati ebrei abbiano servito sotto Tolemeo I è comprovato dalle più antiche iscrizioni ebraiche di Alessandria (4).

Sotto Tolemeo II (283-247) sono pure soldati ebrei, come prova un frammento di una transazione (5) su di un litigio avvenuto nel 259 a Phebichis (Heracleopolis) tra Andronico e l'Ebreo Alessandro figlio di Andronico, appartenente forse, secondo il Bouché-Leclercq (6), ad un reggimento di cavalleria (τῶν Ζώιλου δεκανικοῦ). Militari ebrei sono citati sotto Tolemeo III tra gli αἰχμάλωτοι ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας, i veterani ai quali venivano distribuite terre a seconda del grado (7). Due Ebrei, Dositheos e Onias, comandano l'esercito egiziano sotto Tolemeo VI Filometore e Cleopatra II (8), e lo stesso Onias (9)

(1) l. cit.

(2) *Antiqu.*, 11, 345.

(3) PPetrie III, p. 190; BGU. 94.

(4) Breccia in *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Alexandrie* (1902) pp. 48 e segg. Cfr. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., I, p. 264, n. 2.

(5) PHib. 96.

(6) l. cit.

(7) PPetrie II, nn. 29-31.

(8) Per essersi molto appoggiata al partito ebraico, la regina si rese impopolare agli Alessandrini (vedi Bouché-Leclercq II, p. 58, n. 1).

(9) Non si sa chi fosse questo Onias, ma sembra certamente distinto dal Sacerdote Onias di Leontopolis, per quanto non lo precisi Giuseppe Flavio (*Contra Apion.*, 2, 5).

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It is proven by numerous sources that the Jews have always provided military services very extensively throughout the period we are examining : already before, in the fifth century. av. Cr., Elephantine and Abydos were, as we have seen, Jewish military colonies; upon the arrival of Ptolemy I in Egypt, of the 100,000 Palestinian Jews he led into slavery, 30,000 were placed to guard the strongholds by virtue of their loyalty and their segregation from the other inhabitants, according to at least what Josephus attests to us, deducing it from the Pseudo Aristeas (1) ; from him also (2)

we know that Alexander himself invited Jews and Samaritans to
be part of his army, and that the latter were entrusted with the guard of the Thebaid; proof of this is the existence of a village called ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** right in the Thebaid, from the 3rd century. av. Cr. to the 3rd century. d. Cr. (3) ; and that Jewish soldiers served under Ptolemy I is proven by the most ancient Jewish inscriptions of Alexandria (4).

Under Ptolemy II (283-247) they were also Jewish soldiers, as evidenced by a fragment of a transaction (5) on an argument which took place in 259 in Phebichis (Heracleopolis) between Andronicus and the Jew Alexander son of Andronicus, perhaps belonging, according to the Bouché-Leclercq (6), to a cavalry regiment (ÿÿÿ ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ).*** Jewish soldiers are mentioned under Ptolemy III among the ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ 'ÿÿÿÿÿ,*** the veterans to whom lands were distributed according to rank (7). Two Jews, Dositheos and Onias, command the Egyptian army under Ptolemy VI Philometor and Cleopatra II (8), and Onias himself (9)

(1) 1. cit.
(2) *Antiq.,* 11, 345.
(3) PPetrie III, p. 190 ; BGU. 94.
(4) BRECCIA in *Bulletin of the Alexandria Institute* (1902) pp. 48 et seq.

Cfr. BOUCHE-LECLERCQ, op. cit. , I, p. 264 (5) PHIB. n. 2. 96. (6) 1. cit.

(7) PPetrie II, nn. 29-31.

(8) For having leaned heavily on the Jewish party, the queen surrendered unpopular with the Alexandrians (see BOUCHE-LECLERCQ II, p. 58, ÿ. 1).

(9) It is not known who this Onias was, but he certainly seems distinct from the Priest Onias of Leontopolis, although Josephus does not specify *(Contra Apion.,* 2, 5).

conduce le forze armate della regina e di suo figlio Tolemeo VIII Eupatore (1) contro il fratello del defunto sovrano, Tolemeo VII Fiscone Evergete II, sostenuto dai Romani guidati da L. Minucio Termo: perciò forse Tolemeo VII, salito al trono, perseguita, sebbene per breve tempo, gli Ebrei (2). Alla sua morte, la vedova Cleopatra III e suo figlio Tolemeo XI Alessandro hanno come generali, nel combattimento avvenuto verso il 105-4 contro Tolemeo X Latiro o Sotere II, gli Ebrei Helkias e Ananias, figli di Onias (3).

Forse è un generale ebreo quell' Ἐλεάζαρος Νικολάου ἡγεμών di un' iscrizione del Fayum (4) di epoca imprecisata, ma precristiana, come rilevasi dalla forma delle lettere (5); e così pure l'altro Χελκίου στρατηγός (forse figlio di quel Helkias nominato sopra), che viene onorato col conferimento di una corona d'oro, ricordato in un frammento d'iscrizione in marmo bianco del 102 circa av. Cr. (6).

Gli Ebrei militano in seguito sotto Tolemeo Aulete, figlio di Latiro, e poi sotto Tolemeo XIII Dioniso, contro Cleopatra VI, finché passano dalla parte di lei, sostenuta da Cesare.

Anche sotto i Romani essi continuarono a prestar servizio militare, come del resto la forza delle cose imponeva: perché i soldati erano contemporaneamente coloni (7), e se fossero stati licenziati i reparti ebraici assai numerosi, ne

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(1) Seguo la cronologia dei Tolemei adottata dal Bouché-Leclercq.

(2) Flav. Jos., *Contra Apion.*, 2, 5, § 50.

(3) Strabo presso Flav. Jos., *Antiqu.*, 13, 10, 4 e 13, 13, 1-2.

(4) *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 26 (1902) p. 454. Cfr. Schürer III, p. 46.

(5) L'iscrizione continua: ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ Εἰρήνης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸ ὡρολόγιον καὶ τὸ φρέαρ.

(6) *Hermes* 39 (1904) p. 251; *Rev. Ét. Juiv.* 40 (1900) pp. 50-54; *Archiv* I, pp. 48-56; II, p. 554, N. 36.

(7) Abbiamo molte attestazioni dell'impiego di prigionieri e di militari o di veterani ebrei nell'agricoltura, specialmente nel Fayum: molti figurano fra gli αἰχμάλωτοι ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας, che divengono proprietari dei terreni dati loro prima in usufrutto, nel secondo anno di Tolemeo III Evergete (PPetrie II, nn. 29-31; cfr. Bouché-Leclercq I, p. 264, n. 2). Ebrei figurano tra i κάτοικοι, che sembra fossero militari in servizio attivo, di origine straniera, ai quali erano stati distribuiti i κλῆροι, appezzamenti di terreni da coltivare, che si tramandavano di padre in figlio (vedi Schürer III, p. 33; vedi anche PFreib. 7 e relativo articolo del Lesquier in *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 32 (1919) pp. 359 e segg.).

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(30);

leads the armed forces of the queen and her son Ptolemy VIII Eupator (1) against the brother of the deceased sovereign, Ptolemy VII Physcone Evergetes II, supported by the Romans led by L. Minucius Termus: therefore perhaps Ptolemy VII, having ascended the throne, persecutes, albeit for a short time, the Jews (2). Upon his death, the widow Cleopatra III and her son Ptolemy XI Alexander had as generals, in the battle that took place around 105-4 against Ptolemy

Perhaps that ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ in a
Fayum inscription (4) of an unspecified but pre-Christian era, which can be seen from the shape of the letters (5), is a Jewish general; and so does the other ÿÿÿÿ^ÿ ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** (perhaps the son of that Helkias mentioned above), who is honored with the awarding of a golden crown, remembered in a fragment of an inscription in white marble from around 102 BC. Cr. (6).

The Jews subsequently militated under Ptolemy Auletes, son
of Latyrus, and then under Ptolemy XIII Dionysus, against Cleopatra VI, until they switched to her side, supported by Caesar.

Even under the Romans they continued to provide military service, as the force of things dictated: because the soldiers were at the same time colonists (7), and if the very numerous Jewish units had been dismissed, they

(1) I follow the chronology of the Ptolemies adopted by BOUCHE-LECLERCQ. (2) FLAV. Jos., *Contra Apion2,* 5, § 50.
(3) STROBE pressed YELLOW. Jos., *Antiq.,* 13, 10, 4 e 13, 13, 1-2.
(4) *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 26 (1902) p. 454. Cfr. SCHÎIRER III, p. 46.

(5) L'iscrizione continua: over himself and Irene's woman clock and well, **(6) *Hermes* 39**

(1904) p. 251 ; *Re v. Et. Juiv.* 40 (1900) pp. 50-54; *Archive* I, pp. 48-56; He, p. 554, No. 36.

(7) We have many testimonies of the use of prisoners and Jewish soldiers or veterans in agriculture, especially in the Fayum: many figure among the ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ 'ÿÿÿÿÿ, who become owners of the lands previously given to them in usufruct, in second year of Ptolemy III Evergete (PPetrie II, nn. 29-31 ; cf. BOUCHE-LECLERCQ I, p. 264, n. 2). Jews figure among the ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ, who appear to have been soldiers in active service, of foreign origin, to whom the ÿÿÿÿÿÿ, plots of land to cultivate, which were handed down from father to son, had been distributed (see SCHUKER III, p. 33; see also PFreib. 7 and related article by LESQUIER in *Rev, Et. Gr* 32 (1919) pp. 359 et seq.).

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sarebbe derivato uno sconvolgimento nella vita della regione: perciò, come i reparti egiziani, così quelli di soli Ebrei passarono al servizio dei Romani; e anche se, in seguito, furono forse sciolti sotto Traiano e Adriano i reparti organici, certamente non furono esentati dal servizio militare i singoli Ebrei, come prova un papiro di Ossirinco del 205 d. Cr. (1), contenente una lista di soldati, fra i quali figurano nomi certamente ebraici (2).

È noto che poi verso il 400 è a più riprese vietato l'arruolamento di Ebrei negli eserciti dell'impero romano, divieto rinnovato da Teodosio e da altri.

Anche nel servizio di polizia si arruolavano Ebrei; così, nella iscrizione riportata più sopra del tempio di Athribis, sotto Tolemeo VI, è ricordato Πτολεμαῖος Ἐπικύδου ὁ ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακιτῶν, probabilmente ebreo (3).

Erroneamente credevasi, da un passo di Filone (4), che in Egitto fosse proibito il porto d'armi solo agli Ebrei, mentre invece è stato trovato un papiro (5) recante la proibizione di portare armi per tutti, emanata da Flacco nel 33-4 d. Cr. (21° anno di Tiberio), proibizione che già esisteva al tempo dei Lagidi.

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Numerosi sono gli esempi di Ebrei che occupavano cariche pubbliche.

Molto sovente l'arabarca (o alabarca), che era, a quanto sembra, il controllore delle esazioni delle tasse doganali (6), è ebreo, come ad Alessandria Alessandro (7), padre di Tiberio Giulio Alessandro e fratello di Filone, e Demetrio,

(1) POxy. 735.

(2) Cfr. *Archiv* IV, p. 171, e JUSTER II, p. 274.

(3) Ne dubita lo SCHÜRER (III, p. 43).

(4) *In Flacc.* 11.

(5) WILCKEN, *Grundz.* II, N. 13; cfr. NICOLE, in *Rev. de philol.* 22 (1898) pp. 18-27.

(6) Sull'*arabarchia,* vedi J. LESQUIER in *Rev. Arch.* 6 (1917) pp. 95 e segg.

(7) FLAV. JOS., *Antiqu.,* 18, 6, 3; 18, 8, 1; 19, 5, 1; 20, 5, 2. Cfr. LESQUIER, art. c., pp. 100 e segg.

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you know it caused an upheaval in the life of the region : therefore, like the Egyptian units, so those of only Jews passed into the service of the Romans; and even if, subsequently, the organic units were perhaps disbanded under Trajan and Hadrian, individual Jews were certainly not exempted from military service, as evidenced by a papyrus of Oxyrhynchus from 205 AD. Cr. (1), containing a list of soldiers, among which certainly Jewish names appear (2).

It is known that then around 400 the enlistment of Jews in the

armies of the Roman Empire was prohibited on several occasions, a ban renewed by Theodosius and others.

Jews also enlisted in the police services; thus, in the inscription reported above from the temple of Athribis, under Ptolemy VI, ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** a ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ, probably Jewish (3), is mentioned.

It was erroneously believed, from a passage in Philo (4), that in Egypt only the Jews were prohibited from carrying weapons, while instead a papyrus (5) was found containing the prohibition on carrying weapons for all, issued by Fiacco in 33-4 AD. Cr. (21st year of Tiberius), a prohibition that already existed at the time of the Lagides.

There are numerous examples of Jews who occupied ca - rich and public.

Very often the arabarca (or 1 abarca), who was, apparently, the controller of customs tax collections (6), is Jewish, as in Alexandria Alexander (7), father of Tiberius Julius Alexander and brother of Philo, and Demetrius,

(1) POxy. 735.
(2) Cf. *Archiv* IV, p. 171 from JUST II, p. 274.
(3) N e dubit alo SCHURER (III, p. 43).
(4) *In Flacc.* 11.
(5) WILCKEN, *Grundz.* II, N. 13; cfr. NICOLE, in *Rev. Fr. of philol.* 22 (1898)

pp . 18-2
(6) *SnWarabarchia,* see J. LESQUIERÏU *Rev. Arch.* 6 (1917) pp. 95 et seq. (7) FLAV. Jos., *Antiq.,* 18, 6, 3; 18, 8, 1; 19, 5, 1; 20, 5, 2. Cf.

LESQUIER, art c., pp. 100 et seq.

marito di Marianna, la figlia di Agrippa I (1); anzi, nel I sec. d. Cr. si può dire che la funzione di alabarca in Alessandria fosse riservata, di fatto se non di diritto, a Ebrei.

Tiberio Giulio Alessandro è qualificato poi in un documento (2) *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς εὐθηνίας τοῦ β γράμματος*, nel 21° anno di Antonino Pio: da qui si vede anche che ciascuno dei cinque quartieri di Alessandria doveva avere un proprio e u t e n i a r c a *(praefectus annonae)* da identificarsi, pare, con l'*ἐξηγητὴς* cui Strabone (3) dice affidata la *ἐπιμέλεια τῶν τῇ πόλει χρησίμων*.

Altra carica ricoperta quasi esclusivamente da Ebrei fino dall'epoca Tolemaica (4) è la p o t a m o f i l a c ì a, cioè la *guardia fluviale,* funzione insieme militare e finanziaria, consistente nella protezione dei viaggiatori e nell' esazione delle imposte sulle mercanzie sbarcate: funzionarî citati anche nelle fonti talmudiche col nome di אקטורין = *ἀκτωροί* (5). Così pure nella o r m o f i l a c ì a *(guardia dei porti)* troviamo addetto quale *ἀσχολούμενος τὴν ὁρμοφυλακίαν* presso Siene, sotto Traiano (107-115), certo Ἀντώνιος Μαλχαῖος, ritenuto da alcun ebreo con cittadinanza romana (6).

Numerosissimi sono gli esempi di Ebrei addetti alla e s a z i o n e d e l l e i m p o s t e d i r e t t e, come rilevasi da diversi ostraka pubblicati dal Wilcken: a Diospolis Magna (Tebe), verso il 155-4, o il 144-3 av. Cr., un certo Σαμβ[αθαῖος] è l'appaltatore per la riscossione della tassa della classe dei battellieri (7).

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(1) FLAV. JOS., *Antiqu.*, 20, 7, 3.

(2) WILCKEN, *Ostr.* I, 823.

(3) 17, 797.

(4) FLAV. JOS., *Contra Apion.* 2, 5, § 64.

(5) Cfr. WILCKEN, *Ostr.* I, p. 282; LUMBROSO, *L' Egitto* ecc., pp. 29 e segg.

(6) WILCKEN, *Ostr.* nn. 302-4. Egli (ivi, I, p. 273) lo ritiene piuttosto arabo; molto incerto è pure lo SCHÜRER (III, p. 50). Questo funzionario provvedeva all'esazione di una tassa portuale (ἐνόρμιον), calcolata in base al numero e all'importanza delle merci che transitavano nel porto.

(7) Πορευτής, da riferirsi al verbo πορεύειν (cfr. πορθμεύς in Esichio aless., = traghettatore): abbiamo cinque ricevute di somme versate nell'anno alla banca: *Ostr.* N. 1351 (per un totale di 1000 dr.), 1504 (?), 1507 (2 tal.), 1508 (1040 dr.), 335 (?). Vedi le interessanti deduzioni che il WILCKEN (*Ostr.* I, p. 281) trae da questi testi.

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husband of Marianna, the daughter of Agrippa I (1) ; indeed, in the first century". d. Cr. it can be said that the function of alabarca in Alexandria was reserved, in fact if not in law, to Jews.

Tiberius Julius Alexander is then qualified in a document (2) ÿ *ÿÿÿ* ***ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ*** ÿ ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ,*** in the 21st year of Antoninus Pius: from here we can also see that each of the five neighborhoods of Alexandria had to have its own eute -
ni ar ea *(praefectus annonae)* da identificarsi, pare, con l'executor ***cui*** Strabone (3) dice affidata la ***curation of the ancients useful.***

Another position held almost exclusively by Jews since the Ptolemaic era (4) is potamophylacy, i.e. the *river guard,* a military and financial function at the same time, consisting in the protection of travelers and the collection of taxes on landed merchandise: officials also cited in the sources Talmudic with the name of "p ÿ ÿ ÿ ÿ ÿ — ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** (5).
Likewise in the ormophylacìa *(guard of the ports)* we find an employee as ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** near Syene, under Trajan (107-115), certainly ***5ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ,*** believed by any Jew with Roman citizenship (6).

There are numerous examples of Jews employed in the collection of direct taxes as revealed in various ostraka published by Wilcken: in Diospolis Magna (Thebes), around 155-4, or 144-3 BC. Cr., a certain ***ÿÿÿÿ[ÿ3·ÿÿÿÿ]*** is the contractor for the collection of the tax of the boatmen class (7).

(1) FLAV. JOS., *Antiq.,* 20, 7. 3.
(2) WILCKEN, *Ostr.* I, 823. (3) 17,
797.
(4) FLAV. JOS., *against Apion.* 2, 5, § 64.
(5) See WILCKEN, *Ostr.* 1, p. 282; LUMBROSO, *Egypt*

ecc., pp. 29

and following.
(6) WILCKEN, *Ostr.* no. 302-4. He (ibid., 1, p. 273) considers it rather arJbo;

SCHÎIRER is also very uncertain (111, p. 50). This official collected a port tax (Ivop^tov), calculated based on the number and importance of goods passing through the port.

(7) ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ, to refer to the verb ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ (see ÿÿÿ^ÿÿÿ in Hesychius aless., = ferryman): we have five receipts for sums paid to the bank during the year: *Ostr.* No. 1351 (for a total of 1000 dr.), 1504 (?), 1507 (2 tal.), 1508 (1040 dr.), 335 (?). See the interesting deductions that WILCKEN *(Ostr.* I, p. 281) draws from these texts"

A Hârit nel Fayum, un certo Simone, ritenuto da alcuni ebreo, è appaltatore per la riscossione della tassa dell'oro coronario nel 124 av. Cr. (1).

A Diospolis un tale Ἀβιῆλος (= אביאל) è il funzionario della patente dei calzolai (*τέλος σκυτέων*) nel 155 o 154 av. Cr., e la stessa funzione disimpegna a Tebe, verso il 130 av. Cr., un Ἀπο(λλ....) Σάλαμις (2). Così pure addetti all'imposta della paglia a Tebe, a quella sul diritto di pesca (*ἡ τετάρτη ἁλιέων*) (3), sulle bestie appaiate da tiro, sempre nel I-II sec. av. Cr., sono Ebrei, come rilevasi dai nomi stessi (4).

In epoca romana numerosi sono gli Ebrei addetti alle distribuzioni di frumento, come rilevasi, fra l'altro, da varî ostraka (5) e da una lista (*γραφὴ σιτολ(όγων)*) (6) dell'anno 101-2, contenente molti nomi, del Fayum (7). Un capo distributore (*meridarca*) è citato in un documento di Arsinoe in epoca imprecisata (8).

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Gli Ebrei in Egitto, come partecipavano ai diritti e ai doveri degli altri cittadini, così certamente godevano del

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(1) PFay. 14.

(2) *Ostr.* nn. 1359 e 334; Σάλαμις sta forse in relazione con Salomone (cfr. anche Σαλαμίνιος dell'*Ostr.* 1350) unito con Θεόχρηστος, che il Delitzsch ritiene traduzione di טוביהו (Tobia). Vedi Wilcken, *Ostr.* I, p. 253.

(3) Secondo il Wilcken (*Ostr.* I, p. 138), la pesca non era monopolio esclusivamente regio, ma anche i Comuni e i privati potevano godere dei suoi diritti.

(4) Per la pesca, a Diospolis Magna: Σίμων Ἰ[α]ζάρου (*Ostr.* N. * 1233 del 154-3 o 143-2 av. Cr.: cfr. יעזר = Ἰαζήρ); ancora Σίμων (*Ostr.* nn. 337, 339 e 340, del 142 o 153 i primi due, e del 141 o 152 il terzo). Per la paglia (ἀχυρικὰ τέλη: ma non si sa bene di quale somministrazione di paglia si tratti): Σίμων Ἀβιήλου (*Ostr.* N. 1513). Per le bestie appaiate (τέλος ζευγῶν, che forse può indicare invece veicoli tirati a due, o altra cosa appaiata): Σαμβ(ᾶ) (*Ostr.* N. 1028, epoca Tolemaica).

(5) Wilcken: per Diospolis Magna, *Ostr.* nn. 1255 (= 730[a]) (154-3 o 143-2 av. Cr.); 728 (154 o 143 av. Cr.); 721 (? epoca Tolemaica); 753 (121-20); 1505 (155-4 o 144-3); 1511 (154-3 o 143-2).

(6) Sul significato esatto che presumibilmente ha la parola σιτολόγος, vedi Wilcken, *Ostr.* I, p. 653.

(7) BGU. 715: Ἰωσῆς ὁ καὶ Γεύφιλο(ς), Στράτιων, Ἰσάκ(εως), Ἐλεά(ζαρος) Πτο[λεμ]αίου, Ἀβράμ(ιος), Σαμβαϑ(ίων) Ἰακούβου, ecc.

(8) *Mittell. PRainer.* 2-3 (1887) p. 263.

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In Hàrit in the Fayum, a certain Simon, believed by some to be Jewish, was the contractor for the collection of the coronary gold tax in 124 BC. Cr. (1).

official of the

In Roman times there were numerous Jews involved in the distribution of wheat, as can be seen, among other things, from various ostraka (5) and from a list ***(ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿ\(ÿÿÿÿ))*** (6) of the year 101-2, containing many names, of the Fayum (7). A chief

in an distributor is mentioned in a document from Arsinoe unspecified ***(meridarch)*** era (8).

The Jews in Egypt, just as they shared in the rights and duties of other citizens, so they certainly enjoyed the

(1) PFay. 14.

(2) ***Ostr.*** **no. 1359 and 334; ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ is perhaps related to Solomon (see also ÿÿÿÿÿ(ÿÿÿÿ of the Osar. 1350) combined with ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ, which Delitzsch considers to be a translation of UVSLTO (Tobit). See WILCKEN,** ***Ostr.*** **I, p. 253.**

(3) According to WILCKEN ***(Ostr.*** **I, p. 138), fishing was not an exclusively royal monopoly, but municipalities and private individuals could also enjoy its rights.**

(4) Per la pesca, a Diospolis Magna: Simon I[a]zarou ***(Ostr.*** **N. * 1233 del 154-3 o 143-2 av. Cr. : cfr. "ITV = Tazir) ; ancora Simon** ***(Ostr.*** **nn. 337, 339 e 340, del 142 o 153 i primi due, e del 141 o 152 il terzo).**
For straw (ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿ'ÿÿ: but it is not clear which straw administration is involved): ÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ***(Ostr.*** **ÿ. 1513). For paired beasts** ***(ÿÿÿÿÿ*** **ÿÿÿÿÿÿ, which perhaps can instead indicate vehicles drawn in pairs, or another paired thing): ÿÿÿÿ(ÿ)** ***(Ostr.*** **N. 1028, Ptolemaic era).**

(5) WILCKEN: by Diospolis Magna, ***Ostr.*** **no. 1255 (= 730*) (154-3 ÿ 143-2 av. Cr.); 728 (154 ÿ 143 av. Cr.); 721 (? Ptolemaic era); 753**
(121-20) ; 150 5 (155- 4 O 144-3) ; 151 1 (154-3 O 143-2) .

(6) On the exact meaning that the word ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ presumably has, see WILCKEN, ***Ostr.*** **I, p. 653.**

(7) BGU. 715: Iosis d and Teufilo(s), Stratioin, Isaac(eos), Elea(zaros) Pto[lem]aeus, Abram(ios), S*mbao(ion) Iakouvos, ecc.

A Diospolis un tale ***Avielos*** (=
shoemakers' license (ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ) in 155 or 154 av. Cr., and the same function is performed in Thebes, around 130 BC. Cr., a ÿÿ,ÿ(ÿÿ....) ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** (2). Likewise those responsible for the tax on straw in Thebes, that on fishing rights (« ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿ)*** (3), on paired draft animals, again in the 1st-2nd century. av. Cr., they are Jews, as can be seen from the names themselves (4).

(8) ***Media. PRrainer.*** **2-3 (1887) ÿ. 263.**

diritto di proprietà, ed erano in possesso di terre, tanto prima quanto dopo l'occupazione romana: ciò rilevasi, ad esempio, da un papiro del territorio alessandrino del 13 av. Cr. (1), e da un altro di Cinopoli del 117 d. Cr. (2) riflettente le proprietà fondiarie degli Ebrei dell' Ossirinchite e della Cinopolite, che sembra fossero state confiscate in seguito alla guerra del tempo di Adriano e di Traiano. Ma probabilmente essi godevano di diritti ben maggiori dove erano cittadini greci, come ad Alessandria.

***

Fra le occupazioni private degli Ebrei nel nostro periodo, tiene il primo posto l'agricoltura: ad essa erano dedite, quasi senza eccezione, le colonie dei militari condotti dai Tolemei. Nel 244 Tolemeo III Evergete distribuisce ai veterani degli appezzamenti di terre, o li pone a lavorare sotto dei proprietarî; e tra gli αἰχμάλωτοι ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας figurano anche molti Ebrei; chi possedeva la cittadinanza alessandrina o una diversa, la mantenne. Troviamo poi nominati in varî documenti, almeno fino al II sec. d. Cr., proprietarî di terre ed operai salariati per il lavoro (3).

Sono menzionati affittuarî a Ghorân (Fayum) nel 260-59 av. Cr. (4), e tre altri, Θεόδοτος, Γαδδαίος (5) e Φανίας, a Magdola (6), che nel 25° anno di Tolemeo Evergete I querelano certo Demetrio, proprietario delle terre da loro prese in affitto, perché era contravvenuto ai patti del nolo. Nel II secolo av. Cr. ne troviamo a Diospolis (Ἰώσηπος Ἀβδίου (7), Σίμον Ἑρμίου (8), Πυθάγγελος Ἰωσήπιος (9), Σαμβαταῖος

(1) BGU. 1129.

(2) POxy. 1189. Cfr. *Archiv* VI, p. 292.

(3) Vedi, ad. es., i papiri già più volte citati BGU. 1129 e 715; POxy. 1189; PLond. 402 (II, p. 10).

(4) PLille 5.

(5) Si trovano nel Vecchio Testamento le forme גַּד e גָּד, tradotte Γαδδεῖ dai Settanta.

(6) PLille II, 3.

(7) WILCKEN, *Ostr.* N. 721.

(8) *Ostr.* N. 728: il nome Ἑρμίας è di origine puramente greca, e non trascrizione greca di nome ebraico, come è il caso, in genere, degli altri nomi.

(9) *Ostr.* N. 729.

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(34) ;

property rights, and were in possession of lands, both before and after the Roman occupation: this can be seen, for example, from a papyrus from the Alexandrian territory of 13 BC. Cr. (1), and from another from Cinopoli from 117 AD. Cr. (2) reflecting the land holdings of the Jews of Oxyrhynchite and Kinopolite, which appear to have been confiscated following the war of the time of Hadrian and Trajan. But they probably enjoyed far greater rights where they were Greek citizens, as in Alexandria.

Among the private occupations of the Jews in our period, agriculture holds first place: almost without exception, the military colonies led by the Ptolemies were dedicated to it. In 244 Ptolemy III Evergetes distributed plots of land to the veterans, or placed them to work under owners; and among the *ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ 'ÿÿÿÿÿ* there are also many Jews; whoever possessed Alexandrian citizenship or a different one retained it. We then find names in various documents, at least until the 2nd century. d. Cr., landowners and workers paid for the work (3).

Tenants in Ghoràn (Fayum) in 260-59 BC are mentioned. Cr. (4), and three others, ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ, ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** (5) and ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿ,*** in Magdola (6), who in the 25th year of Ptolemy Evergetes I complained to a certain Demetrius, owner of the lands rented by them, because he had contravened to the freight agreements. In the 2nd century BC. Cr. we find them in Diospolis ***{ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** ÿ/3- ***èiou*** (7), ***Simon Hermiou*** (8), ***TInthangelos Iosiepios*** (9), ***Samvachaios***

(1) BQU. 1129.
(2) POxy. 1189. Cf. *Archiù* VI, p. 292.
(3) Altar, ad. es., and the paper further quotes BGU. 1129 and 715; POxy.

1189/ PLond. 402 (Ii, p. 10). (4) PLille 5.

(5) The forms • 1 3 and learned ÿÿÿÿÿÿ by the Septuagint **are found in the Old Testament .**

(6) PLille II, 3.
(7) WILCKEN, *Ostr.* No. 721.
(8) *Ostr.* N. 728: the name ÿÿÿÿ'ÿÿ is of purely Greek origin, and not a Greek

transcription of a Hebrew name, as is generally the case with other names. (9) *Oyster.* No. 729.

Between-

Ἀβιήλου (1) e altri ancora), a Tebe (2), a Karanis (3), a Ossirinco (4) (nel 130 d. Cr.).

Conosciamo anche operai agricoli dietro mercede ad Arsinoe; in una lettera del 100 circa d. Cr. (5) rilevasi che l'Ebreo Teofilo chiede di essere esonerato dall'impiego, perché sottoposto a lavori agricoli troppo gravosi nei terreni di proprietà del demanio. Un Ebreo Δαλλέας Ἀβραίμου, possessore di gregge, è citato in una lista di debitori di tasse di Apollinopolis Magna (6).

Già in epoca precedente, molti Ebrei si dedicavano in Egitto alla navigazione, consuetudine che si estese sempre più nel periodo da noi studiato. Al tempo di Filone, in Alessandria erano molti armatori di navi (7); un barcaiolo è menzionato, sembra, in un papiro di Ossirinco del 77 d. Cr. (8), e Sinesio in una sua epistola (9) racconta un viaggio compiuto sul naviglio di un Ebreo che osservava il riposo sabbatico alla pari dei marinai, suoi correligionarî.

Per di più, all'epoca romana una corporazione di *navicularii* era formata solo di Ebrei e regolata da apposite leggi romane. E l'ordine emanato da Teodosio il Grande il 18 febbraio 390 (10), secondo il quale dovevano sottostare agli oneri

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(1) *Ostr.* N. 1505, con le varianti Σαμβαταῖος (*Ostr.* N. 1508) e l'ipocoristico Σαμβᾶς (*Ostr.* N. 1503): è un indebolimento di Σαββαθαῖος = שבתי *nato di sabato* (cfr. EZRA 10, 15; NEHEM. 8, 7; 11, 16); i Settanta hanno Σαββαθαί e Σοββαθαίος (cfr. WILCKEN, *Ostr.* I, p. 523). Così, nel papiro aramaico della Tebaide pubblicato nei *Proceedings of the Soc. of Biblic. Archaeol.* 29 (1907) pp. 260-72, troviamo il femminile שבתית *Šabbethith* (cfr. SCHÜRER III, p. 45).

(2) *Ostr.* nn. 753, 1255, 1350.

(3) Vedi JUSTER II, p. 294.

(4) POxy. 500.

(5) PFay. 123. Vedi anche *Rev. Ét. Juiv.* 42 (1901) p. 4. — La lettera è di un certo Harpokration a suo fratello Sabino: Ἐλήλυθεν γὰρ Τεύφιλος Ἰουδαῖος λέγων [δ]τι ἦχθην ις γεωργίαν καὶ βούλομαι πρὸς Σαβεῖνον ἀπελθεῖ[ν], ecc.

(6) WESSELY, *Stud. Pal.* XIII, p. 9.

(7) PHILO, *In Flacc.* 8.

(8) POxy. 176_5: [....]ς Ἰακούβου.

(9) *Epist.* 4.

(10) *Cod. Theodos.* 13, 5, 18.

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A/3hilos (1) and altri ancora), a Tebe (2), a Karanis (3), a Ossi- rinco (4) (nel 130 d. Cr.).

We also know hired agricultural workers in Ar-sinoe; in a letter dated around 100 AD. Cr. (5) it is noted that the Jew Teofilo asks to be exempted from employment, because he is subjected to too heavy agricultural work on land owned by the state. A Jew ÿÿÿÿÿ'ÿÿ ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ,*** owner of flocks, is mentioned in a list of tax debtors of Apollinopolis Magna (6).

Already in previous times, many Jews in Egypt dedicated themselves to navigation, a custom that increasingly spread in the period we studied. In the time of Philo, there were many shipowners in Alexandria (7); a boatman is mentioned, it seems, in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus from 77 AD.
Cr. (8), and Synesius in one of his epistle (9) recounts a journey made on the ship of a Jew who observed the Sabbath rest on a
par with the sailors, his co-religionists.

Furthermore, in Roman times a corporation of ***cularii***
was made up only of Jews and regulated by specific Roman laws.

And the order issued by Theodosius the Great on 18 February 390 (10), according to which they had to submit to the burdens

(1) ***Ostr.*** **N. 1505, with the variants ÿÿÿ-ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ** ***(Ostr.*** **N. 1508) and the hypoco-ristic ÿÿÿÿÿÿ** ***(Ostr.*** **N. 1503): it is a weakening of ÿÿÿÿÿ^ÿÿÿÿÿ = *ÿÿÿÿ7** ***born on Saturday*** **(see EZRA 10 , 15; NEHEM. 8, 7; 11, 16): the Septuagint have ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ and ÿÿÿÿÿ^ÿÿÿÿ (see WILCKEN,** ***Ostr.*** **I, p. 523). Thus, in the Aramaic papyrus of the Thebaid published in the** ***Proceedings of the Soc. of Biblic.***

Archaeol. **29 (1907) pp. 260-72, we find il femminile ÿ^ÿÿÿÿ?** ***Sabbethith*** **(cf. SCHĪRER III, p. 45) .**

(2) ***Ostr.*** **the so-called 753, 1255, 1350.**
(3) See JUST II, p. 294.
(4) POxy. 500.
(5) PFay. 123. See also ***Rev. Et. Juiv.*** **42 (1901) p. 4. — La lettera è di un certo Harpokratiou a**

suo fratello Sabino: Elilyiten gar Teufilos "Judaios legoin [d]ti ech^tin iz ***georgon*** **kai voulami to SaveYnon apeltein[n], ecc.**

(6) WESSELY, ***Stud. Father.*** **XIII, ÿ . 9 . (7) Philo,** ***In Flacc.*** **8.**
(8) POxy. 176 5 : [.. . .]s lakouvos.
(9) ***Epis.*** **4.**

(10) ***Cod. Theodos.*** **13, 5, 18.**

navi-

derivanti dai trasporti soltanto i singoli interessati, fu provocato dalla ingiusta imposizione che il prefetto d'Egitto aveva fatto poco tempo prima alla Comunità intera di provvedere ai trasporti a spese generali, quasi che tutti fossero cointeressati alla funzione disimpegnata dai singoli *navicularii*.

Sul commercio esercitato dagli Ebrei molto diffusamente nel periodo ellenistico e romano, abbiamo notizie in Strabone e in Filone (1); il *Talmud* (2) menziona per quest'epoca artigiani, orafi, gioiellieri, fabbri, armaioli, speziali, ecc.; e nella sinagoga principale di Alessandria ogni maestranza aveva, come già si disse, il suo apposito reparto. Infatti la maggior parte degli Ebrei si era data al commercio, allora fiorentissimo in quella città (3): esso rifletteva soprattutto quello dei grani, essendo l'Egitto considerato come il granaio di molti paesi, specialmente dell'Italia; dei vini, in particolare di quelli artificiali, come, per esempio, il vino di susina, e di due sorte di birra d'orzo; delle vacche, dei maiali, di varie tessiture di cotone, della bambagia, delle tele, del bisso egiziano; inoltre si vendevano in quantità tappeti di porpora, armi, papiri preparati per la scrittura, ecc.; prodotti aromatici confezionati con le droghe, olî, unguenti, e simili; sali, allume egiziano, gomma alessandrina, varie qualità di marmi, smeraldi e altre pietre preziose.

Accanto a questi articoli, che formavano in gran parte materia di esportazione, vi era una grande importazione di mercanzie da tutte le regioni del mondo allora note (4). Così, dalla Palestina veniva l'asfalto che serviva a imbalsamare i cadaveri (5) e il legno di cedro per costruire i templi (6).

Il piccolo commercio era pure fiorente, ed è menzionato in una legge del IV sec.: « *Ioudaei.... vilibus commerciis oc-*

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(1) Strabo presso Flav. Jos., *Antiqu.*, 14, 7, 2. Philo, *In Flacc.* 8.
(2) *Succà* 51 *b*; *Jomà* 38 *a*; *Arachin* 10 *b*.
(3) Mišnà *Bechoroth* 4, 4.
(4) Cfr. Hamburger, op. cit., II, p. 1274, s. v. « *Welthandel* ».
(5) Diod. Sic., *Bibl. Hist.* 2, 48, 6 e 19, 98; Strabo, *Geogr.* 16, 2, 45.
(6) Vedi Ermann in *Zeit. Aegypt. Spr.* 38 (1900) pp. 9 e segg.

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deriving from the transports only the individuals involved, was caused by the unjust imposition that the prefect of Egypt had made shortly before on the entire Community to provide transport at general expenses, almost as if everyone had a shared interest in the function performed by the individual *ships - cularii.*

On the trade practiced by the Jews very widely in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, we have information in Strabo and Philo (1) ; the *Talmud* (2) mentions for this era artisans, goldsmiths, jewelers, blacksmiths, armourers, apothecaries, etc. ; and in the main synagogue of Alexandria each worker had, as already mentioned, his own specific department.
In fact, the majority of the Jews had devoted themselves to trade, which was then very flourishing in that city (3): it reflected above
all that of grains, Egypt being considered as the granary of many countries, especially of Italy; of wines, especially artificial ones, such as, for example, plum wine, and two types of barley beer ; cows, pigs, various cotton weaves, cotton wool, canvas, Egyptian byssus; furthermore, purple carpets, weapons, papyrus prepared for writing, etc. were sold in quantity. ; aromatic products packaged with drugs, oils, ointments, and the like; salts, Egyptian alum, Alexandrine gum, various qualities of marble, emeralds and other precious stones.

Alongside these articles, which were largely exported, there was a large import of merchandise from all the regions of the world known at the time (4).
Thus, from Palestine came the asphalt which was used to embalm the corpses (5) and the cedar wood to build the temples (6).

Small trade was also flourishing, and is mentioned in a law of the 4th century: « Joudaei..., *vilibus commerciis oc-*

(1) STROBE pressed YELLOW. JOS., *Antiq.,* 14, 7, 2. PHILO, *In Flacc.* 8. (2) *Succà* 51 *b ; fomà* 38 *a ; Arachin* 10 *b.*
(3) MiSnà *Bechoroth* 4, 4.
(4) Cf. HAMBURGER, op. cit., 11, p. 1274, sv " *world trade".*

/5) THE OD. SIC., *Bible. Hist.* 2, 48, 6 and 19, 98 ; STRABO, *Geogr.* 16 , 2 , (6) See ERMANN in *Zeit. Aegypt. Spr.* 38 (1900) pp. 9 and following.

cupati » (1); a Giaffa, in epoca imprecisata, è sotterrato un rigattiere di Alessandria (2); nel II sec. av. Cr., troviamo nella Tebaide un mercante di cavalli - *οὗ τὸ ὄνομα ἀγνοοῦμ[εν]* - (3), e un altro mercante senza specificazione di quale commercio esercitasse (4). Ad Alessandria ed altrove erano Ebrei fornai, muratori e falegnami (5).

Nel IV secolo, Claudiano (6) riteneva l'industria della tappezzeria istoriata esclusiva degli Ebrei, e secondo alcuni sarebbero stati appunto essi a introdurla in Egitto e specialmente ad Alessandria, dove era un apposito collegio ebraico, dopo averla appresa in Assiria (7). Un tessitore *γέρδι[ο]ς* è citato fra i contribuenti di Apollinopolis Magna (8).

Il numero degli Ebrei dediti al commercio e all'industria in Alessandria era tanto preponderante, che quando essi furono espulsi da Cirillo, l'eparca Oreste si lamentò di un ristagno negli affari della città (9).

Nella stipulazione dei contratti venivano osservate generalmente le norme locali, modificate poi spesso dal diritto romano, ma a volte, per lo meno in parte, si osservavano anche le forme puramente ebraiche.

Contratti di compra-vendita erano frequentissimi nel no-

(1) *Cod. Theodos,* l. c.

(2) Vedi Clermont-Ganneau, *Rev. d' Arch. Or.* 4, p. 147: Ἰοῦστος Ῥωβὴ Ἀλεξανδρ[εύ]ς, γρυτοπ[ώ]λου.

(3) Così legge il Wilcken (*Grundz.* II, N. 57): PGrenf. I, 43.

(4) Vedi Juster II, pp. 299 e segg.

(5) Vedi *Talmud,* l. cit., e Clermont-Ganneau, *Archeol. Researches in Palest.* II, p. 141, N. 2.

(6) *In Eutrop.* 1, 350.

(7) Vedi Juster II, p. 306.

(8) Wessely, *Stud. Pal.* XIII, ostr. N. 2.

(9) Socrate Scol., *Hist. Eccles.* 7, 13. Il Juster (II, p. 303, n. 6) cita, senza un' apparente ragione positiva, a proposito di viaggi per motivi di commercio, le seguenti iscrizioni di Apollinopolis Magna: Εὐλογεῖ τὸν θεὸν Πτολεμαῖος Διονυσίου Ἰουδαῖος. — Θεοῦ εὐλογία Θευόδοτος Δωρίωνος Ἰουδαῖος σωθεὶς ἐκ [πε]λου[ς] (= πελάγους). (Quest'ultima parola fu anche completata: [τρωγ]λο[δ]υ[τικῆς] (*C. I. G.* 4838 *c* (III, p. 400) = Dittenberger, *Or. Graec. inscr. sel.,* nn. 73-4). È strano che esse siano state trovate nel tempio dedicato a Pan: si tratterà forse di Ebrei convertiti? Il Schürer (III, p. 50) si meraviglia, e non sa come spiegare.

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cupati » (1); in Jaffa, at an unspecified time, a second-hand dealer from Alexandria was buried (2) ; in the 2nd century. av. Cr., we find
in the Thebaid a horse merchant - où xò ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ.[ÿÿ] — (3), and another merchant without specification of what trade he practiced (4). In Alexandria and elsewhere there were Jewish bakers, bricklayers and carpenters (5).

In the 4th century, Claudian (6) believed that the industry of decorated tapestry was exclusive to the Jews, and according to some it was they who introduced it to Egypt and especially to Alexandria, where there was a special Jewish college, after having learned it in Assyria (7). A weaver ÿ ***ÿÿÿ$ÿ[ÿ\ÿ)*** is mentioned among the taxpayers of Apollinopolis Magna (8).

The number of Jews engaged in trade and industry in Alexandria was so preponderant that when they were expelled by Cyril, the eparch Orestes complained of stagnation in the city's affairs (9).

In the stipulation of contracts, local rules were generally observed, often modified by Roman law, but sometimes, at least in part, purely Jewish forms were also observed.

Purchase and sale contracts were very frequent in the no-

(1) Cod. Theodos, l. c.

(2) See CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Rev. d'Arch. Or.* 4, p. 147: Ioustos ^Rovi ""Alexandrou";, grytop[a)]lou.

(3) Thus reads WILCKEN *(Grundz.* II, N. 57): PGrenf. I, 43.
(4) See JUSTER II, pp. 299 et seq.
(5) See *Talmud,* 1. cit., and CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Archeol. Researches in*

***Revealed* II, p. 141, No. 2.**

(6) *In Eutrop.* 1, 350

(7) See JUST II, p. 306
(8) WESSELY, *Stud. Pai.* XIII, ostr. N. 2.

(9) SOCRATES SCHOL., *Hist. Eccles.* 7, 13. Il JUSTER (II, p. 303, ri. 6) cita, senza un' apparente ragione positiva, a proposito di viaggi per motivi di commercio, le seguenti iscrizioni di Apollinopolis Magna : He blesses the iteon Ptolemy Dionysius the Jew. — God's blessing Theo'dotos Dorionos 'Judah you are saved from [pe]lou[s] (= seas). (Quest'ultima parola fu anche completata : [trog]lo[d]y[tikis] (C. /. *G.* 4838 *c* (III, p. 400) = DITTENBERGER, *Or.*

***Greek inscrib. six,* no. 73-4). It is strange that they were found in the temple dedicated to**

Pau: could they perhaps be converted Jews? SCHÜRER (III, p. 50) is surprised, and doesn't know how to explain.

stro periodo in tutto l'Egitto, specialmente fra Ebrei e non Ebrei, come attestano numerosi papiri e ostraka; ne citiamo soltanto alcuni esempî (1):

a Ghorân, nel 260-259 av. Cr., avviene una locazione di terreni, nei quali il re dà gratuitamente le semenze, e fra i contadini citati si troverebbe un Ebreo (2), se leggiamo [Ὀ]νίας e non [Φα]νίας, come, per altro, alcuni ritengono più probabile (3);

a Diospolis Magna (4) è stipulato un contratto, e un altro a Tebe, nel 154-3 av. Cr. (5);

a Magdola si ha un contratto di locazione del 221 av. Cr. (6);

nella Tebaide, nel II sec. av. Cr., per mezzo di un Ebreo, Δανόουλο[ς], è venduta una cavalla a un certo Menon, greco (7);

ad Alessandria, all'epoca di Augusto, due Ebrei e una Ebrea assistita dal suo tutore eseguiscono un pagamento parziale a una società, forse non ebraica (*eranos*), e s'impegnano a pagare il restante del loro debito nella misura di 10 dracme al mese (8);

a Busiris, nell'anno 13 av. Cr., un terreno, Χελκίου γῆ, passa in proprietà di altri Ebrei (9);

a Ossirinco, nell'85 d. Cr., un Ebreo compra un quarto (o un sesto?) di casa (10) ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ἰουδα[ι]κ(οῦ) per mezzo di Νικάια Σι[λβά]νω Φουβίου τῶν ἀπ Ὀξ(υρύγχων) πόλ(εως) Ἰου[δ]αίων;

a Hermopolis (o ad Arsinoe), nel 113-14 d. Cr., avviene il pagamento di 768 dracme da parte degli arconti – Ἀρχόντων Ἰ[ου]δαίων προσευχῆς Θηβαίων (11) – ai quattro com-

(1) Cfr. anche WILCKEN, *Grundz.* II, nn. 57 e segg.

(2) PLille 6.

(3) *Archiv* IV, p. 48.

(4) WILCKEN, *Ostr.* N. 729.

(5) WILCKEN, *Ostr.* N. 1255 e PLond. 402 (II, p. 10).

(6) PLille II 3.

(7) POrenf. 43. Sembra che *Danoulos* fosse semplicemente incaricato di portare la cavalla a Menon da parte di un certo Hermokrates.

(8) BGU. 1134.

(9) BGU. 1129.

(10) POxy. 335.

(11) PLond. 1177.

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(38)

our period throughout Egypt, especially among Jews and non-Jews, as numerous papyri and ostraca attest; we cite just a few examples (1): in Ghoràn in 260-259 BC. Cr., a lease of land takes place, in which the king gives the

seeds free of charge, and among the farmers mentioned there would be a Jew (2), if

we read [ÿ]ÿÿÿÿ and not ***[ÿÿ]ÿÿÿÿ,*** as, moreover, some they consider it more probable (3); in Diospolis Magn a (4) a contract is stipulated, and in 154-3 av. Cr. (5) ; at ÿ agd ÿ 1 a there is a lease of 221 av. Cr. (6); in the Ebaid ÿ in the 2nd century. av. Cr., through a Jew, ÿÿÿÿ'ÿÿÿÿ], a

mare is sold to a
certain Menon, Greek (7); in Alexandria, at the time of Augustus, two Jews and a

another in Thebes

Jewess assisted by her guardian
make a partial payment to a company, perhaps non-Jewish ***(eranos),*** and undertake to

pay the remainder
of their debt in the amount of 10 drachmas per month (8); to ÿ usoris

in the year 13 av. Cr., a piece of land, ***XeXxiou*** ÿÿ, passes into the ownership of other Jews (9) ; in Oxyrhynchus

nell'85 d. Cr., un Ebreo-compra un quarto (o un sesto?) di casa (10) per ampsode ***Iou*** ^a[i]k(o0) per mezzo di Nicoa ***Silboi]no Fonvio of the ap***

Oz(yryghs) pol (up to) ***Io[a\a.ion ;***

a Hermopoli s (ad A rsi n o e), nel 113-14 d. Cr., takes place il pagamento di 768 drachme da parte degli arconti ***- 'Lords of the Thebes' prayer*** (11) - ai quattro com-

(1) Cfr. anche WILCKEN, *Grundz.* II, nn. 57 e segg. (2) PLille 6.
(3) *Archiv* IV, p. 48.
(4) WILCKEN, *Ostr.* No. 729.

(5) WILCKEN, *Ostr.* N. 1255 and PLond. 402 (II, p. 10).
(6) PLille II 3.
(7) POrenf. 43. It appears that *Danoulos* was simply instructed

to bring the mare to Menon by a certain Hermokrates. (8) BUILDING. 1134.

(9) BUILDING. 1129. (10) POxy. 335. (11) PLond. 1177.

missarî per i servizî idrici, per 6 mesi di consumo di acqua, a 128 dracme (1) al mese, e per l'εὐχείων;

ad Athribis, verso il 130 d. Cr., Ebrei insieme con Greci offrono allo stratega l'acquisto di un appezzamento di terra, pagando mediante una determinata quantità di grano (2);

ad Arsinoe, nel VI-VII sec. d. Cr., tra Apollo di Antonio, cristiano, e Abramo di Teodoto (Ἀβρααμίῳ Ἑβρείῳ υἱῷ Θεοδότου) avviene un cambio di aceto con vino (3);

in località imprecisata, verso il VI-VII sec. d. Cr., certi Aurelio Abraham di Levi e Aurelio Amun di David, mercanti di fieno, consegnano una ricevuta a Geronzio, ufficiale del generale Teodosio (4).

Non essendo stati trovati finora archivi ebraici riflettenti il periodo da noi studiato, poco sappiamo dei contratti di Ebrei fra loro (5).

Interessantissimo è un papiro (6) del 59 d. Cr. di Heliopolis, per le formule importanti che contiene. Mi limiterò qui a dire che si tratta di un deposito (παραθήκη) relativo a 600 dracme, concluso davanti all'ispettore del mercato nel campo militare di Babilonia (Heliopolis) tra l'*aeques alae Vicontiorum* L. Vettio, depositante, e tre Ebrei Ἰουδαῖοι Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, Πετὼς Χελκίου e i suoi due figli Χελκίας e Δωρ[όθεος], depositarî. Non si tratta di un vero e proprio deposito a interesse, ma piuttosto di un semplice prestito: il depositante si obbliga a non richiedere quella somma prima di due mesi e mezzo, e i tre Ebrei s'impegnano a pagare dopo tale data, — nel caso in cui non avessero restituito la somma intera — non il doppio, come avrebbero dovuto se si fosse trattato di un deposito vero e proprio, ma solamente interessi moratorî

(1) Notare che la dracma valeva allora circa un quarto della comune dracma d'argento (cfr. SCHÜRER III, p. 48).

(2) POxy. 500.

(3) PLond. 113 $_{11}$ (col. I, p. 223).

(4) Vedi *The Jewish Encyclop.*, s. v. *Palaeography*.

(5) L'esistenza di archivî ebraici, situati generalmente presso le sinagoghe, è certa anche per l'epoca ellenistico-romana: ciò è attestato indirettamente pure da FLAV. JOS., *Antiqu.*, 19, 5, 2, § 281; e sembra che un ἀρχεῖον τῶν Ἰουδαίων sia citato in BGU. 115 $_8$ (13 d. Cr.).

(6) PHamb. 2.

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missarì for water services, for 6 months of water consumption, at 128 drachmas (1) per month, and for ÿ ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ;*** in Athribis around 130 AD. Cr., Jews together

with Greeks offer the strategist the purchase of a plot of land, paying with a certain quantity of grain (2); in A rsi ÿ ÿ and in the VI-VII century. d. Cr., between Apollo of Anthony, a Christian, and Abraham of Theodotus ***(ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** ÿÿÿ ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ)*** a change of vinegar

with wine takes place (3) ;

in an unspecified location, around the 6th-7th century. d. Cr., certain Aurelius Abraham of Levi and Aurelius Amun of David, hay merchants, deliver a receipt to Gerontius, officer of the general Theodosius **(4).**

Since no Jewish archives reflecting the period we studied have been found so far, we know little about the contracts of Jews among themselves (5).

Very interesting is a papyrus (6) from 59 AD. Cr. of Helio-polis, for the important formulas it contains. I will limit myself here to saying that it is a deposit ***(ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ)*** relating to 600 drachmas, concluded before the market inspector in the military camp of Babylon (Heliopolis) between the ***aeque s alae ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ Vicontiorum ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ,*** ÿÿÿÿ ÿ ÿÿÿÿÿ'ÿÿ and his two sons ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ and ÿÿÿ[ÿ'5ÿÿÿ], custodians. It is not a real deposit at interest, but

a simple L. Vettio, depositante, e tre Ebrei ***Jews*** rather loan: the depositor undertakes not to request that sum before two and a half months, and the three Jews undertake to pay after that date, - in the event that they had not returned the entire sum - not double, as they would have had if it had been a real deposit, but only default interest!

(1) Note that the drachma was then worth about a quarter of the common silver drachma (see SCHÎIRER III, p. 48).

(2) POxy. 500.
(3) PLond. 113 n (col. I, p. 223).
(4) Vedi *The Jewish Encyclop.,* s. v. *Palaeography.*
(5) The existence of Jewish archives, generally located in the synagogues,

is also certain for the Hellenistic-Roman era : this is also indirectly attested by FLAV. Jos., *Antiqu.,* 19, 5, 2, § 281; and it appears that a ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ 'ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ is mentioned in BGU. 115 8 (13 d. Cr.).

(6) Rev. 2.

del 12 o forse 24 %: *τόκοι τοῦ ὑπερπεσόντος χρόνου δραχμαῖοι* (o *δίδραχμοι* ?), e in più una pena: *ἐπίτιμον*. Inoltre i depositarî s'impegnano a pagare solidariamente: *δι' ἐγ[γ]ύ[ω]ν ἀλλήλων εἰς ἔκτισιν* (1).

Ad Arsinoe, nel 26° anno di Tolemeo II Filadelfo (259 av. Cr.), Andronico *τῆς ἐπιγονῆς* e Alessandro di Andronico, ebreo, con una transazione (*συγγραφὴ ἀποστασίου*) rinunciano a tutti i reciproci reclami (2).

Col denaro guadagnato nel commercio, molti Ebrei divennero banchieri, e ne troviamo in ogni epoca: Giuseppe Flavio (3), ad esempio, narra la storia aneddotica di un certo Giuseppe figlio di Tobia, vissuto sotto Tolemeo V, affittuario divenuto ricco banchiere; e riferisce (4) che l'alabarca Alessandro eseguì un grosso pagamento ad Alessandria, promettendo di completarlo a Pozzuoli. Ad un banchiere ebreo sembra accennare il papiro BGU. 1070 del 41 d. Cr.

Non abbiamo notizie di prestiti ad usura; se ne ha, è vero, un accenno in un papiro d'ignota provenienza, contenente una lettera del 4 agosto 41 d. Cr. (I anno di Claudio), dove il mercante Serapion consiglia ad un suo amico Heraclides di Alessandria, che trovasi in ristrettezza di denaro, di guardarsi, come fanno tutti, dagli Ebrei, cioè di non chieder loro imprestiti, e di accordarsi piuttosto direttamente col suo creditore Ptollarion (5): ma è probabile che si tratti di una

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(1) Nota il Mitteis (*Grundz.* I, pp. 73 e 113) che questo atto presenta la singolarità che l'ispettore parla in prima persona, mentre generalmente tali atti sono redatti in terza persona.

(2) PHib. 96. Il testo è scritto due volte, e il principio può così ricostruirsi, con grandi lacune: συγγραφὴ ἀποστασίου [Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ..... (*15 lettere*) τῆ]ς ἐπιγονῆς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀνδρονίκου Ἰουδαίου μετὰ [.... (*20 lettere*) τῶν] Ζωΐλου δεκανικοῦ. (Non risulta che il secondo sia figlio del primo; entrambi sono militari: cfr. Schürer III, p. 44 e Bouché-Leclercq IV, p. 240).

(3) *Antiqu.*, 12, 4, 1 e segg.

(4) *Antiqu.*, 18, 6, 3.

(5) BGU. 1079: Τάχα δύναται σὲ ἐλεήσαι· ἐὰν μή, ὡς ἂν πάντες καὶ σὺ βλέπε σατὸν (= σαυτόν) ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Μάλλον ἀκολουθῶν αὐτῷ δύνῃ φιλιᾶσαι αὐτῷ. Vedi *Archiv* IV, p. 567 e Schürer III, p. 46.

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(40)

del 12 ò forse 24%: ***interest of the superseded time arachmaioi*** (o ***diarchmoi ?),*** and in più una pena: ***persistent.*** Moreover i depositari s'impegnano a pagare solidariamente : ài' e/[/]y[o]n allilon
in anticipation (1).

To Arsinoe
Andronico ***of the heiress*** and Alessandro di Andronico, ebreo, con una

.nel 26° anno di Tolemeo II Filadelfo (259 av. Cr.), transazion e ***(snghrgy apostate)*** rinun-ciano a tutti i reciproci reclami (2).

With the money earned in trade, many Jews became bankers and we find them in every era: Flavius Josephus (3), for example, tells the anecdotal story of a certain Joseph, son of Tobias, who lived under Ptolemy V, a tenant farmer who became a rich banker; and reports (4) that the halbarca Alexander made a large payment in Alexandria, promising to complete it in Pozzuoli. The BGU papyrus appears to mention a Jewish banker. 1070 of 41 d. Cr.

We have no news of usury loans; it is true that there is a hint of it in a papyrus of unknown provenance, containing a letter dated 4 August 41 AD. Cr. (1st year of Claudius), where the merchant Serapion advises his friend Heraclides of Alexandria, who finds himself in a shortage of money, to beware, as everyone does, from the Jews, that is, not to ask them for loans, and to instead agree directly with his creditor Ptollarion (5): but it is probable that it is a

(1) The MITTEIS *(Grundz.* I, pp. 73 and 113) notes that this document presents the singularity that the inspector speaks in the first person, while generally such documents are written in the third person.

**(2) PHib. 96. The text is written twice, and the principle can be so
ricostruirsi, con grandi lacune : written by an apostate [Andronikos of *(15 lettere)* the] epigonis and 'Alexander of Andronikos 'the Jew after, *[.... (20 lettere)* of] Zoe'los the dean. (Non risultate che il secondo sia figlio del primo? entrambi sono militari: cfr. SCHURER III, p. 44 and BOUCHE-
LECLERCQ IV,** p. **240).**

**(3) *Antiqu.,* 12, 4, 1 e segg.
(4) *Antiq.,* 18, 6, 3.
(5) BGU. 1079 : Thus may you be forgiven * if not, as if everyone and you see**

saton (= yourself) from the Jews. Probably next^Gon ato diny you kiss here. Vedi *Archiv* IV, p. 567 and SCHÎIRKR III, p. 46.

specie di rappresaglia momentanea verso gli Alessandrini, essendo avvenute da poco le note persecuzioni.

Le occupazioni intellettuali sono state sempre care agli Ebrei, e molti furono i dotti alessandrini (1). Tra i seguaci della cultura greca si ricordano il filosofo Aristobulo, maestro di Tolemeo Filometore (2), il poeta Ezechiele (3). Al tempo di Giovanni Ircano (II sec. av. Cr.), il maestro R. Josua ben Perachia emigrò da Gerusalemme ad Alessandria, e in seguito vi andarono pure Jehudà ben Tabbai e Šimon ben Šetach, i quali trovarono là ausilio e riparo contro le persecuzioni di Ircano (4); R. Josua ben Chanania, maestro del I secolo, si trattenne lungamente in Alessandria ed ebbe frequenti rapporti con dotti di quel tempo (5). Nel III secolo i maestri R. Jochanan e R. Šimon ben Lakiš vennero ricercati dagli Alessandrini per la spiegazione di alcune disposizioni della Legge (6). Il *Talmud* nomina ancora i dotti alessandrini R. Jochanan Hassandlar (7), scolaro di R. Akiba, e il proselite Miniamin, compagno di studî di R. Jehudà (8). Al Museo di Alessandria troviamo insegnante di medicina quell' Adamanzio scacciato con gli altri Ebrei da Cirillo nel 412 d. Cr., poi battezzatosi per poter rientrare nella città (9). Altro medico esercitante nello stesso luogo, sotto l' imperatore Zenone, è Domno, commentatore d'Ippocrate (10). Giustamente scrive il Bouché-Leclercq (11) che la Comunità ebraica di Alessandria « ..... ha esercitato sui destini dell' umanità una influenza, i cui effetti sono ancora presenti ».

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(1) Tralascio, per brevità, di soffermarmi qui a parlare dei molti scrittori: è ben noto il fiorire della letteratura ebraica alessandrina in questo periodo.

(2) Flav. Jos., *Antiqu.*, 13, 10, 2; *II Maccab.* 1, 10.

(3) Vedi Hamburger, op. cit., II, pp. 47 e segg., s. v. « *Alexandrien* ».

(4) *Talm. Sotà*, 47 e passi paralleli.

(5) *Middà*, 69.

(6) *Jer. Kiddušin*, p. 3.

(7) *Jer. Chaghigà*, 3. (Se è esatto interpretare di nome *Hassandlar* in senso di « Alessandrino »).

(8) *Jebamoth*, 76; *Toseftà Kiddušin*, 5.

(9) Socr. Scol., *Hist. Eccles.*, 7, 13, 17.

(10) Suidas, s. v. Γέοιος.

(11) Op. cit., III, p. 149.

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a kind of temporary reprisal towards the Alexandrians, as the well-known persecutions had recently taken place.

Intellectual pursuits have always been dear to the Jews, and there were many Alexandrian scholars (1). Among the followers of Greek culture we remember the philosopher Aristobulus, teacher of Ptolemy Philometor (2), the poet Ezekiel (3).

At the time of John Hyrcanus (2nd century BC), the master R.
Josua ben Perachia emigrated from Jerusalem to Alexandria, and later Jehudà ben

Tabbai and Simon ben Setach also went there, who found help and shelter there

against the persecutions of Hyrcanus (4) ; R. Josua ben Chanania, a master of the

1st century, stayed for a long time in Alexandria and had frequent relationships with

scholars of that time (5). In the third century the masters R. Jochanan and R. Simon

ben LakiS were sought by the Alexandrians for the explanation of some provisions of the Law (6). The *Talmud* still names the Alexandrian scholars R. Jochanan

Hassandlar (7), pupil of R. Akiba, and the proselyte Miniamin, fellow student of R. Jehudà (8). At the Museum of Alexandria we find that Adamanzio, who was expelled with the other Jews by Cyril in 412 AD, was a teacher of medicine. Cr., then baptized to be able to return to the city (9). Another doctor practicing in the same place, under the emperor Zeno, is Domnos, commentator on Hippocrates (10). Bouché-Leclercq (11) rightly writes that the Jewish community of

Alexandria "flu, has exercised over the destinies of humanity the effects of which are still present".

(1) I omit, for brevity, to stop here to talk about the many writers: the flourishing of Alexandrian Jewish literature in

this period.
(2) FLAV. Jos., *Antiq.,* 13, 10, 2; *II Maccab.* 1, 10
(3) See HAMBURGER, op. cit., II, pp. 47 et seq., sv « Alexandrien (4) *Taltn. Sotà,* 47 and parallel steps.
(5) *Midda,* 69.
(6) *Jer. Kidduéirt,* p. 3.
(7) *Jer. Chaghigà,* 3. (If it is correct to interpret the name *Hassandlar* in the sense

of "Alexandrine").
(8) *Jebamoth,* 76 ; *Toseftà Kiddulin,*
(9) SOCR. SCOL., *Hist. Eccles.,* 7 , 13, 17 .

(10) Sui DA s, S. n. Geoios. (11) Op. cit., Iii, p. 149.

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Sotto i Tolemei gli Ebrei non dovettero essere molto benestanti, ma non mancano menzioni di grandi ricchezze possedute da certuni; così, Giuseppe Flavio (1) narra che a quei tempi un certo Arion fu in condizione di prestare 30.000 talenti. Grandi beni dovettero poi possedere molti appaltatori d'imposte, e questo, secondo il Wilcken (2), sarebbe provato dal fatto che le stesse persone seguitano a occupare quelle cariche per molti anni, certamente di loro volontà. Nei primi secoli dell'êra volgare anche gli alabarchi di Alessandria avevano spesso ricchezze ingenti, tanto che l'alabarca Alessandro prestò in una sol volta 200.000 dracme (3), ed egli stesso provvide a ricoprir d'oro e d'argento le porte del Tempio di Gerusalemme (4); e fu pure un alessandrino suo contemporaneo, Nicanore, che regalò per quel Tempio una porta di bronzo di Corinto a due battenti, che si dice fosse tanto pesante, da non poter essere mossa che da venti uomini (5). A lui si riferisce forse l'iscrizione trovata su di un ossuario presso Gerusalemme: Ὀστᾶ τῶν τοῦ Νεικάνορος Ἀλεξανδρέως ποιήσαντος τὰς θύρας ....נקנר אלכסא (6).

Troviamo anche in seguito Ebrei facoltosi, soprattutto fra gli armatori di Alessandria: « Molto ricco in oro, in argento, in servitori e in bestiame.... celebre dovunque per le sue rendite.... » era quel Filosseno alessandrino, ricordato da Cirillo (VI sec. d. Cr.) (7); ed egli stesso poco dopo dipinge al vivo l'invidia suscitata in due operai cristiani seduti nella via degli Ebrei, dalle ricchezze loro in oro e in argento.

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(1) *Antiqu.*, 10, 4, 2.

(2) *Ostr.* I, p. 535.

(3) Flav. Jos., *Antiqu.*, 18, 6, 3.

(4) Flav. Jos., *Bell. Jud.*, 5, 5, 3, § 205.

(5) Flav. Jos., *Bell. Jud.*, 2, 17, 3; 5, 5, 3 e 6, 5, 3. *Mišnà Middoth*, 2, 5; *jer. Jomà*, 3, 10; *b. Jomà*, 38ª.

(6) Vi sono molti dubbî sull'esatta interpretazione di queste parole: vedi Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. Arch. Or.* V, pp. 334-340; Dittenberger, *Or. graec. inscr. sel.*, N. 559; Chajes in *Rivista Israelitica* 1 (1904) pp. 132 e segg.; Valein, *Jüdisch- Palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum* (Wien, 1920) pp. 17-18.

(7) *Mél. Fac. Orient., Beyrouth* 6 (1913) pp. 509 e 511.

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(42)

Under the Ptolemies the Jews must not have been very wealthy, but there is no shortage of mention of great wealth -
chezz and owned by certain people; thus, Flavius Josephus (1) narrates that in those times a certain Arion was in a position to lend 30,000 talents. Many tax contractors must have owned large assets, and this, according to Wilcken (2), would be proven by the fact that the same people continued to occupy those positions for many years, certainly of their own volition. In the first centuries of the common era, even the alabarchs of Alexandria often had enormous wealth, so much so that Alexander the alabarch lent 200,000 drachmas at one time (3), and he himself covered the doors of the palace with gold and silver. Temple

of Jerusalem (4) ; and it was also a contemporary of his from Alexandria, Nicanor, who donated for that Temple a double-leaf bronze door from Corinth, which is said to be so heavy that it could only be moved by twenty men (5). Perhaps the inscription found on an Obuario at Jerusalem is reported to him : **'ÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ *riment ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿilar***

....NDDSN

We also later find wealthy Jews, especially among the shipowners of Alexandria : "Very rich in gold, silver, servants and livestock... famous everywhere for his income..." was that Alexandrian Philoxenus, remembered by Cyril (6th century AD) (7) ; and shortly afterwards he himself vividly paints the envy aroused in two Christian workers sitting in the street of the Jews, by their wealth in gold and silver.

(1) *Antiq.,* 10, 4, 2.
(2) *Ostr.* I, p. 535.
(3) FLAV. JOS., *Antiq.,* 18, 6, 3.
(4) FLAV. JOS., *Bell. Jud.,* 5, 5, 3, § 205.

(5) FLAV. JOS., *Bell. Judg.,* 2, 17, 3; 5, 5, 3 e 6, 5, 3. *MiUà Middoth,* 2, 5; *cf. Friday,* 3, 10; *b. Friday,* 38a .

(6) Vi sono molti dubbi sull' esatta interpretation di queste parole : see CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Ree Arch. Or.* 5, pp. 334-340; DITTENBERGER, *Or. Greek inscr. sei.,* No. 559; CHAIES in *Rivista Israelitica* 1 (1904) pp. 132 ff.; VALEIN, *fiidisch- Palàstinisches Corpus Inscriptionum* (Wien, 1920) pp. 17-18

(7) *Mine. Fac. Orient., Beirut* 6 (1913) pp. 509 and 511.

Ma se vi erano notevoli ricchezze, vi erano anche miserie non lievi, come rilevasi dai documenti che parlano di mutui e di dilazioni nel restituire il denaro ricevuto in prestito. Filone (1) incoraggiava gli Ebrei poveri di Alessandria, facendo loro sperare in un maggior lucro, se avessero osservato completamente le prescrizioni mosaiche.

Nel III sec. d. Cr. si richiedeva dalla legge l'*idonea facultas* per essere *navicularii,* di contro agli *inopes* alessandrini (2); e in istato di grande miseria — tanto che si augurava quasi la morte nel mare in tempesta per sfuggire ai suoi creditori, e aveva la nave in pessime condizioni — era quell'Amarantus alessandrino conduttore della nave sulla quale si trovava, verso il 400 d. Cr., Sinesio cirenaico, che narra in una sua lettera, in maniera molto divertente, questo avventuroso viaggio (3).

Da altri indizî si deduce ancora, indirettamente, che era numerosa la classe povera; avvenivano spesso distribuzioni gratuite mensili di grano, o elargizioni di denaro in occasioni eccezionali, alle quali partecipavano gli Ebrei, specialmente dove avevano il diritto di cittadinanza, come ad Alessandria; tuttavia non di rado ne vennero esclusi, forse per puro arbitrio di chi presiedeva alla distribuzione: così Apione (4) dice che l'ultima Cleopatra non li ammetteva alle distribuzioni gratuite di grano in Alessandria; e Giuseppe (5) racconta che la stessa esclusione effettuò Germanico nel 19: ma del resto qualunque distribuzione era stata proibita da Augusto per quella città.

D'altra parte, sappiamo che sotto Anastasio, essendo prefetto Eustazio (dopo il 505-6 d. Cr.), un ricco Ebreo, Urbib, fece delle distribuzioni di grano agli abitanti di Alessandria (6). E Filosseno, l'eroe del racconto leggendario nel sermone della penitenza attribuito a S. Cirillo, sopra citato (VI secolo d. Cr.), « era celebre in tutta la città per le sue rendite come per le sue elemosine » (7).

(1) *De proem. et poen.*, 18.
(2) *Cod. Theod.*, 13, 5, 18.
(3) Epist. IV (*Epistol. gr.*, ed. Hercher p. 639).
(4) Presso Flav. Jos., *Contra Ap.*, 2, 5, § 60.
(5) l. c., § 61.
(6) Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, ser. graeca*, III, p. 1062.
(7) *Mél. Fac. Or. Beyr.* 6 (1913) p. 509.

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But if there were considerable riches, there were also mi - serious and not light, as can be seen from the documents that speak of mortgages and extensions in repaying the money
received on loan. Philo (1) encouraged the poor Jews of Alexandria, making them hope for greater profits if they completely observed

the Mosaic prescriptions.
In the **3rd** century d. Cr. the law required *the suitable facultas*

to be *navicularii,* as opposed to the Alexandrian *inopes* (2) ; and in a state of great poverty - so much so that he almost wished for death in the stormy sea to escape his creditors, and his ship was in terrible condition - he was that Alexandrian Amarantus, captain of the ship on which he was, around 400 AD. Cr., Cyrenaic Synesius, who narrates this adventurous journey in a very entertaining way in one of his letters (3).

From other evidence it can also be deduced, indirectly, that

the poor class was numerous ; there were often free monthly

distributions of grain, or donations of money on exceptional

occasions, in which the Jews participated, especially where they

had the right of citizenship, as in Alexandria; however, they were

often excluded, perhaps due to the pure will of those who presided

over the distribution: thus Apion (4) says that the last Cleopatra

did not admit them to the free distributions of grain in Alexandria ;

and Josephus (5) says that Germanicus made the same exclusion in 19 : but any distribution had been prohibited by Augustus for

that city.

On the other hand, we know that under Anastasius, Eustathius being prefect (after 505-6 AD), a rich Jew, Urbib, distributed grain to the inhabitants of Alexandria (6). And Philoxenus, the hero of the legendary story in the sermon of penance attributed to St. Cyril, cited above (6th century AD), « was famous throughout the city for his income as well as for his alms » (7) .

(1) ***Of the proem. and poets.,*** **18**
(2) ***Cod. Theodore,*** **13, 5, 18.**
(3) Epistle. IV ***(Epistol. gr.,*** **ed. Hercher p. 639).**
(4) Press FLAV. JOS., ***Contra Ar.,*** **2, 5, § 60. (5) 1. c., § 61.**
(6) MIGNE, ***The complete course of Patrologia, ser. Greek,*** **HI, P. 1062. (7)** ***Mine. Do it. Or. Beyr.*** **6 (1913) p. 509**

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Quando gli Ebrei non erano, come ad Alessandria, ammessi completamente al godimento dei diritti comuni, si presentavano certo delle difficoltà non lievi nei procedimenti giudiziarî, per stabilire fino a qual punto potessero applicarsi le norme del diritto ebraico, e quando dovesse subentrare l'applicazione del diritto vigente nel territorio dove essi abitavano.

Così, sappiamo che le donne ebree dovevano presentarsi al tribunale accompagnate da un tutore: ciò forse in armonia con la legge locale, poiché non era richiesto da quella ebraica.

In un papiro che sembra del 226 av. Cr. (1) — e si tratta pertanto di uno degli esempî più antichi del nostro periodo — è esplicitamente detto che il processo per ingiurie che si svolge a Crocodilopolis (Arsinoite) davanti a un tribunale speciale (2) tra gli Ebrei Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς Dositeo (o Doroteo?) ed Eracleia col tutore (κύριος) Aristide Ἀθηναῖος τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, è condotto in parte secondo i διαγράμματα, cioè le leggi reali applicabili a chiunque in tutto l'Egitto, e in parte secondo i πολιτικοὶ νόμοι, come erano dette le leggi nazionali, o gli statuti di ciascun gruppo etnico, sociale o territoriale riconosciuto dal potere regio. È difficile poter stabilire se in questo caso il πολιτικὸς νόμος si riferisce al diritto ebraico o a quello derivante dalla condizione di Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς (3). Forse la causa si svolgeva in appello, perché la prima volta doveva essere stata discussa davanti a un tribunale ebraico: la donna si sarà appellata, dopo aver deposto un discorso scritto e

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(1) PPetrie III, pp. 42-49.

(2) Tale processo fa parte dei molti « processi disertati » (ἔρημοι δίκαι) svoltisi davanti a 9 giudici sotto un presidente, formanti una commissione speciale, istituita, pare, per decidere su molte cause arretrate, dovute a dispute sorte tra militari appartenenti, per la maggior parte, alla classe τῆς ἐπιγονῆς (cfr. Bouché-Leclercq IV, p. 239).

(3) Questa espressione di Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ha dato luogo a molte ipotesi: sembra oramai assodato che si chiamassero così i discendenti, nati in Egitto, dei primitivi coloni militari persiani; ma forse l'espressione non ha un valore tanto preciso, come alcuni ritengono, da indicare una determinata classe militare (cfr. Bouché-Leclercq IV, pp. 29-44; Wilcken, *Grundz.* I, p. 383; Schubart in *Archiv* V, p. 119; ecc.).

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(44);

When the Jews were not, as in Alexandria, am -
placed completely in the enjoyment of common rights, considerable difficulties certainly arose in the proceedings -
ments of the judiciary, to establish to what extent the norms of Jewish law could be applied, and when the application of the law in force in the territory where they lived should take over.

Thus, we know that Jewish women had to appear at the court accompanied by a guardian: this perhaps in harmony with local law, since it was not required by Jewish law.

In a papyrus that appears to date from 226 BC. Cr. (1) - and it is therefore one of the oldest examples of our peri od - it is explicitly said that the trial for insults which takes place in Crocodilopolis (Arsinoite) before a special tribunal (2) among the Jews ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ***

ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ Dositheus (ÿ Dorotheus?) and Heracleia with the guardian ***{ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ)*** Aristides ***'ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ,*** is conducted partly according to the ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ, i.e. the applicable real laws to anyone in all Egypt, and partly according to the ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿ,***

as they were called the national laws, or the statutes of each ethnic,

social or territorial group recognized by the royal power. It is difficult

to establish whether in this case the ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿ*** refers to

Jewish law or to that deriving from the condition of ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ***

ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ (3). Perhaps the case took place on appeal, because the

first time it must have been discussed before a Jewish court: the woman must have appealed, after having given a written speech and

(1) PPetrie III, pp. 42-49.

(2) This trial is part of the many "defected trials" (ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿ) held before 9 judges under a president, forming a special commission, established, it seems, to decide on many backlogged cases, due to disputes arising between military members, for the most part, to the class ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ (see BOUCHE-LECLERCQ IV, p. 239).

(3) This expression of ÿÿ'ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ has given rise to many hypotheses: it now seems well established that the descendants, born in Egypt, of the primitive Persian military colonists were called this; but perhaps the expression does not have such a precise value, as some believe, to indicate a specific military class (see BOUCHE- LECLERCQ IV, pp. 29-44; WILCKEN, *Grundz.* I, p. 383; SCHUBART in *Archiv* V, p. 119; etc.).

delle giustificazioni se così leggesi il testo frammentario del papiro non consentite dalla legge mosaica.

Probabilmente, dove esisteva, come ci attesta Strabone (1) per Alessandria, un tribunale ebraico presieduto dall'etnarca, spettava a questo di giudicare quando si trattava di soli Ebrei, e venivano subito eseguite le sentenze, senza che, forse, se ne ingerissero le autorità locali; ma quando non v'era un tribunale ebraico, o si trattava di questioni tra Ebrei e non Ebrei, era competente il tribunale locale, completamente o in parte.

Anche nell'applicazione delle pene vi era diversità a seconda dei casi, e la cittadinanza posseduta v'influiva molto; così, mentre nel periodo romano a un Ebreo semplice pellegrino venivano applicate le pene comuni, a quelli che erano cittadini romani venivano estese tutte le attenuanti dovute loro a seconda della condizione sociale, ecc., come ai Romani stessi; e a quelli che erano cittadini greci alessandrini furono mantenute le distinzioni privilegiate di cui godevano anche in tale materia: essi, ad esempio, non potevano venir bastonati (lo furono, per eccezione, durante le persecuzioni di Flacco), come gli altri Alessandrini, ma erano colpiti con la verga prescritta dall'apposito funzionario della città (2).

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Non abbiamo notizie particolari riguardo al matrimonio: sappiamo soltanto che anche in Egitto gli Ebrei davano molta importanza al fidanzamento, atto decisamente impegnativo, tanto che ad Alessandria il contratto di matrimonio veniva redatto anticipatamente, a volte in greco (3), in quella occasione (4).

Non dovevano essere rari i matrimoni tra Ebrei e non Ebrei, dato che Filone (5) biasima acerbamente tale uso, proibito dalla legge ebraica.

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(1) Presso Flav. Jos., *Antiqu.*, 14, 7, 2, § 117. Forse può darsi anche che l'etnarca fosse il capo del potere giudiziario degli Ebrei d'Egitto, non di un singolo tribunale: cfr. Juster II, p. 111, n. 1.

(2) Philo, *In Flacc.*, 10.

(3) *Talm. j. Jebamoth*, 15, 3.

(4) Philo, *De spec. leg.*, 3. § 12; *Talm. b. Babà Mezià* 104a.

(5) l. cit.

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Probably, where there existed, as Strabo (1) attests to us in Alexandria, a Jewish tribunal presided over by the ethnarch, it was
up to him to judge when only Jews were involved, and the sentences were immediately carried out, without, perhaps, any interference local authorities ; but when there was no Jewish court, or matters between Jews and non-Jews were involved, the local court was competent, completely or in part.

Even in the application of penalties there was diversity depending

on the case, and the citizenship held had a great influence; thus,

while in the Roman period the common penalties were applied to a

simple pilgrim Jew, all the extenuating circumstances due to them depending on their social condition, etc. were extended to those who

were Roman citizens, as well as to the Romans themselves ; and those who were Greek citizens of Alexandria were maintained the privileged distinctions that they also enjoyed in this matter: they, for example, could not be beaten (they were, by exception, during the persecutions of Fiacchus), like the other Alexandrians, but were hit with the rod prescribed by the appropriate city official (2).

We have no particular information regarding the mother -
monio: we only know that even in Egypt the Jews gave great importance to the engagement, a decidedly demanding act, so much so that in Alexandria the marriage contract was drawn up in advance, sometimes in Greek (3), on that occasion (4).

Marriages between Jews and non-Jews must not have been

rare, given that Philo (5) bitterly condemns this practice, which is prohibited by Jewish law.

(1) At FLAV. JOS., *Atiliqu.,* 14, 7,2, § 117. Perhaps it could also be that the ethnarch was the head of the judicial power of the Jews of Egypt, not of a single court: cf. JUSTER LI, p. ILI, ÿ. 1.

(2) Philo, *In Flacc.,* 10.
(3) *Talm. j. Jebamoth,* 15, 3.
(4) PHILO, *De spec. leg.,* 3. § 12; *Talm. b. Baba Mezià* 104*. (5) 1. cit.

of justifications if the fragmentary text of the papyrus is read in this way, not permitted by the Mosaic law.

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Di conversioni al paganesimo o al cristianesimo abbiamo alcuni esempî: così troviamo (circa nel 295 d. Cr.) un certo Giacobbe figlio di Achille (1), custode di un tempio egiziano, il cui nome mostra chiaramente la sua origine. In un litigio concernente una eredità, sono nominati due Cristiani, David ed Elisabetta, i quali dovevano essere originariamente Ebrei, a giudicare dai loro nomi biblici (2); e antichi manoscritti arabi parlano di una conversione degli Ebrei abitanti a Tomei presso Henef nel 622 d. Cr. (3).

Esempî di conversioni forzate si hanno ad Alessandria dopo l'espulsione ordinata da Cirillo nel 414 d. Cr., con l'interdizione di rientrare nella città senza il battesimo; ad esso si sottopose, ad es., Adamanzio, il celebre medico alessandrino (4).

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Dal *Talmud* (5) si apprende che vi erano casi di prostituzione di donne ebree ad Alessandria, ma nessun'altra testimonianza sicura è stata trovata, poiché non sembra abbia gran valore l'ipotesi del Clermont-Ganneau (6), che fossero cortigiane le donne nominate in due iscrizioni di Alessandria, Ἰωάννα Εὐφροσύνη e Σιμοτέρα Ἡλιοδώρου Σιδωνία, perché l'ipotesi si baserebbe solo sulla natura dei nomi: Σιμοτέρα sarebbe il comparativo dell'aggettivo σιμή, *camusa*, (per analogia con Φιλωτέρα da Φίλη, nome messo alla moda dalla sorella di Tolemeo II), e l'altro nome non era in fama troppo buona; ma non mancano invero esempî di donne oneste così chiamate.

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Poche parole dirò infine, in generale, sui nomi portati dagli Ebrei in Egitto.

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(1) Ἰακῶβ Ἀχιλλέως, nominato con altri sei custodi ἐν τῷ Σαραπίῳ: POxy. 43. (Cfr. Schürer III, p. 49).

(2) Vedi *Jewish Encycl.*, s. v. *Palaeography*.

(3) Griveau in *Rev. Or. Chrét.* (1908) pp. 288 e segg.

(4) Socr. Scol., *Hist. Eccles.* 7, 13; Giovanni di Nikiu, op. cit., cap. 84.

(5) *Jer. Ghittin*, 4, 2.

(6) In *C.-R. Ac. Inscr.* (1907) p. 235.

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(46)

We have some examples of conversions to paganism or Christianity: thus we find (around 295 AD) a certain Jacob, son of Achilles (1), guardian of an Egyptian temple, whose name clearly shows his origin. In a dispute concerning an inheritance, two

Christians are named, David and Elizabeth, who must have been originally Jews, judging by their biblical names (2) ; and ancient Arabic manuscripts speak of a conversion of the Jewish inhabitants of Tornei near Henef in 622 AD. Cr. (3).

Examples of forced conversions occur in Alexandria after the expulsion ordered by Cyril in 414 AD. Cr., with the interdiction to re-enter the city without baptism; for example, Adamantius, the famous Alexandrian doctor, underwent it (4).

From the *Talmud* (5) we learn that there were cases of pro - establishment of Jewish women in Alexandria, but no other certain evidence has been found, since Clermont-Ganneau's hypothesis (6) that the women named in two Alexandria inscriptions, ' **ÿÿÿÿÿÿ *ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ,*** were courtesans, does not seem to have much value and ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ,*** because the hypothesis would be based only on the nature of the names : ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** would be the comparative of the adjective ***ÿÿÿÿ,*** *camusa,* (by analogy with ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** from ***ÿÿÿÿ,*** a name put into fashion by the sister of

Ptolemy **II),** e the other name was not too well known ; but there is indeed no shortage of examples of honest women so called.

Finally, I will say a few words in general about the names given by the Jews in Egypt.

(1) Iakov Achilleos, nominato con altri sei custodi en tf Sarapio:. POxy 43. (Cfr. SCHURER III, p. 49).

(2) Vedi *Jewish Eticycl.,* sv *Palaeography.*
(3) GRIVBAU in *Rev. Guard. Chrét.* (1908) pp. 288 e ass.
(4) SOCR. SCHOL., *Hist. Ecclesiastes* 7 .1 3; GIOVANNI DI NIKIU, op. cit., ch. 84. (5) *Jer. Skipper,* 4, 2.
(6) In *C.-R. Ac. Inscr.* (1907) p. 235

Se uno studio sulla natura del nome è utile sempre, e in particolare per gli Ebrei, riflettendosi in esso le peculiari condizioni di esistenza in mezzo ai diversi popoli (1), tale studio si rende quasi indispensabile nel nostro campo, dove spesso un documento può riferirsi sicuramente a Ebrei dai nomi contenutivi, senza altri indizî; e d'altra parte sono di tante specie quelli usati, da indurre facilmente, qualora non si proceda con grande cautela, a conclusioni false.

Anzitutto va notato che ognuno aveva un nome ebraico, generalmente biblico; spesso poi ne adottava un altro usato in Egitto, anche uno teoforo pagano o persiano o egiziano o greco, combinato a volte con uno romano (2).

Al tempo romano, per adottare un nome gli Ebrei dovevano chiedere l'autorizzazione al funzionario addetto, l'*idiologo*. A volte veniva prescelto il nome di colui che aveva accordato la cittadinanza romana: così, nella famiglia di Filone, che l'aveva ottenuta da *Tiberio* o da *Nerone,* fu adottato quello di *Tiberio Giulio.*

Altre volte lo stesso nome ebraico era latinizzato o grecizzato, come Θεόδοτος (3) (che ricorre spesso in papiri e in iscrizioni) da *Nathan;* talora era invece cambiato in uno equivalente greco, in modo puramente arbitrario; per esempio, nell'Arsinoite, intorno al III sec. av. Cr., si ha il testamento di un certo Filone, figlio di Eraclide, che lascia dei legati a sua moglie, a sua figlia e anche ai suoi schiavi, fra i quali, sembra, è un Ebreo che si chiama Gionata in ebraico e Apollonio in greco: Ἀπολλ[ώνιον ?] παρεπίδημον ὃς καὶ Συριστὶ (4)

(1) Vedi le interessanti considerazioni sul nome, applicabili per qualunque paese della diaspora, svolte dal CASSUTO nell'opera *Gli Ebrei a Firenze nell'età del Rinascimento* (Firenze (1918) pp. 231 e segg.).

(2) Esempio di nome ebraico-romano: Ἰουλιάνου Εἴσαχ Αββίβου (*C.-R. Ac. Inscr.* (1905) p. 157; CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Rev. Arch. Or.* VII, p. 159); di nome egizio-romano: Βήσας Νόνου (CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Archaeol. res.* II, p. 145); di nome greco teoforo: Πτολεμαῖος Διονυσίου (*C. I. G.* 4838 *c*). Buoni elenchi, più o meno completi, di nomi ritenuti ebraici ricorrenti in documenti egiziani del nostro periodo, trovansi in SCHÜRER III, p. 45; *Archiv* III, p. 171, e V, p. 119; WESSELY, *Stud. Pal.* XIII, pp. 8-10; ACCORDI in *Studî Sc. Papir. Mil.* III (1920) pp. 28-29.

(3) Molto frequenti sono tra gli Ebrei i nomi con Θεός.

(4) A proposito di questa espressione, vedi più sopra dove parlo degli Ebrei nel *Villaggio dei Sirî.*

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If a study on the nature of the name is always useful, and in particular for the Jews, as the peculiar conditions of existence among different peoples are reflected in it (1), such a study becomes almost indispensable in our field, where often a document can certainly refer to Jews by the names contained therein, without other clues; and on the other hand, those used are of so many kinds that they easily lead to false conclusions, if one does not proceed with great caution.

First of all it should be noted that each had a Hebrew name, generally biblical ; he then often adopted another one used in Egypt*, even a pagan or Persian or Egyptian or Greek theophorus, sometimes combined with a Roman one (2).

In Roman times, to adopt a name the Jews had to ask for authorization from the official in charge, *Yidiologo.* Sometimes the name of the person who had granted Roman citizenship was chosen: thus, in the family of Philo, who had obtained it from *Tiberius* or *Nero,* that of *Tiberius Julius was adopted.*

Other times the same Hebrew name was Latinized or Greekized, such as ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** (3) (which often occurs in papyri and inscriptions) by *Nathan;* sometimes it was instead changed to a Greek equivalent, in a purely arbitrary way; for example, in

Arsinoite, around the 3rd century. av. Cr., we have the will of a certain Philo, son of Heraclides, who leaves legacies to his wife, his daughter and also to his slaves, among whom, it seems, is a Jew called Jonathan in Hebrew and Apol -lonium in Greek : ***ÿÿ·ÿÿÿ[ÿÿÿÿÿ ?] ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ» ÿÿ ÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ*** (4)

(1) See the interesting considerations on the name, applicable for any country of the diaspora, carried out by CASSUTO in the work *Gli Ebrei a Firenze nell'età del Rinascimento* (Florence (1918) pp. 231 and following).

(2) Esempio di nome ebraico-romano: Ioulianou, Eisak Avvivou *{C.-R.*
***Ac. Inscr.* (1905) p. 157; CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Rev. Arch. Or.* VII, p. 159); di nome Egyptian-**

Roman : ÿÿÿÿÿ ÿÿÿÿÿ (CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Archaeol. res.*
II, p. 145); di nome greco teoforo: Ptolemy of Dionysius (C. */. G.* 4838 *c).*
Good lists, more or less complete, of names believed to be Jewish recurring in Egyptian documents of our period, can be found in SCHÎIRER III, p. 45;
***Archiv* III, p. 171 e V , p . 11 9; WBSSELY, *Stud. Father* XIII, pp. 8-10; Agreed**
and *Study. Paper. Mil.* OR (1920) pp. 28-29.

(3) Names with ÿÿÿÿ'ÿ are very frequent among Jews.

(4) Regarding this expression, see above where I speak of the Jews in the

Village of the Syrians.

Ἰωνάθας [καλεῖται] (1); tale uso era naturalmente biasimato dai talmudisti.

L'aggiunta quasi costante della parola Ἰουδαῖος si rileva già nei documenti più antichi, ed era necessaria ad evitare confusione per possibili omonimie con non Ebrei. Ἑβρεῖος(-αῖος) ricorre solamente tardi, dal VI secolo d. Cr. in poi, e ne abbiamo esempî per l'Arsinoite (2) e per il Fayum (3); tanto più necessarie erano tali aggiunte, dato che anche i gentili avevano spesso nomi ebraici, e che molti nomi non ebraici erano simili a quelli veramente tali. Così Σίμων (4) può derivare dal greco σιμός; e Ἴσας, oltre che da Ἴσακ, può venire da *Iside* (5).

***

Con le notizie raccolte si può ricostruire, come abbiamo veduto, pressoché ogni aspetto della vita che gli Ebrei conducevano in Egitto nell'età ellenistica e romana; e poiché, nell'odierno fervore di ricerche che compiono le varie nazioni in nobile gara, vengono continuamente alla luce nuovi documenti — già mentre scrivo queste righe, molto probabilmente si stanno scoprendo e delucidando nuovi testi, dai quali potranno esser tratte altre notizie — non è certo avventato l'affermare che fra qualche tempo sarà possibile di ricostruire sicuramente nella sua interezza la vita pubblica e privata, così intensa, così multiforme, degli Ebrei d'Egitto.

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(1) PPetrie II, p. 23 $_{15}$ (238-7 av. Cr.).

(2) PLond. 113 (I, p. 223). Vedi Accordi in *Studî Sc. Papir. Mil.* III (1920) p. 23. Cfr. l'Ἑβραιστί del PLond. 46 (I, p. 80).

(3) *Mitteil. PReiner.* II, p. 263.

(4) Ad esempio, i due individui così nominati nel papiro 9 del Museo di Alessandria (*Archiv* I, p. 173) secondo alcuni non sono Ebrei, non sembrando probabile che questi occupassero al tempo del I Tolemeo, cioè nel III sec. av. Cr., le cariche amministrative citate nel papiro, che contiene una lettera di un certo Tolemeo al re.

(5) Per altre osservazioni sui nomi, vedi via via le note nel corso di questo riassunto; cfr. inoltre Juster II, pp. 223-229 e Schubart in *Archiv* V, p. 119.

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Iona'5-as [called] (1) ; tale uso era naturalmente biasimato dai talmudisti.

(48);

The almost constant addition of the word ÿÿ ÿ ÿ ÿ ÿÿ ÿ can already be found in the most ancient documents, and was necessary to avoid confusion due to possible homonyms with non-Jews. it ***ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ{-*** occurs only late, from the 6th century AD. Cr. ***ÿÿÿÿ)*** onwards, and we have examples for Arsinoite (2) and for Fayum (3) ; Such additions were all the more necessary, given that

Gentiles also often had Jewish names, and that many non-Jewish names were similar to the truly Jewish ones. Thus ***ÿÿÿÿÿ*** **(4)** can

n
derive from the Greek ***ÿÿÿÿÿ;*** and **ÿÿÿÿ,** as well as from

n**ÿÿÿÿ,** can come from *Isis* (5).

With the information collected it is possible to reconstruct, as we

have seen, almost every aspect of the life that the Jews led in Egypt

in the Hellenistic and Roman ages; and since, in today's fervor of

research carried out by the various nations in noble competition, new

documents continually come to light - even as I write these lines,

new texts are most likely being discovered and elucidated, from which

they can be drawn other news - it is certainly not rash to state that in some time it will be possible to certainly reconstruct in its entirety the

public and private life, so intense, so multifaceted, of the Jews of Egypt.

(1) PPetrie II, p. 23 15 (238-7 of. Cr.).

(2) PLond. 113 (I, p. 223). See AGREEMENTS in *Se Studies. Papir. Mil.* III (1920) p. 23. Cf. 1' Hebrew del PLond. 46 (I, p. 80).

(3) *Notice. PReiner.* II, p. 263.
_(4) For example, the two individuals so named in papyrus 9 of the Museum of

Alexandria *(Archiv* I, p. 173) according to some are not Jews, as it does not seem probable that they occupied the time of the 1st Ptolemy, i.e. in the 3rd century. av. Cr., the administrative positions mentioned in the papyrus, which contains a letter from a certain Ptolemy to the king.

(5) For other observations on names, see the notes throughout this summary; see also JUSTER II, pp. 223-229 and SCHUBART in *Archiv* IN, p. 119 .

E siccome essa non ha un valore limitato e ristretto, ma, per gli scambî e i contatti continui con gli Egiziani, coi Greci e coi Romani, ogni ricerca relaiiva agli Ebrei apporta automaticamente un contributo alla maggiore conoscenza di questioni generali che interessano la storia egiziana, la ellenistica e la romana, tutti gli studiosi devono cooperare alla ricostruzione del quadro meraviglioso che offre la vita di questo popolo, il quale anche tra civiltà già avanzate contribuiva, con le doti innate della propria intelligenza e della propria operosità, integrando le qualità delle genti fra le quali abitava, a rendere più rapidi i passi del progresso umano.

Firenze.

ALDO NEPPI MODONA.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE LYON SALOMON-REINACH

Estratto da *Aegyptus* anno III, n. 1-2 (1922).

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And since it does not have a limited and restricted value, but, due to the exchanges and continuous contacts with the Egyptians, the Greeks and the Romans, every research relating to the Jews automatically makes a contribution to the greater knowledge of general questions affecting Egyptian history, the Hellenistic and the Roman, all scholars must cooperate in the reconstruction of the wonderful picture that the life of this people offers, who even among already advanced civilizations contributed, with the innate qualities of their intelligence and their industriousness, integrating the qualities of the people among whom he lived, to make the steps of human progress more rapid.

Florence.

Estrato da *Aegyptus* anno 3, n. 1-2 (1922).

ALD OR NEPP I MODONA„

ERRATA-CORRIGE.

Pag. 253 nota, riga 2: « le più importanti » — alcune.
» 255 riga 2: « molti » — alcuni.
» 265 righe 17-18: togliere « trattato ebraico del ».
» 266 riga 25: « ai precedenti » — al precedente.
» 266 nota 5: togliere « oppure חנית e ».
» 275 nota 3: premettere « *I Sam. 25, 29** ».

Milano, 1922 - Tip. Pont. ed Arciv. S. Giuseppe, via S. Calocero, 9

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CORRECTS.

Page 253 note, line 2: « the most important » – some* » 255 line 2: « many » – some. » 265 lines 17-18: remove "Jewish treatise of".
» 266 line 25: « to the previous ones » — to the previous one. » 266 note 5: remove « or ÿ>3ÿ e» .

» 275 note 3: preface « / *Sam. 25,* 29°".

Milan, 1922 - Typ. Pont, and Archv. S. Giuseppe, via S. Calocero, *9*

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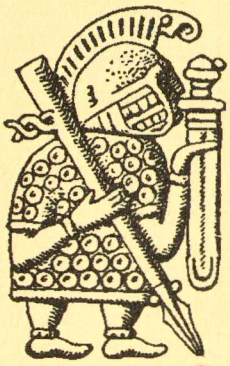

FORNVÄNNEN

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A Semitic origin of some runes
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A Semitic origin of some runes

An influential foreign presence in Denmark c. AD 200

By John Troeng

Troeng, J. 2003. A Semitic origin of some runes. An influential foreign presence in Denmark c. AD 200. (Ett semitiskt ursprung till vissa runor. Inflytelserika främlingar i Danmark ca 200 e.Kr.) *Fornvännen* 98. Stockholm.

Though most Germanic runes probably derive from Latin letters, some of them cannot be convincingly derived from that source. At least five runes are better explained as originating from letters of the Nabatean variety of the Aramaic Semitic alphabet. The Nabatean kingdom comprised approximately present-day Jordan and the Sinai, was occupied by the Romans in AD 106 and then became the province of Roman Arabia. A thousand archers recruited from Roman Arabia were stationed on the *limes* at Straubing in Bavaria in about AD 125–200. Professional soldiers from the Roman army appeared in Denmark about AD 200 and thoroughly reorganised the society. The earliest runic inscriptions date to about AD 200 and were closely connected with the professional soldiers. These probably included archers from Straubing.

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Introduction

The runic alphabet, the *futhark*, was used in most Germanic areas. The earliest clearly runic inscriptions are mainly from Denmark and date to the first half of the 3rd century AD, though one of them may be from c. AD 160. About AD 750 the *futhark* was thoroughly revised, and this paper will refer only to the older *futhark* when it says runes, runic alphabet etc.

No runological problem is as controversial as the origin of the *futhark* (Odenstedt 1990, p. 146). Attempts have been made to derive it from the Latin, Greek and North Italian alphabets. None of these can explain the forms and sound values of all the runes satisfactorily. Any assumption of more than the slightest development of runic form (such as inversion or slanting of a horizontal line) from mother letter to posited runic heir opens up a floodgate of possibilities and should not be accepted (Williams 1995, p. 189–190). The same strictness is desirable also regarding the sound values of the runes.

The letters of the archaic Greek script are more similar to runes than are the Greek letters of the 2nd century AD (Morris 1988, p. 151–154). The time gap of some 500–700 years to the earliest runic inscription, however, makes this comparison anachronistic and untenable (Odenstedt 1991). There is also a long geographical distance between the Germanic areas and the areas of the archaic Greek script.

Some runes are identical in form and sound

value to letters found in one or another of the alphabets that were used in North Italy before the area was Romanised (Marstrander 1928, p. 87). Among these, the Sondrio and Lugano alphabets have the greatest number of letters similar to runes, but the model alphabet of the *futhark* must have been more Romanised than any of these alphabets (Hammarström 1930). For an alphabet in North Italy to have become further Romanised, it would have required a strong Roman presence in the area. This would have made it unlikely that one of the subjugated local tribes could have provided the model of the *futhark* (Odenstedt 1990, p. 150). There is also a geographical gap between the North Italian inscriptions south of the Alps and the Germanic peoples north of the Danube, and an even wider gap between the North Italian inscriptions and the area of the earliest runic inscriptions.

The North Italian theory has been revived and underpinned by an attempt to explain the *futhark* sequence by manipulations of a 26-letter long proto-Tyrrhenian or North-Etruscan alphabet from the 7th century BC (Seebold 1986, p. 541–548; 1993; Mees 2000). These manipulations include removal of two letters from the original alphabet, change of the sound values of some letters, change of the forms of some letters, pairing of runes, and reordering of the pairs of runes. The pairing of the runes follows a freely invented and rather arbitrary scheme that is very different from the regular Atbash scheme referred to. The reorganisation of the sequence of rune-pairs follows another specially invented scheme that is similarly unwarranted and not as regular as claimed. Such a sequence of *ad hoc* manipulations proves nothing. Calculations would be needed to prove that the manipulations have a significant degree of regularity.

The theories of an exclusively Latin origin of the *futhark* usually presume that some Scandinavian merchant or soldier went to the Roman Empire, learnt the Latin script, invented a new script, and introduced reading and writing on arrival back home (Moltke 1976, p. 57–58, Rüger 1998). Romans who came to Germanic areas would hardly have created a new script but would rather have used the Latin one.

There are two major objections to the idea that a Scandinavian brought the script to Scandinavia. Firstly, scripts are generally not dispersed in this way. Barbarian merchants and soldiers were in close contact with the Egyptian and Chinese civilisations for centuries and millennia without ever establishing reading and writing in their own countries. Africans and American Indians whose contacts with European civilisation were limited to trade with travel ling merchants never modified the European scripts for their own needs. The art of reading and writing was efficiently dispersed only when those who were literate since childhood settled in new areas as merchants, colonialists or missionaries. The well known Cherokee script was developed in Georgia only in the 19th century, when Georgia was a state led by Americans of European descent. The Easter Island *rongorongo* was invented without European settlement on the island. It is, however, not a true script but only a graphic representation of a highly limited corpus of rhetorical statements (Fischer 2003, p. 290–291).

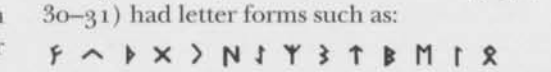
Secondly, there is no indication of Scandinavian soldiers in the Roman army before the runic script had appeared in Scandinavia. Arminius, of the Germanic *Cherusci* tribe between the Weser and the Elbe, was trained in the Roman army only because the *Cherusci* had been subjugated to the Romans. After having been defeated at Kalkriese by Arminius' coalition of Germanic tribes in AD 9, the Roman army did not venture into Germanic areas much beyond the Rhine and shun from employing Germanic soldiers for a long time. Men of Germanic descent were recruited as soldiers to the auxiliary troops of the Roman army already in the 2nd century AD, but these Germanic soldiers came from tribes settled in the Roman provinces and had to be Romanised before being recruited (Alföldy 1968, p. 136–163). *Vita Marci* states that gladiators, mountain tribes in Dalmatia, Greek country constables, and Germanic soldiers were recruited to the army during the Marcomannic wars, AD 166–180 (Lennartz 1969, p. 161). Because the Germanic soldiers

are mentioned in this context they seem to have been rather few. There were deserters from the *Marcomanni*, the *Quadi*, and perhaps other Germanic tribes participating in the Marcomannic wars (ibid., p. 190), and the Germanic soldiers may have been recruited from this group. Soldiers recruited from these tribes would probably not have settled in Scandinavia after having served in the Roman army. Scandinavians who knew neither the local tongue nor Latin, the language of command, would not have been recruited even if they had, somehow, travelled through the territories of different German tribes to reach the *limes*. The *vexillationes* units that were introduced by the end of the 2nd century could also be recruited from client tribes in the border area (Schutz 1985, p. 26–27). Because there is no evidence of client tribes in Scandinavia, it is very unlikely that any Scandinavian soldiers had served in the Roman army when the runes appeared in Scandinavia at the beginning of the 3rd century AD.

It may be concluded that the many attempts to derive the runic alphabet from the Latin, Greek, and North Italian alphabets have not been successful. It may therefore be asked what other alphabets might have been the model of the runic alphabet. Iberia had its own alphabets but they were never used near any Germanic area and are not attested to have been used after the 1st century BC. Because no further alphabet is known to have been used by any European people in Roman times, an alternative model of the runic alphabet has to be sought outside Europe.

Roman army auxiliaries from Africa and Asia who were stationed on the *limes* in Europe in the 2nd century AD are presumably the only people who may have provided a non-European model for the runic script. There were auxiliaries from the provinces of Mauretania, Africa proconsularis, Syria, and Roman Arabia on the *limes* in Europe (Stein 1932). They may all have used Semitic scripts.

Morris (1988, p. 157) found that the appearance of the runes suggests that they could derive from some Semitic alphabet. An Aramaic Semitic script was the model of the Turkish runic alphabet in Central Asia (Haussig 1985, p. 81–85). This alphabet (V. Thomsen 1919, p. 30–31) had letter forms such as:



These letters were probably not related to the Germanic runes, but they indicate that rune-like forms may have developed from the much more rounded forms of Aramaic letters.

Non-representation of double letters, writing of words without spacing, and variable direction of writing in early runic inscriptions are features that were advanced as arguments for the Greek theory vs. the Latin theory (Morris 1988, p. 125–139). In defence of the Latin theory these features were explained as independently invented for the runic script or as a result of the runic script being primitive (Odenstedt 1991, p. 383–384). Recourse to such *ad hoc* explanations is not necessary to escape acceptance of the Greek theory. Double letters are not represented in the Nabatean Aramaic script (Cantineau 1930, p. 37). Consecutive writing is normal in the Nabatean script and other Semitic scripts. Most Semitic scripts are written from right to left. The variable direction of writing in early runic inscriptions could perhaps be explained by the runic script being based on two scripts with different directions of writing. Three features of the runic script that were forwarded as arguments for the Greek theory may thus instead be used as arguments for a Semitic theory.

The runic alphabet is the only European alphabet known to have had meaningful letter names such as the Semitic alphabets have. The name of the first rune, *fehu* "cattle", and the name of the first Semitic letter, *alef* "ox", have practically the same meaning (Rasmussen 1990, p. 121). This supports the idea that a Semitic alphabet was at least one of the models of the runic alphabet.

It would not be unique for the runic alphabet to be based on more than one alphabet. The Iberian type of alphabet that emerged in 800–500 BC was based on both the Phoenician alphabet and the Greek alphabet (Untermann 1987). The first alphabet for a Slavonic language, the Glagolithic alphabet from the 9th century AD, had Semitic letters, Greek letters, and Christian symbols as models (*Nationalencyklo-*

pedin 1992:7, p. 498). Though the Iberian and Glagolithic alphabets were based both on Semitic and Greek alphabets, there is no evidence that a mixed Semitic-Greek alphabet ever existed.

Among the leading Semitic alphabets used in the first centuries AD there were the Jewish (Hebrew) script used by the Jewish diaspora and the Nabatean Aramaic script used in Roman Arabia, approximately the area of modern Jordan and the Sinai (Hooker 1996, p. 236–242). The Nabatean script has been seen as a forerunner of the Arabic script (ibid., p. 246). Runes difficult to explain from Latin letters appear more similar to Nabatean letters than to other Semitic letters.

Nabatean models of some runes

Most runes have their forms and sound values well explained by Latin letters (table 1). The arguments for the derivation of the runes from Latin capitals have most recently been elaborated by Odenstedt (1990) and Williams (1996). The inventor of the runes may have been more likely, however, to have been confronted with the cursive Latin writing of e.g. graffiti and military diplomas than the Latin capitals displayed on stone monuments (Quak 1996, p. 172). The Latin cursives ᚨ *a*, ᚺ *h*, ᚾ *n*, ᛊ *s*, ᛚ *l*, and ᛟ *o* from the first two centuries (Thompson 1912, p. 335–337) may explain better than Latin capitals the forms of the runes. The sound value of runic ᛇ is contested but usually thought to be i. No Latin capital can explain the combination of form and sound value of runic ᛇ i, but *cursive Latin* Z *y* can do it. Nevertheless, some runes are best derived from Latin capitals, e.g. the problematic runic ᛜ is best derived from Latin Q *q* which is close in both form and sound value.

The runes, ᚷ *g* / 3, ᚹ *w*, ᛄ *j*, ᛈ *p*, ᛉ *z*, ᛖ *e*, ᛞ ð have been difficult to explain by derivation from Latin letters.

Runic ᚦ θ has usually been thought to derive from Latin D *d* but neither the forms nor the sound values are quite similar. It is also strange that the ᚦ-rune and not the *d*-rune would have the form of Latin D. Nabatean 𐢦 t^{s} (Hooker 1996, p. 248) better explains that runic ᚦ has a stem that reaches above and below its pocket. It also better explains that ᚦ represents a voiceless dental consonant.

Runic ᚹ *w* and ᛉ *z* were proposed to have been modelled on Latin P and Y, but there was no good explanation for their sound values (Odenstedt 1990, p. 163–166; Williams 1996, p. 215–216). Nabatean ᚹ *w* and 𐢩 *ʃ* (Hooker 1996, p. 247) instead may well explain the forms and –sound values of runic ᚹ *w* and ᛉ *z*. It has been presupposed that the original runic forms were angular such as ᚠ *w* (Odenstedt 1990 p. 159), but this assumption is not warranted (Williams 1992, p. 200–201; Barnes 1994, p. 17–18; Odenstedt personal communication).

The *g*-rune, ᛪ , has the form of Latin X *ks* but seems to have denoted *g* (e.g. Williams 1996, p. 214) or 3 (e.g. Odenstedt 1990 p. 160–167). Nabatean 𐢤 seems to have denoted both *g* and ϒ (Cantineau 1930 p. 39; Hooker 1996 p. 247). It has a sound value similar to the *g*-rune and may have developed into the *g*-rune's form when inscribed in e.g. wood.

Runic ᛄ *j* has been proposed to derive from capital Latin G *g* (Odenstedt 1990 p. 160, 165; Williams 1996:), but 2nd-century cursive Latin ʃ *g* is more similar in form to the *j*-rune. The difference in sound value between the rune and the proposed Latin model letter is remarkable, however. In the Latin script the *j*-sound was denoted by I *i*, and it is unclear why this letter was not used to denote the *j*-sound, had the *j*-rune been derived from the Latin script (Odenstedt 1990 p. 65). Nabatean 𐢥 *j*, *i* (Hooker 1997, p. 248) provides the best explanation of the combination of form and sound value that constitutes the *j*-rune.

Runic ᛈ *p* has usually been seen as a coinage, but has also been derived from Latin B *b* or K *k* (Odenstedt 1990, p. 160, 166; Williams 1996, p. 214). Cursive Latin ⊏ *p* (Prou 1910, p. 58) is closer in both form and sound value. Nabatean 𐢪 *p*, *f* (Cantineau 1930, p. 30, 38; al-Theeb 1993, p. 177) is also more similar in form and sound value to runic ᛈ *p*.

Runic ᛖ or ᛗ *e* has usually been thought to derive from capital Latin E (Odenstedt 1990, p. 97–101). This derivation is based on questionable theories about why the form

Latin letters			Nabatean letters		Runic alphabet	
Capital	Cursive	Sound value	Form	Sound value	Form	Sound value
F		f			ᚠ	f
V		u, v			ᚢ	u
D		d	ᚦ	tˢ	ᚦ	θ
A	ᚨ	a			ᚨ	a
R		r			ᚱ	r
C	ᚲ	k			ᚲ	k
X		ks	ᚷ	g, ɣ	ᚷ	g/ʒ
P		p	ᚹ	w	ᚹ	w
					ᚹ	w
H	ᚺ	h			ᚺ	h
N	ᚾ	n			ᚾ	n
I		i			ᛁ	i
G	ᛃ	g	ᛃ	j, i	ᛃ	j
Y	ᛄ	y			ᛄ	ɨ (?)
Z		z				
B		b	ᛈ	p, f	ᛈ	p
K		k				
P	ᛈ	p				
Y		y	ᛉ	ʃ	ᛉ	z
S	ᛋ	s			ᛋ	s
T		t			ᛏ	t
B		b			ᛒ	b
E	ᛖ	e	ᛖ	h, a, e	ᛖ	e
M		m			ᛗ	e
M		m	ᛗ	m	ᛗ	m
L	ᛚ	l	ᛚ	l	ᛚ	l
Q		k			ᛜ	ŋ
D		d			ᛞ	ð
O	ᛟ	o			ᛟ	o

Table 1. Latin letters, Nabatean letters, and the runic alphabet —Latinska bokstäver, nabateiska bokstäver och runalfabetet

would have changed. Runic ᛖ *e* has alternatively and without proper regard to its sound value been derived from Latin M *m* (Williams 1996, p. 214–216). Cursive Latin \\ *e* (Thompson 1912, p. 335) is close to the *e*-rune in both form and sound value. Nabatean 𐢇 (Naveh 1982, p. 137) is almost identical in form to the *e*-rune. In the consonantal Nabatean script it represented primarily *h* but was also used for representation of *e* and *a* (Cantineau 1930, p. 46–47). It seems more likely, however, that runic ᛖ e derives from a letter that primarily represented the *e*-sound and at the same time was close in form to the *e*-rune, i.e. from cursive Latin \\ *e*.

Runic ᛚ *l* has usually been derived from Latin L *l*. Nabatean 𐢆 *l* (Naveh 1982, p. 156) is somewhat closer in form and may instead have been the model of the *l*-rune.

Runic ᛞ ð has usually been seen as a coinage, possibly from doubling of runic ᚦ θ or Latin D *d* (Odenstedt 1990, p. 160–164; Williams 1996, p. 216). This derivation also requires an explanation why the resulting rune was not ᚦᚦ. No Latin or Nabatean letter can satisfactorily explain the form of runic ᛞ ð.

Latin M has usually been seen as the sole model of runic ᛗ *m* (Odenstedt 1990, p. 160–167). If also Nabatean 𐢌 *m* (Cantineau 1930, p. 29) influenced the form of runic ᛗ *m*, this form is better explained.

Since most runes derive from Latin letters, it may be asked why not all runes had Latin model letters. Only for the ᚦ-, *w*-, and *j*-runes and perhaps for the *g*-rune can the use of Nabatean models be explained by there being no Latin letters with the proper sound values.

Nabatean letters may have been used as models of *þ*- and *z*-runes and perhaps the *m*-rune because the (capital) Latin letters of these runes were too similar in form to other runes. If the sound value of runic ᛈ *þ* had been denoted by capital Latin P *þ* this rune would have become almost identical to runic ᚹ *w*. The cursive of this Latin letter or a Nabatean letter may therefore have been used instead. If Latin Z had denoted the *z*-sound this rune would have become too close in form to runic ᛁ i (?). Because Latin M *m* was very similar to runic ᛗ *e*, a different form may have been needed to denote the *m*-sound.

It is more difficult to say why Nabatean models would have been chosen for runic 𐢇 *e* and ᛚ *l*. Because horizontal lines were avoided in runes (Odenstedt 1990, p. 158), Latin E *e* may have been less suitable to denote the *e*-sound than Nabatean 𐢇 *h, a, e*. The horizontal arm of Latin L *l* may similarly have made this letter less suitable than Nabatean 𐢆 *l*.

Forms and sound values thus indicate that some runes probably derive from Nabatean model letters. It must then be asked how letters of the Nabatean alphabet used in Roman Arabia may have become models of certain runes in northern Europe. Only people of Nabatean descent are likely to have known the Nabatean letters well enough to use them for an alphabet.

Nabateans on the limes at Straubing in Bavaria

The wealth of the Nabateans was based on control of the long-distance trade between Mesopotamia and Egypt and between South Arabia and the Mediterranean coast, as well as on participation in the lucrative Mediterranean trade (Glueck 1966, p. 346). Nabatean inscriptions in Europe have been found in the Greek archipelago, at Puteoli near Naples, and in Rome (Wenning 1987, p. 22–23). After AD 106, when the Romans had turned the Nabatean kingdom into a province called Roman Arabia, soldiers of Nabatean origin began to be recruited into the Roman army (Bowersock 1983, p. 76, 107–108). Two cohorts recruited there were stationed on the *limes* in Germany (Walke 1965, p. 55–56). The cohort that will turn out to be of particular interest is described below.

The *Canatha* cohort of 1,000 archers was recruited from Hauran in Roman Arabia and came to Straubing (*Sorviodurum*) in Bavaria some time in AD 121–128 (Walke 1965, p. 55–56, 83–87). *Canatha* (modern El-Qanawat) was only 40 kilometres north of Bostra, the provincial capital of Roman Arabia (Bowersock 1983, p. 101–106). Though *Canatha* was not actually located in Roman Arabia at that time but a few kilometres north of the border with Syria (Bowersock 1983, p. 66, 103, 114–115), the *Canatha* cohort was probably mainly of Nabatean ori-

gin. When the cohort was in Bavaria, it probably received a continuing flow of recruits from Roman Arabia (Keppie 1984, p. 185). Military diplomas indicate that the *Canatha* cohort was still at Straubing in AD 166, but such diplomas are lacking from later periods (Stein 1932, p. 80, 286; Kellner 1971, p. 67).

Crafts were well developed at Straubing. Many woodworking tools such as iron saws, iron chisels, an iron wedge, and an iron plane have been found in the remains of the fort there (Keim and Klumbach 1951, p. 37–40). There was an unusual amount of bronze casting taking place for an auxiliary vicus (Walke 1965, p. 86).

Nearly one hundred bone and iron pencils (*stili*) and almost as many graffiti on pottery found at Straubing indicate unusually intensive writing for an auxiliary camp (Walke 1965, p. 58). The pencils usually had a pointed end for writing in wax and an opposite broad end for erasing inscriptions in wax (Kellner 1971, p. 103). Some of the iron pencils found at Straubing are peculiar in that the non-pointed end is not broad and splayed out but broad and tapering like a chisel and with an asymmetric edge (Walke 1965, p. 58, Tafel 112:1–2). Because a chisel end was less functional for erasing inscriptions in wax, it is not satisfactory to explain the chisel ends only as a whim of the workshop. Chisel ends are suitable for making short straight scores in wood, e.g. when inscribing runiform letters. The peculiar pencils found at Straubing may thus have been made for inscription of Latin or runic letters in wood.

No true runic inscription has been found at Straubing, but non-Latin rune-like forms occur in some of the Latin inscriptions there. Graffiti on pottery has ᚲ *k*, ᛊ *s*, and ᛟ *o*, (Walke 1965, Tafel 146–147). Bronze armour with Latin inscriptions has ᚲ *k* and ᛏ *t* (Keim and Klumbach 1951, p. 16, 20, fig. 13, 16). No comparable number of rune-like characters is known from any other Roman site of the 2nd century AD.

An old north–south trade route from the upper Elbe and the Bohemian basin crossed the upper Danube at Straubing. This trade route was important already in the late Neolithic and there was an *oppidum* at Straubing in the Celtic era (Walke 1965, p. 80). This was succeeded by a Roman fort in whose vicinity bronze, iron, wood, leather and cloth were worked (Walke 1965, p. 50–63). As the Nabatean wealth had been based on control of long-distance trade, auxiliaries of the *Canatha* cohort may also have been interested in engaging in the long-distance trade from Straubing.

The Roman army units at the *limes* normally got their supplies from their own provinces and sometimes also from nearby areas on the other side of the *limes* (Junkelmann 1997, p. 52–54, 73–85). By the end of the 2nd century AD the ongoing change to a wetter and colder climate in Central Europe accelerated and resulted regularly in poor harvests (Zabehlicky 1994). In the late 2nd century the population in the area of Straubing seems to have decreased drastically, possibly as the result of pest (Junkelmann 1997, p. 188). Then the Roman forces at the *limes* in south Germany probably could not get necessary supplies from the Roman hinterlands or nearby Germanic areas. They may have had better chances to find them in more distant Germanic areas (Lund Hansen 1995, p. 431–435). Auxiliaries may have had worse living conditions than legionaries, and those from the Near East would have had great difficulties in returning home when dissatisfied. Dissatisfied soldiers may have revolted and gone plundering as a result of the economic crisis (ibid., p. 435). If the *Canatha* cohort had heard about the trade route to Scandinavia they may have gone there to seek a living.

The Roman military presence at Straubing may be traced in the numbers of coins found there from different periods. While there are 1–3 coins from each of the emperors in the 1st century AD before the Roman fort had been established shortly after AD 76, the number is some 20–50 coins from most of the emperors in the period AD 81–211 (Walke 1965, p. 74, 80). As many as 24 coins of Septimius Severus (AD 193–211) have been found at Straubing, but only 0–2 coins from each of the subsequent emperors of the 3rd century (Walke 1965, p. 74). Of eleven coins found at Straubing that are thought to have been hidden, nine were struck for Septimius Severus (ibid..). These coin finds are best explained by unrest and the

termination of the military occupation of the fort at Straubing in AD 193–211 or shortly afterwards. The Canatha cohort thus seems to have left Straubing in this period.

Professional soldiers and reorganisation in Denmark from about AD 200

After c. AD 200 there were professional soldiers in Denmark, and war there reached hitherto unknown proportions and became much more bloodthirsty (Hedeager 1992, p. 92, 170, 22). Retainers seem to have served local chieftains in Denmark from c.. AD 200 on (Crumlin-Pedersen 1991, p. 42). Estates and powerful landlords seem to have emerged in Denmark in the 3rd century AD (Hedeager 1992, p. 199–201; Thrane & Porsmose 1996, p. 171–172). Hundreds, jurisdictional districts, were established in Denmark c. AD 200, probably by soldiers who had been in Roman service (Hedeager 1992, p. 189, 231, 248–249).

The new ownership of the land was accompanied by the introduction of innovations in land use, animal husbandry, and food production. Scythes for haymaking appeared in Scandinavia in the 3rd century AD (Pedersen & Widgren 1998, p. 358). Enclosed pastureland began to appear in Denmark and Eastern Sweden in c. AD 200 (Thrane & Porsmose 1996, p. 171–172; Pedersen & Widgren 1998, p. 292–306). Sheep and horse breeding seems to have emerged in Scandinavia in the 3rd century AD (Hedeager 1992, p. 160–161; Pedersen & Widgren 1998, p. 368). The earliest finds in Scandinavia of rotary querns, clay hearths, baking ovens and bread all date to c. AD 200 (Pedersen & Widgren 1998, p. 401).

About the same time specialised craftsmen and sites for crafts and trade emerged in Scandinavia (Storgaard 2003, p. 109). These were associated with the introduction of innovations in iron extraction, forging, and weaving (ibid.). Roman-standard carpentry seems to have been introduced about AD 200. A wooden plane was deposited at Vimose (Engelhardt 1869, p. 28). This tool from c. AD 200 is the earliest of its type in Scandinavia. Barrels appeared in Scandinavia as a high-status novelty after c. AD 200 (Lund Hansen 1995, p. 233–235). There were two-wheel carts in Denmark already in the Late Neolithic, but the earliest evidence of four-wheel wagons in Scandinavia is from the 3rd century AD (Pedersen & Widgren 1998, p. 338–339). A clinker-built ship found at Nydam in Jutland and dendrochronologically dated to c. AD 190 is the oldest true-clinker built vessel localised in northern Europe (Rieck 2003, p. 299).

There is no archaeological or historical evidence of sails among Germanic people in the Iron Age before the 8th century (Hårdh 1985, p. 182–183). A direct sea trade route was established, however, between the Danish Isles and the lower Rhine in c. AD 200 (Lund Hansen 1995, p. 385–388). This trade route with circumnavigation of most of Jutland would hardly have been viable without the use of sails. The earliest developed harbour in Scandinavia was established at Lundeborg on Funen in c. AD 200 (Jensen 1991, p. 133–135).

The Lundeborg site has evidence of the working not only of iron and bronze but also of silver, gold, and glass (P.O. Thomsen 1991, p. 138–140). This is the earliest Scandinavian evidence of silver and gold working. A measuring stick and scale pans have been found at Vimose on Funen (Engelhardt 1869, p. 30, 33). These finds of measuring gear are among the very earliest ones in Scandinavia and date to c. AD 200. Coins and gold to be used as payment have also been found at Lundeborg (J. Jensen 1991, p. 135, 140). A hierarchical system of long-distance trade centres emerged in Denmark in c. AD 200 when Roman objects arrived directly as trade goods from the lower Rhine to a leading long-distance trade centre in the Danish Isles (Lund Hansen 1995, p. 385–388).

Many innovations in technology and economy emerged in Denmark c. AD 200 according to the archaeological record. Innovations that appeared in other parts of Scandinavia at the same time but are not attested in Denmark at this early date probably also occurred in Denmark as it was the gateway to Scandinavia from the Continent and the Roman Empire. All these innovations occurred in the Roman Empire before they came to Denmark.

Storgaard proposed that the strong Roman

influences in Denmark and the Roman weapons in Denmark in c. AD 200 were the result of Zealand being a client or buffer state favoured by Roman supplies (2001). It is questionable, however, what attacks on the Empire a client state in Zealand would have been able to ward off. It is incredible that the Empire would have supported a distant Germanic group or area at a time when it seems to have been unable to provide necessary supplies for its own army in Roman parts of south Germany. Storgaard also argued that the aristocrats buried at Himlingøje in Zealand in about AD 200–250 would be of a dynasty that had ruled there since before the Marcomannic wars (2003, p. 112–120). They were, however, not buried according to the local tradition. The aristocrats of the 3rd century were interred in graves no longer visible in the landscape at a place where there had cremation burials under mounds in the 2nd century (Lund Hansen 1995, p. 191–195). The two male aristocrats interred at Himlingøje in the 3rd century also differed from those cremated there in the 2nd century in being remarkably gracile and among the tallest and most gracile males from the Iron Age in Denmark (Sellevold 1995). Storgaard has little archaeological support of his hypothesis that local people supported by the Roman Empire would have led the reorganisation that began in Denmark in about AD 200. This reorganisation was rather led by newcomers.

One thousand professional soldiers in chain mail, armed with long bows and damascened swords and mounted on horses or attacking in boats from the sea would have had the military strength to seize power in the whole of Denmark. In a much later conquest less than two hundred Spanish soldiers with only thirty horses managed to gain control of the Inca Empire.

The earliest runic inscriptions and their context

There are about 21 runic inscriptions that have been dated to AD 200/220–250/260 (in fact, phase C1b of the Roman Iron Age in northern Europe, but the corresponding dates AD are instead given in this paper; Krause and Jankuhn 1966; Ilkjær 1990, p. 324–325; Lund Hansen 1995, p. 17–18; Stoklund 1995). A fibula found at Meldorf north of Hamburg and dated to the 1st century AD has inscribed characters similar to runes, but they may be Latin characters or just decoration (Düwel and Gebühr 1981). A two-layer bone comb found at Vimose on Funen has a runic inscription, and the few finds of this type of comb have been dated to c. AD 70–160 (Ilkjær 1990, p. 324–325; 1993, p. 297, 312, 376). Dating the inscription by such a typological dating of the comb is a questionable procedure. The rune-inscribed spearheads found at Øvre Stabu in Norway and at Mos in Gotland have previously been thought to date from the 2nd century AD, but they were associated with objects belonging to the period AD 200/220–250/260 (Ilkjær & Lønstrup 1982a, p. 58–59). There is no incontestable evidence of any runic inscription earlier than AD 200/220 (Stoklund 1995, p. 318).

Apart from single finds from Norway, Scania and Gotland, all runic inscriptions from the period AD 200/220–250/260 are from Denmark and the bog site of Thorsbjerg in Germany very near the Danish border. These runic inscriptions are from rich graves and from war booty depositions at e.g. Thorsbjerg and Vimose (Stoklund 1995). The runic inscriptions from war booty depositions were mainly carved on the weapons of professional soldiers. All five runic inscriptions from rich graves in Denmark from the period AD 200/220–250/260 are on gilt silver rosette fibulae (ibid.).

The rosette fibulae of Denmark are so similar that they may come from a single workshop (Lund Hansen 1995, p. 213). Lundeborg is the only place in Denmark where silver is known to have been worked in the period AD 200/220–250/260. The nearby cemetery of Møllegårdsmarken is the largest Iron Age cemetery in Denmark. It has about 1400 graves from the Roman Iron Age, only three of them being inhumation graves (Albrechtsen 1971; Stilborg 1997, p. 47–49). All the silver rosette fibulae with runic inscriptions come from inhumation graves (Werner 1988). Wet sieving has shown that many of the cremation graves at Møllegårdsmarken contained melted droplets of silver and gold (Stilborg 1997, p. 48–49; Thrane 1998, p. 221). It may thus be that silver fibulae

with runic inscriptions were destroyed in the funeral pyres at Møllegårdsmarken (Thrane 1998, p. 222).

An iron knife with a runic inscription has been found at Møllegårdsmarken in a cremation grave dated to c. AD 240–320 (Lund Hansen 1995, p. 18; Stoklund 1995, p. 340). Because iron knives are less likely than silver fibulae to have been objects of long-distance trade, this inscription is a particularly good indication of the early knowledge of the runic script in southeast Funen.

Lundeborg is unique in Scandinavia with its homogeneous occupation layer and absence of normal aisled houses. Weights, coins, gold to be used as payments, glass beads, shards of Roman glass drinking vessels and *Terra sigillata* pottery indicate that goods were directly imported to Lundeborg and then redistributed (P.O. Thomsen 1991). This settlement has the earliest evidence in Scandinavia of ship repair. Lundeborg and nearby Gudme formed a complex and very affluent centre that must have played a super-regional role in the western Baltic area from around AD 200. Because a greater number of rare and singular Roman imports have been found in the graves at Himlingøje in south-east Zealand than in the graves on Funen, it has been argued that Himlingøje rather than Lundeborg was the centre of long distance trade in the period AD 200/220– 250/260 (Lund Hansen 1995, p. 389). The richer grave finds on Zealand may, however, be a result of inhumation on Zealand and cremation on Funen. The ship repair and the abovementioned indications of direct imports to Lundeborg show that the trade centre was probably on Funen and not on Zealand.

The wealthy settlement of Gudme with its varied set of cult-related objects and probably a sacral king seems to have been an ideal place for rune carvers (Thrane 1998, p. 223).

The origins of the professional soldiers

The Thorsbjerg war booty deposition is the southernmost site with early runic inscriptions and may be of particular interest when deciding where the professional soldiers came from. The swords deposited at Thorsbjerg were probably of Roman origin. Likewise the shield bosses, breastplates, leather belts, textiles, garments, and horse equipment may have been from the Roman Empire (Bender Jørgensen 1986, p. 349–351; Carnap-Bornheim & Ilkjær 1996, p. 471–486). As the embossed sheet-metal objects at Thorsbjerg are of comparatively high quality they are likely to have been made in the Roman Empire (Carnap-Bornheim & Ilkjær 1996, p. 481). Ilkjær & Lønstrup (1982) indicated nine shield bosses of Roman provenance and three fibulae of a type known almost exclusively from an area between the Elbe and the Rhine and concluded that the army whose equipment was deposited at Thorsbjerg had originated between the Elbe and the Rhine. Three fibulae are a slim basis for such a conclusion.

More than 180 belt buckles of Roman origin were deposited at Vimose (Carnap-Bornheim 1992, p. 50). It was proposed that all these were imported. It may be questioned, however, whether belt buckles or complete belts were valued so highly in Scandinavia that they were traded in such great numbers over great distances. It may rather be that the belt buckles were parts of belts that were worn by 180 soldiers who ultimately came from the Roman Empire. The Vimose deposition is therefore also of interest in finding the origin of the professional soldiers.

Other items in the war booty depositions in Denmark are best explained by the arrival of a rather complete unit of the Roman army. There are working axes, planes, files, anvils, and more that probably represent army-attached craftsmen (X.P. Jensen et al. 2003, p. 324–325). There are bone saws, a surgical knife, a forceps, and sloe thorns from the armamentarium of the army surgeon (Fröhlich 2003). There are large dogs that probably helped the scouts of intelligence and reconnaissance units (X.P. Jensen et al. 2003, p. 325–326).

The weapons deposited at Thorsbjerg included 46 arrows and three broken longbows, one of which was still 165 cm long when it was found (Raddatz 1987, p. 69–74). The nearby site of Nydam has produced a plane for arrow shafts and arrow shafts with runes (E. Jørgensen

& Vang Petersen 2003, p. 272; Stoklund 2003, p. 176). The long and carefully manufactured bows found at Thorsbjerg were probably made by artisans specialised in bow making (Jankuhn 1979, p. 348). Since the bow does not seem to have been a weapon among any Germanic people in pre-Imperial time and hardly in the Early Roman Iron Age either, the emergence of long bows after c. AD 200 is surprising (*Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* 1978, p. 164; X.P. Jensen et al. 2003, p. 316, 319). Certain Oriental auxiliaries are the only soldiers depicted with large (Scythian) bows on Trajan's column (Rausing 1967, p. 100). Auxiliary troops from the provinces used the bow, but otherwise it was hardly used at all in the Roman army until attempts were made to propagate its use by the end of the 2nd century (ibid. p. 100–101). All Roman units with Scythian bows in Early Imperial times seem to have been recruited from Syria and Roman Arabia (Walke 1965, p. 55–56).

The use of triangular arrowheads was connected with the use of the Scythian bows (ibid.). Whereas south of the Danish areas arrowheads were typically broad and leaf-shaped, arrow points with triangular and rectangular cross-sections are most common in the Nordic area (X.P. Jensen et al. 2003, p. 319–320). Arrowheads with triangular cross-sections have been found at Vimose, in one of the richest graves at Himlingøje, and at other places on Zealand (Lund Hansen 1995, p. 245). The only Roman army units equipped with Scythian bows and triangular arrowheads and stationed on the Rhine or the Upper Danube in Early Imperial times were *Cohors I Flavia Damascenorum* from Syria at Friedberg in Hessen, *Cohors I Ituraerorum* from Roman Arabia at Mainz, and the *Canatha* cohort (Stein 1932, p. 180, 188, 199; Walke 1965, p. 55–56). The professional archers who used the long bows found at Thorsbjerg and the triangular points found at different places in Denmark had probably served in one of these three units. Military diplomas indicate that while *Cohors I Ituraerorum* left Germany already in AD 88 the Damascus cohort remained at Friedberg until at least AD 134 and the *Canatha* cohort at Straubing until at least AD 166.

The parade armour found at Thorsbjerg includes a cavalry bronze helmet decorated with two serpents (Raddatz 1987, p. 57). Singular bronze helmets, each one decorated with a pair of serpents and an eagle on the top, have been found at Brigetio in Hungary, at Heddersheim near Frankfurt, and decontextualised in a collection in Hungary (Thomas 1971, p. 11–13). The top part of the Thorsbjerg helmet has no eagle but instead a circular hole with an inlaid ornamented plate (Raddatz 1987, p. 57). The circular hole and the inlaid plate may perhaps be a repair made after an eagle was broken off. The contemporary Vimose war booty deposition is located less than 50 km from Gudme and has yielded a cast and chased bronze griffin head in Roman style that has traces of solder and once probably adorned a helmet (Engelhardt 1869, p. 12, pl. 4). The feather decoration covering the head of the Vimose griffin is so similar to the feather decoration covering the eagles' heads in Hungary that the three heads must be very closely related. Filigree work is also represented on all three birds' heads. The helmets found in central Europe were probably of Oriental origin (Thomas 1971, p. 13).

The Thorsbjerg war booty deposition also included a gilt and silvered face mask made of silver and bronze (Raddatz 1987, p. 59). Apart from finds at Straubing and Kelheim on the upper Danube in south Germany (Menghin 1985, p. 186), gilt bronze or silver masks are rare north of the Alps. This find suggests that the professional archers at Thorsbjerg and in Denmark came from Straubing rather than the Rhine *limes*.

The Vimose deposition has yielded a plenitude of parade swords. Many of the sword hilts and chapes from Vimose are richly decorated with silver, gold, and ivory, probably of Asian elephant (Engelhardt 1869, p. 14–17). The swords deposited at Thorsbjerg seem to have been decorated in a similar way, but they have been less well preserved in the acidic environment (Ilkjær 1993, p. 477–478). The parade swords have a parallel in parade armour from Straubing. Straubing has yielded finds of parade armour that are unique in all of the Roman Empire (Keim & Klumbach 1951, p. V). The

Straubing finds include gilt bronze masks of Oriental type, non-gilt bronze masks of Hellenistic type, decorated knee and shank guards, and decorated plates of gilt and silvered horse head armour (Keim & Klumbach 1951).

A Vimose sword richly decorated with inlaid gold and a ring-shaped pommel (*Ringknaufschwert*) is so similar to swords found on the upper Elbe in Bohemia and at Straubing that the three swords were probably manufactured in the same workshop (Hundt 1953). Swords with rings on their handles (*Ringknaufschwerter*) have been found in Germanic Europe only along a narrow trail from Straubing, the Bohemian basin and along the Elbe up to south Jutland and Funen (Menghin 1985, p. 182; Kaczanowski 1994). While most *Ringknaufschwerter* have been found in Roman Central Europe, an unpublished sword found in Hauran in Syria also seems to be of this type (Biborski 1994; Lund Hansen 1995, p. 386–387). The *Canatha* cohort was recruited in Hauran. Miniature *Ringknaufschwert* pendants known from the Roman province of Upper *Germania* may reasonably be considered as symbols of imperial power and would have been worn by high officers (Oldenstein 1976, p. 152–157). It is a strange fact that no *Ringknaufschwert* pendants have been found in *Raetia* though some original *Ringknafschwerter* have been found there (ibid.). It could perhaps be that most high officers at Straubing in Raetia left the province when the living conditions deteriorated there by the end of the 2nd century. One *Ringknaufschwert* pendant has been found at Vimose and probably did not come there as a result of trade (ibid.). It was proposed to have been brought there as booty but may rather have been worn by a high officer that came to Denmark. X.P. Jensen stated that all the six *Ringknaufschwerter* found at Vimose would have been deposited there in the decades around AD 150 while the great majority of the 300 swords represented at Vimose would have been deposited there in the early 3rd century (2003, p. 226–231). Because no archaeological reason was given for this dating, it may rather be that the high officer's *Ringknaufschwerter* were deposited at the same time as most of the Vimose swords. There is no reason to believe that the Straubing *Ringknaufschwert* was earlier than the very late 2nd century (Biborski 1994, p. 91). The Himlingøje silver goblets depicting *Ringknaufschwerter* were buried only in the 3rd century (ibid., p. 228).

Chain mail from Roman times has similarly been found in Germanic Europe only in the Elbe area and South Scandinavia (Kaczanowski 1994). Chain mail was used by Orientals and Celts but not by the Romans (*Nationalencyklopedin* 1995:16, p. 95). The distribution of *Ringknaufschwerter* and chain mail indicates that the professional archers at Thorsbjerg and in Denmark would have come from Straubing rather than Friedberg or Mainz on the Rhine *limes*.

An embossed sheet metal phalera found at Thorsbjerg has representations of hippocampi, dolphins, and serpents (Raddatz 1987, p. 63). Hippocampi never appear in Scandinavian waters but occur in the Mediterranean and mainly live in tropical waters such as the Red Sea. Dolphins and serpents were the most commonly represented animals beside eagles in Nabatean art (Glueck 1966, p. 315–357, 471–491). The phalera was a 'provincial' Roman military order. Its ornamentation suggests that it belonged to a soldier from Roman Arabia. Chest fittings found at Straubing are shaped like dolphins (Keim & Klumbach 1951, p. 41, fig. 45; Walke 1965, p. 156, fig. 115). A Vimose fitting (Engelhardt 1869, p. 16, fig. 9) is very similar. A Vimose girdle also has a dolphin decoration (ibid., pl. 11).

Gold finger rings with serpent heads occur at Thorsbjerg and are clearly associated with the very richest graves from the period AD 200/220–250/260 in Denmark (Lund Hansen 1995, p. 229). There are also a few earlier pieces from northern Germany, Thuringia and on the upper Elbe in Bohemia (ibid., p. 210–212). A bronze ring with a serpent head and a gold finger ring with a serpent head have also been found at Straubing (Walke 1965, p. 53). The gold finger rings with serpent heads should be related to the bracelets with serpent heads (Lund Hansen 1995, p. 206). These probably had Roman models because the bracelets in both groups were made of gold, had terminals

in the form of animal heads, and were marks of distinction in a warrior context (ibid.). Because gold finger rings with serpent heads presumably also had Roman models, it is of interest that Straubing is the only Roman site known to have produced a gold finger ring with a serpent head.

Fibulae found at Thorsbjerg are decorated with a method remarkably similar to that of a hinge fibula found at Straubing (Walke 1965, p. 51). Swastika fibulae occur in the same area as the rosette fibulae with early runic inscriptions (Lund Hansen 1995, p. 215–216). Most finds are from Zealand and the earliest piece may be from Himlingøje and date to the period AD 200/210–250/260 (ibid.). The form may go back to provincial Roman swastika fibulae (ibid.). A silvered swastika fibula was found at Straubing and may date to about the 2nd century AD (Walke 1965, p. 148).

Many shield bosses found at Thorsbjerg are similar to a parade shield boss found at Straubing (Thomas 1971, p. 38–41; Raddatz 1985, p. 34–57). One of the Thorsbjerg shield bosses has the site's only inscription in Latin characters of a name, viz. AEL. AELIANUS (Raddatz 1987, p. 43). Aelius is the only attested name of the last known commander of the cohort that was stationed at Straubing, and he was commander there in AD 162 (Stein 1932, p. 284–286).

Thorsbjerg has not yielded a single Scandinavian strike-a-light. The strike-a-lights from Thorsbjerg may have come from a Germanic area between the Weser in the west, the Vistula in the east and the upper Danube in the south (Ilkjær 1993, p. 254–256). Strike-a-lights were hardly traded over any great distance but rather transported as part of the owners' personal equipment. This excludes the possibility that the professional archers at Thorsbjerg would have come from the Rhine limes but is consistent with their coming from Straubing. Long swords with inlaid metal figures from the late *limes* era were studied by Ulbert (1974). The swords found at Straubing and Nydam are uniquely similar in that their ratio between length and width is 17:1 and that the inlaid metal figures are a highly stylised Victoria. Other swords with inlaid Vicoria figures (and no other figure) have been found at Illerup in Denmark and Øvre Stabu and Rør in Norway. We may now consider that Nydam and Illerup have yielded more objects with early runes than any other sites except Vimose, and that Øvre Stabu is the only site in Norway with a runic inscription dated as early as c. AD 200. Three of the four non-Roman sites with Victoria swords are thus unusually closely tied to early runes, while this type of Roman sword has been found at no Roman site apart from Straubing. This traces the origin of the inventor(s) of the runes to Straubing rather than other places in the Roman Empire.

Conclusions

Most of the Germanic runes had Latin models. However, Nabatean characters explain, better than Latin ones, the forms and sound values of the five runes ᚦ θ, ᚷ *g* / ȝ, ᚹ *w*, ᛇ *j*, and ᛉ z and perhaps also those of runic ᛈ *p*, ᛖ *e*, ᛗ *m* and ᛚ *l*. There seem to have been good reasons for Nabatean models having been used instead of Latin ones in most of these cases.

Nabateans probably constituted the main part of a cohort of a thousand archers stationed at Straubing in Bavaria in c. AD 125–200. Indications of unusually intensive writing for an auxiliary camp and inscriptions with unusually many rune-like letters suggest that the runic script could have been developed by some of these auxiliaries.

At the time when this *Canatha* cohort left Straubing, about AD 200, professional soldiers who had been in Roman service appeared in Denmark and thoroughly reorganised society. They seem to have established themselves as a ruling nobility and introduced many innovations in e.g. animal husbandry, food production and carpentry. They probably introduced shipbuilding, the working of silver and gold, and a hierarchical system of long-distance trade centres.

The earliest runic inscriptions are likewise dated to about AD 200. They were inscribed on the weapons of professional soldiers. They were carved on silver fibulae that were probably produced at the technological and economic

centre on Funen. The earliest runic inscriptions were intimately connected with the arrival of professional soldiers from the Roman Empire.

The professionally made long bows at Thorsbjerg and the triangular arrowheads found in Denmark probably represent professional archers from the Roman army. The only professional archers on the Rhine and Upper Danube *limes* were in three cohorts from Syria and Roman Arabia. Two of them were on the Rhine *limes* and the third one was the *Canatha* cohort at Straubing. The distribution of chain mail, *Ringknaufschwerter* and silver masks indicates that the professional archers at Thorsbjerg are much more likely to have come from Straubing than from the Rhine *limes*. The distribution of other kinds of weapons and objects related to the professional soldiers corroborates this finding.

It may be concluded that the runic forms and the archaeological material point in the same direction. The forms of some runes are best explained by Nabatean models. The archaeological and historical material indicates that Nabateans who had served in the Roman army probably reorganised the society in Denmark and introduced the runic script there c. AD 200. There is not enough evidence to say whether the runic script was invented at Straubing, on Funen, or somewhere else.

A comprehensive discussion of the origin of the *futhark* should go beyond the origin of the runes. It should include the origin of the rune names and the order of the runes in the *futhark*. These issues will be dealt with in a forthcoming paper.

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Sammanfattning

Ett semitiskt ursprung till några runor
Inflytelserika främlingar i Danmark ca. 200 e. Kr

De flesta germanska runor hade latinska förebilder men en del runor kan inte på ett övertygande sätt härledas från latinska bokstäver. Bokstäver av den nabateiska varianten av det arameiska semitiska alfabetet kan bättre än latinska bokstäver förklara form och ljudvärde hos de fem runorna ᚦ *θ*, ᚷ *g/ʒ*, ᚹ *w*, ᛇ *j*, och ᛏ *z*. Kanske också hos ᛈ *p*, ᛖ *e*, ᛗ *m* och ᛚ *l*.

Det nabateiska riket omfattade ungefär nuvarande Jordanien och Sinai, men ockuperades av romarna 106 e.Kr. och blev provinsen *Arabia*. Nabatéer utgjorde troligen huvuddelen av en kohort med 1000 bågskyttar som stationerades vid Straubing i Bayern ca 125 e.Kr. Vid utgrävningar har man där påträffat anmärkningsvärt många skrivdon och inskriptioner, varav ovanligt många med runliknande bokstä-

ver. En gammal handelsled till Skandinavien korsade Donau vid Straubing. Kohorten med tusen beridna bågskyttar torde ha lämnat Straubing ca 200 e.Kr. då det tycks ha blivit problem med försörjningen i Sydtyskland.

Professionella soldater som varit i romersk tjänst framträdde i Danmark ca 200 e.Kr. och omorganiserade samhället i Danmark. De tycks ha etablerat sig som en härskarklass och byggt upp ett hierarkiskt system för handeln med Romarriket. De införde troligen skeppsbyggeri, ädelmetallbearbetning och innovationer inom boskapsuppfödning och livsmedelsproduktion.

De äldsta runinskrifterna framträdde också ca 200 e.Kr. De finns på professionella soldaters vapen och på fibulor av silver.

De professionellt tillverkade långbågarna från Thorsbjerg och de triangulära pilspetsar som påträffats i Danmark härrör troligen från bågskyttar i den romerska hären. Sådana fanns vid gränsen mot germanernas områden endast hos två kohorter vid Rhen och hos kohorten vid Straubing. Utbredningen av bl.a. ringbrynjor, *Ringknaufschwerter* och silvermasker tyder på att bågskyttarna i Thorsbjerg kom från Straubing snarare än från Rhengränsen.

Slutsatsen är att runformerna och det arkeologiska materialet pekar i samma riktning. Några runors former förklaras bäst av nabateiska förebilder. Det arkeologiska och historiska materialet visar att nabatéer som tjänstgjort i romerska armén troligen omformade samhället i Danmark och introducerade runskriften där ca 200 e.Kr.

S. Junghans, E. Sangmeister, M. Schroder, Meta11analysen kupferzeitlicher und friihbronzezeitlicher Bodenfunde Europas. Studien zu den Anfangen der Metallurgie Bd. 1. Berlin 1960. 217 Seiten, 10 Tabellen, 37 Tafeln und 2 Beilagen.

Nachdem W. Witter das Interesse der Vorgeschichtsforschung an der Spektralanalyse friiher Metallfunde geweckt, die ersten Untersuchungsserien veranlafit und seine iiberoptimistischen Versuche einer kultur- geschichtlichen Interpretation dieser Analayse verbffentlicht hatte, ging die Forschung — wesentlich von ihm angeregt - zwei Wege: R. Pittioni und sein Wiener Kreis beschrankten sich im wesentlichen auf qualitative Metallanalysen und versuchten das Problem der Relation zwischen Lagerstatte und Fertig-

ware, dessen Komplexitat Witter nicht geniigend klar geworden war, vornehmlich durch Bearbeitung von Einzelfallen schrittweise zu klaren. H. Otto hingegen versuchte durch Verfeinerung der Analysen- auswertung das Untersuchungsverfahren zu vervollkommnen, gelangte in alien Fragen der Lagerstatten- kunde jedoch nicht fiber Witter hinaus. Sein Vorschlag, die zahlreichen quantitativ und qualitativ ganz unterschiedlich legierten Metalle zu einer Anzahl von signifikanten, erzkundlich begriindeten Leitlegierun- gen zu gruppieren, ist in der Tat ein ganz wesentlicher methodologischer Fortschritt. Er nutzte diesen zwar nur innerhalb bestimmter Grenzen, seine Arbeiten lieferten jedoch den natiirlichen Ansatz zum For- schungsvorhaben des Stuttgarter Kreises um S. Junghans. Gemeinsam mit H. Klein und E. Scheufele ver- offentlichte Junghans im Jahre 1954 seine Untersuchungen zur Kupfer- und Friihbronzezeit Sfiddeutsch- lands. Erst mit diesem Aufsatz wurde die Erforschung der friihen Metallurgie Europas auf ein wirk- lich verlafiliches methodologisches Fundament gestellt. Den sichtbarsten Fortschritt erbrachte dabei das von Klein ganz neu entwickelte Verfahren, Metallanalysen statistisch auszuwerten. Dadurch wurde Ottos Grundkonzeption, wenn auch in Einzelheiten modifiziert, so doch im allgemeinen bestatigt, vor alien Dingen aber methodologisch exakt untermauert. Nicht minder wichtig war indes in den Arbeiten des Stuttgarter Kreises der stillschweigende, aber konsequente Verzicht auf jede voreilige Frage nach der Her- kunft der zu den friihen Metallgegenstanden verwandten Metalle, bzw. Erze. Das Problem des mitteldeut- schen Erzabbaus, um das vorher so heftig - und letztlich miifiig — diskutiert worden war, war damit zunachst aus den Erbrterungen ausgeklammert. Dadurch wurde eine Verzettelung

der Arbeit vermieden; denn war es schon miihsam, eine ausreichende Zahl brauchbarer Analysen zusammenzubringen, so ware eine umfassende Erforschung aller Lagerstatten noch viel miihseliger gewesen. Seit langerer Zeit ist es namlich bekannt, dafi die spurenmafiige Zusammensetzung der Erze nicht in alien Bereichen ein und der- selben Lagerstatte vollkommen gleich ist. Welcher umfassenden Arbeit hatte es bedurft, dieser Tatsache

Rechnung zu tragen?!

Nach den ersten, im Jahre 1954 veroffentlichten Ergebnissen wurden Junghans und sein Kreis zu einem festumrissenen, langfristigen Programm angeregt. Ein Bericht aus dem Jahre 1957 gibt dariiber erstmals einen summarischen Uberblick. Mittlerweile war zu den eigenen Analysen - bis 1954 waren es 410 - zahl- reiches verbifentlichtes und auch unverbffentlichtes Material zur Auswertung hinzugekommen. Der Stutt- garter Kreis selbst konnte vom Jahre 1955 an jahrlich 300 Metallproben untersuchen und verfiigte 1957 schon fiber insgesamt 2260, kurz danach fiber 2302 Analysen. Das reichte als Grundlage fiir eine erste Demonstration der Richtigkeit und vor alien Dingen der Bedeutung des neuen Weges aus. Ein soldier Versuch erschien um so erfolgversprechender, als es inzwischen gelungen war, die Zahl der durch stati- stische Auswertungen gewonnenen Materialgruppen von vier auf zwblf, bzw. dreizehn zu erhbhen.

Die Aufhellung der Anfange der Metalltechnik in Europa und der mit der Einffihrung der Metalle verbundenen chronologischen und kulturellen Fragen stellt sich die erste grbfiere Publikation des Stutt- garter Kreises, die nunmehr schon geraume Zeit vorliegt, als Aufgabe. Die Darstellung umfafit einen Bericht fiber die Kupfer- und friihe Bronzezeit im westlichen Teil von Europa nach dem derzeitigen For- schungsstand (S. 8-56), eine knappe Darstellung des Charakters der Materialgruppen (S. 57 f.), ihrer geographischen Verbreitung (S. 59—64) und ihrer Zeitstellung (S. 64-90). Dem Text sind Exkurse fiber Spezialfragen angeschlossen, die paradigmatisch zeigen sollen, bis zu welchen Lbsungsmbglichkeiten der nunmehr erreichte Erkenntnisstand fiihrt. In diesem Sinne werden die friihbronzezeitlichen Hortfunde (S. 171—180), die Schnurkeramik (S. 181-186) und die Glockenbecherkultur (S. 187-197) behandelt. Dem Text ist ein Verzeichnis von 861 neuen Analysen (S. 92-115), ein Anaiysenkatalog (S. 116-131) und ein Materialgruppenkatalog (S. 132-139) eingeffigt. Ferner sind fiinf Listen mit Analysenkonkordanzen (S. 139-147) und ein Analysenverzeichnis, worin diese nach Zeit- und Kulturgruppen gegliedert sind (S. 148-170), beigegeben.

Mit den durch das Thema des Buches gestellten methodologischen Problemen steht der Uberblick fiber Aneolithikum und Friihbronzezeit (S. 8-56) nur in indirektem Zusammenhang, doch ist er zum Verstand- nis vieler kulturgeschichtlicher Folgerungen erforderlich, die im Buche behandelt werden. Er gibt den Forschungsstand des

ausgehenden Jahres 1956 wieder. Nur einzelne spater erschienene Arbeiten konnten noch eingearbeitet werden, und auch diese nur teilweise. Die Materialgruppen, die die Verf. neu nach- weisen kbnnen, werden S. 57 ff. kurz aufgezahlt. Dafi sie von M. Schroder auf Grund des von Klein ent- wickelten statistischen Verfahrens ausgesondert wurden, war schon friiher bekannt. Dem Nichtmetallur- gen werden die Grundprinzipien, die bei der Ausgliederung von neuen Gruppen angewandt wurden, durch die Taf. 1 und 2 naher erlautert. Eine nahere Begrfindung, die doch nur der Metallurge verstanden hatte, wird nicht gegeben. Am Rande wird erwahnt (S. 58), dafi in einzelnen Fallen die Zuweisung einer Analyse unsicher bleiben und es gelegentlich Schwierigkeiten machen kann, fremde Analysen eindeutig in eine bestimmte Materialgruppe einzuordnen. Es wird glaubhaft gemacht - wenn auch nicht eindeutig nachgewiesen -, dafi die Zahl solcher nicht einwandfrei klassifizierbaren Analysen gering ist und sie das durch die Auswertung gewonnene Bild nicht beeintrachtigen kbnnen. Fiir die Benutzer des Buches ware es eine Hilfe, wenn diese unsicheren Analysen naher gekennzeichnet worden waren.

Um die Hauptverbreitungsgebiete der Materialgruppen darstellen zu kbnnen, haben die Verf. ihr Bear-

beitungsgebiet unter Beriicksichtigung der in der Kupfer-und der Friihbronzezeit vorhandenenKulturgrup- pen in fiinfzehn Raume eingeteilt (S. 59 f.). Eine Untersuchung der Verbreitung der Gruppen gibt fast fur jede einen kennzeichnenden Schwerpunkt. Auf dreizehn Karten (Taf. 31-37) sind diese schematisch, aber iiberzeugend dargestellt. Die Verbreitungsunterschiede bestatigen die Richtigkeit der Materialgruppen und zwar selbst dort, wo die statistischen Anhalte nicht ganz eindeutig sind.

Zum Nachweis der Zeitstellung der einzelnen Materialgruppen versuchen die Verf. die Gesamtzahl der Analysen auf einzelne chronologisch fixierbare Typen, Typen- und Kulturgruppen zu verteilen (S. 65 f. und Tab. 7-10). Das Ergebnis lafit sich besonders sinnfallig in Tab. 10 erfassen und zeigt, daB in der Kupferzeit ganz andere Materialgruppen vorwiegen als in der friihesten Bonzezeit und dafi in letz- terer wiederum solche Materialgruppen vertreten sind, die in der fortgeschrittenen Friihbronzezeit kaum noch eine Rolle spielen. Auf dem Umwege liber Verbreitung und Zeitstellung kommen Verf. — methodisch einwandfrei — zu gewissen Vorstellungen liber die Provenienz der Metalle, bzw. Erze. Es zeigt sich dabei, dafi mutmabliches Herkunftsgebiet und Schwerpunkt der Fundverbreitung weder kongruent noch iiberhaupt identisch zu sein brauchen.

Besonders iiberzeugend ist das Ausfallen des friiher postulierten mitteldeutschen Erzabbaus in der Kupfer- und Friihbronzezeit. Dafi sich das Arsen-Kupfer der ’Gegend von Zwickau' in den Gruppen E 01 und B 1 findet, deren ausgesprochene Schwerpunkte auf der Iberischen Halbinsel bzw. im Rhonegebiet liegen, so dafi die Verf. geneigt sind, sie als ’spanische', bzw. ’siidfranzbsische Gruppe' zu bezeichnen (S. 67 und 78), ist ebenso kennzeichnend fiir den Forschungsstand und die bisherige Forschungsweise in der Lager- stattenkunde wie die Verteilung der Erze des ’Kamsdorfer Reviers' auf die ’bayerische' Gruppe C 2, die ’bohmisch-mahrische' Gruppe B 2 und die ’siidwestdeutsche' Gruppe A.

Raum- und Zeitgliederung der Materialgruppen erscheint also im Uberblick durchaus einleuchtend. Es verdient hervorgehoben zu werden, dafi nunmehr ein alter Einwand gegen eine kulturgeschichtliche Auswertung der Metallanalysen als ausgeraumt gelten kann. Friih schon erhob sich gegen Witters Aus- wertung der Vorwurf, sie lasse die Mbglichkeit einer Verwendung von Altmaterial und das Zusammen- schmelzen von Metallstiicken unterschiedlicher Zusammensetzung ganz aufier Betracht. Witter hat den Ein- wand bald, doch ohne rechte Begriindung zuriickgewiesen, und auch Otto hat mehrfach - letztmals 1958 - hervorgehoben, dafi sich kaum Hinweise auf Vermischung von Leitlegierungen fanden. Die Verf. bestatigen diese Auffassung nun im wesentlichen und versuchen sie dadurch zu erklaren, dafi geschmiedetes Kupfer zum Umschmelzen nicht in Frage kommt. Man hatte es allenfalls umschmieden konnen. Erst von der jiingeren Friihbronzezeit an, als man vornehmlich bronzeartige Legierungen verarbeitete, hatte man auf Altmaterial zuriickgreifen konnen. Immerhin gibt es sowohl in der Kupfer-, als auch in der beginnenden Friihbronzezeit geniigend gegossene Gegenstande, fiir die diese Erklarung nicht stichhaltig sein kann. Vielleicht gab es einen anderen Grund: Das Metall war anfangs so knapp, dafi nach der Niederlegung von Geraten, Waffen und Schmuck in Grabern oder Depots nichts Wesentliches mehr iibrig blieb, was als Alt- material hatte verwandt werden konnen. Noch in der entwickelten nordeuropaischen Bronzezeit war anscheinend der Bestand an Bronzegeraten in jeder Generation ziemlich erschopft, wenn die durch das Ritual geforderten Deponierungen vollzogen waren. Das lafit sich am Fundgut durchaus veranschaulichen. Die Verf. sind gewifi im Recht, wenn sie trotzdem in gewissem Umfange mit Umschmelzprodukten (S. 82) oder mit beabsichtigter Anreicherung der Metalle mit bestimmten Substanzen - z. B. Arsen oder Zinn - rechnen (S. 91). Den gegebenen Weg, Aufschliisse liber die Kenntnisse der friihen Bronzehandwerker von der Verwendbarkeit von Metallen verschiedener Provenienz und von der Eigenschaft bestimmter Legie- rungen zu erlangen, sind sie vorerst noch nicht nachgegangen.

Einen Ansatz fiir solche Untersuchungen bieten die triangularen Vollgriffdolche Taf. 3 und Taf. 5, sowie die Dolchklingen Taf. 11 und Taf. 13. Der Dolch Taf. 3 hat eine Klinge aus Materialgruppe B 2, einen Griff aus Gruppe C 2, wahrend die Nieten aus Metall der Gruppe

B 1 bestehen. Dolch Taf. 5 besteht aus Metall der Gruppe E 00; ein Niet enthalt dagegen Materialgruppe F 1. Die Dolchklingen Taf. 11 und 13 bestehen aus Gruppe F 1. Ein Niet des ersteren enthalt Gruppe E 10, ein Niet des zweiten Material der Gruppe A. Es kame zunachst darauf an, moglichst viele Gegenstande, die aus mehreren Teilen zusammengesetzt sind, zu analysieren. Traten dabei feste Regeln zutage - bei den vier genannten Beispielen kann man es vorerst nicht behaupten - oder waren mit Sicherheit keine Regeln nachweisbar, auf alle Faile ware man wieder einen Schritt weiter gelangt.

Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dafi eine detaillierte Analyse der Gufikuchen und echten Barren in dieser Rich- tung noch weiter fiihrt. Man miifite schliefilich zu gewissen Vorstellungen kommen, welche Legierungen man evtl. schon friih absichtlich herstellte oder welche Metallsorten man wegen ihrer spezifischen Eigen- schaften fiir bestimmte Gerate oder Gerateteile bevorzugte, eventuell ihrer Qualitat wegen aus der Feme bezog. (Die Bevorzugung gewisser Metalle fiir bestimmte Gegenstande, auf die Otto hinweisen zu konnen meinte, trifft in dem Sinne, wie er es darstellte, nicht zu. Er versuchte sie an Gegenstanden verschiedener Zeitstellung zu demonstrieren und liefi dabei das Vorwiegen verschiedener Legierungen in bestimmten Zeitabschnitten ganz aufier Betracht). Mdglicherweise feststellbare Unterschiede zwischen Gufikuchen- und

Barren-’Legierungenc und der Metallzusammensetzung gleichzeitiger Waffen, Gerate oder Schmuck konnten wesentlich helfen.

Auf ahnliche Weise konnte man vielleicht auch weiterkommen, wenn man systematised Gegenstande analysierte, die nachweislich aus einer Gufiform stammen. litre Zalil ist sicher nicht so gering, wie es den Anschein hat, denn nachtragliche Uberarbeitungen (Schmieden) werden die Herkunft aus derselben Form oft verdecken. Es ware natiirlich zu erwarten, daft solche Stiicke durchweg der gleichen Materialgruppe angehoren. Ware das gelegentlich oder haufiger nicht der Fall, wiirden sich verbindliche Schliisse auf gleichzeitige Verwendung verschiedener Materialgruppen ergeben.

Schliefilich ware es auch nicht unwichtig, systematisch alle Stiicke eines geschlossenen Fundes zu untersuchen und dann moglichst viele geschlossene Funde ahnlichen Charakters zu vergleichen. Ansatze dazu macht die vorliegende Arbeit sichtbar. Der Depotfund von Aschering umfaftt sieben Osenhalsringe der Gruppe C 2 und je einen der Gruppen B 2, F 1 und F 2. Der Fund von Berkach besteht aus zwei Ringen der Gruppe B 2 und einem der Gruppe C 2. In Gammersham fanden sich vier Ringe der Gruppe C 2 und einer der Gruppe F 1. In Hagelstadt waren es je zwei Ringe der Gruppen C 2 und F 2 und

einer der Gruppe B 2, in Muhlhausen zwei Ringe der Gruppe C 2 und einer der Gruppe C 3, in Roth ausschlieftlich Ringe der Gruppe B 2, in Reut vier Ringe der Gruppe F 1 und einer der Gruppe E 00, in Straubing drei Ringe der Gruppe C 2 und sieben der Gruppe F 1. Die Streuung der Materialgruppen, die in diesen Osenhals- ringen sichtbar wird, kann kaum auf Zufall beruhen, es sei denn, die Abgrenzungen der in den Horten vertretenen Materialgruppen ware ebenfalls teils zufallig. Was ergabe sie nun, wenn man sie auf die geschlossenen Funde sowie auf die geographische Lage der Fundorte bezoge? Die Verf. haben Versuche in dieser Richtung unternommen, die aber - wie gleich zu zeigen sein wird - nicht befriedigen konnen! Fragen dieser Art, die sich aufdrangen, zeigen, welche Bewegung durch die neuen Methoden der Aus- wertung von Metallanalysen in die Bronzezeitforschung kommen wird, wenn sich diese einmal aus der bislang vorherrschenden ’typologischen' Betrachtungsweise geldst hat. Untersuchungen der Art, wie sie soeben umrissen wurden, wtirden natiirlich sehr viel ’gezieltere' Analysen erfordern: Etwa Analysen aller mehrteiligen triangularen Vollgriffdolche, Untersuchung der ’Knebel' von Gallemose, der beiden Beile von Lilia Bedinge, der fiinf Vollgriffdolche von Stubbendorf und aller Osenringbarren, um nur ein paar interessante Desiderata zu nennen. Beim derzeitigen Forschungsstand sind allerdings vorerst weniger ’gezielte' als ’gestreute' Analysen erwiinscht, um zunachst einmal einen Querschnitt durch das gesamte Material zu erhalten. Vorerst ist dieses Ziel gewift noch langst nicht erreicht, denn die alten Analysen Witters und Ottos, die die Verf. mitbenutzen muftten und die trotz der ansehnlichen Zahl ihrer eigenen Analysen immer noch den Hauptteil ihres Materials ausmachen, umfassen die vorhandenen Gegenstands- arten in hbchst unterschiedlichem Umfange. Unter den 2302 von Junghans und seinem Kreis ausgewerteten Analysen befinden sich 336 Flachbeile und 308 Randbeile, die zum groftten Teil nicht aus geschlossenen

Funden stammen und sich deswegen auch zur Auswertung nicht besonders gut eignen. Dieser Mangel des von den Verf. bearbeiteten Materials, fur den sie selbst natiirlich nicht verantwortlich gemacht werden konnen, setzt manchem ihrer Deutungsversuche eine Grenze, die vielleicht heute noch nicht deutlich genug sichtbar ist.

Die Frage, wie weit die friihen Metallhandwerker es verstanden, nicht nur besonders erwiinschte Le- gierungen zu erzeugen, sondern auch ’Verunreinigungen1, die sich aus der verarbeiteten Erzart ergaben, zu beseitigen, lassen die Verf. aufierhalb der Diskussion. Schon Otto glaubte bemerken zu konnen, daft mit steigendem Zinngehalt die Beimengungen an Silber, Nickel, Arsen und Antimon immer geringer werden. Ihm schien das Bestreben zur Erzeugung immer reinerer Metalle unverkennbar. Aus dem Analysenkatalog der Verf. (S. 116-131) wird eine derartige Tendenz nicht sichtbar. Trotzdem bleibt die Frage, wann das Bemiihen, ’Verunreinigungenc aus dem Metall auszuscheiden,

erstmals aufkam und sich in den Analysen bemerkbar macht. Miiftte man bereits in der Friihbronzezeit mit einer Tendenz rechnen, reinere Metalle herzustellen, dann wiirde sich der Wert mehr oder minder zahlreicher Analysen nicht unbetrachtlich ver- schieben.

Daft die Kupfertechnik aus zwei verschiedenen Gebieten nach Mitteleuropa vordrang, aus dem Siidosten und dem Siidwesten, hat man seit langem vermutet. Nun weifi man es endlich auf Grund der Untersuchun- gen der Verf. genau (S. 90 f.). Ob allerdings der Siidwesten dabei einen Vorsprung von annahernd 300 Jahren hatte - wie die Verf. meinen -, wird man mindestens solange noch in Zweifel ziehen diirfen, wie der Forschungsstand auf der Iberischen Halbinsel nicht annahernd den der Balkanhalbinsel erreicht hat. Die Ubertragung nach Nordwest-, Mittel- und Nordeuropa verlief ’nicht in einer ungestdrten Uber- tragung technischer Fertigkeiten', wie die Verf. meinen (S. 91). Das friih schon im Siidwesten wie in Siid- osten bekannte Guftverfahren sei zunachst ’verlorengegangen‘, nur das Schmiedeverfahren sei anzutreffen, und der Metallguft sei dann sparer wieder aufgekommen. Die Verf. tun gut daran, es bei solchen Andeu- tungen zu belassen. Ehe man etwas Genaues liber die Verarbeitungsweise der verschiedenen Metall- legierungen noch nicht weift, wird man nichts Verbindliches fiber die Ausbreitungsweise bestimmter Metall- techniken sagen konnen. Hier erreicht man vorerst die Grenze der Mbglichkeiten, Metallanalysen kultur-

geschichtlich auszuwerten.

Das scheinen gelegentlich auch die Exkurse anzudeuten, die die Verf. ihrem Buch angeschlossen haben. Bei ihrem Versuch zu neuen Aussagen liber den Charakter der friihbronzezeitlichen Hortfunde zu gelangen, gilt ihnen als Ausgangspunkt ’die Zusammenziehung der Osenring- und Rippenbarren-Horte zu einem Hortfundhorizont', fur dessen Entstehen sie ’Ereignisse verantwortlich machen, die zur Ausbreitung der Formengesellschaft A 2 gefiihrt haben miissen' (S. 171). Im Jahre 1953 sprach Junghans davon, dafi das ’gewaltsame Endec der Stufe A 1 in Siiddeutschland ’neben der grofien Zahl ihrer im Voralpenland auf- gefundenen Rohmaterialdepots' durch das Vorkommen neuer Formen und die Verarbeitung anderer Rohmaterialien erwiesen wiirde. Seit Reinecke ist man in der Tat gewohnt, von dem Horizont der Osen- ring- und Rippenbarren-Horte wie von einem befriedigend bewiesenen Faktum zu sprechen. Der Wider- spruch Pittionis ist verhallt. Durchdenkt man das Problem der Osenring- und Barrenhorte aber einmal genauer und halt man Reineckes Auffassung gleichzeitig fiir das, was sie ist, namlich eine geistvolle Hypothese, so kommt man zu dem Ergebnis, dafi es durchaus nicht unmoglich ist, einen

’Unruhehorizont* gegen Ende von A 1 anzunehmen, dafi die Beweise dafiir allerdings schwach sind und keinesfalls aus- reichen, um daraus weitreichende Folgerungen zu ziehen. Umgekehrt gibt es eine Anzahl von Indizien, die gegen die Annahme eines Unruhehorizontes sprechen, die aber letztlich nicht ausreichen, um seine Existenz voll zu widerlegen. Eine Reihe von Fragen ist tells noch nie gestellt, teils niemals zufrieden- stellend beantwortet worden: Warum finden sich Osenringe und Rippenbarren fast ausnahmslos getrennt in Horten? Warum ist die Verbreitung der Osenring- und der Rippenbarren so sehr verschieden? Warum kommen westlich der Osenring- und Rippenbarrenhorte gehauft Spiralringhorte, nordwestlich davon ’Blechhorte' auf? Warum fehlen sowohl in Osenring- als auch in Rippenbarrenhorten - aber auch in den Spiralringhorten — fast stets Gegenstande anderer Art, wo sie doch kaum minder wertvoll waren und wo es doch ebenso nahe gelegen hatte, sie in Unruhezeiten zu bergen? Solange diese Fragen nicht befriedigend beantwortet sind, ist es nicht zu verantworten anzunehmen, dafi ’Rippenbarren etwas spater in Gebrauch kamen als die Osenringbarren‘ (S. 82) und dafi nur erstere sich ’bis in die beginnende Phase A 2 hinein' hielten (anders allerdings S. 175). Gewifi, Osenringbarren gehen bis in die Kupferzeit zuriick, wie die Funde von Baden, Judenburg und Lichtenworth zeigen. (Leider wurden gerade diese Stiicke bisher nicht analysiert! Es ware nicht iiberraschend, wenn sie sich dem Hort Pleitmannswang [S. 177] beiordnen wur-

den.) Ist es aber nachweisbar, dafi die Rippenbarren sie iiberlebten?

’Es scheint doch wohl so gewesen zu sein, dafi die Horte des Aunjetitzer Gebiets aus den gleichen Griin- den niedergelegt worden sind wie die bayerischen4 (S. 171); dieser Satz ist eine schlechte Grundlage fiir die nun folgende Untersuchung vornehmlich der Aunjetitzer, aber auch anderer friihbronzezeitlicher Hort- funde. Hinzu kommt, dafi der Gliederungsversuch der Horte schlecht dokumentiert und zudem methodisch anfechtbar ist. Man kann nicht im beliebigen Wechsel Hortgruppen an Materialgruppen oder an der Typenzusammensetzung orientieren. Ein brauchbares Ergebnis ware nur dann zu erzielen, wenn man eine rein typologisch gewonnene neben eine materialkundliche Hortgliederung stellte und dann beide Gliede- rungen vergleichend analysieren wiirde. Dabei kame der typologischen Gliederung sogar eine gewisse Pravalenz zu, solange die ’Wertigkeit' der Materialgruppen nicht vollig klar ist. Es fallt auf, dafi die Verf. bei ihrer Auswertung der friihbronzezeitlichen Horte keine solchen mit triangularen Dolchen ein- bezogen haben. Der erste aus drei verschiedenen Materialgruppen hergestellte Dolch hatte ihr Vorgehen ad absurdum gefiihrt.

Man kdnnte in diesen Betrachtungen noch fortfahren und wiirde weitere Ansatzpunkte fiir kritische Bemerkungen finden. Damit ware aber fiir die Sache nichts gewonnen. Im

Gegenteil; zu leicht verdeckt eine Rezension durch die Ausfiihrlichkeit der Kritik das, was sie eigentlich gerade besonders herausheben mochte, den besonderen Wert der vorliegenden Arbeit, und vermindert das, was sie speziell erreichen will, eine sachliche und fruchtbare Diskussion, die dem weiteren Fortschreiten der Forschung dient. Rez. mochte deswegen zum Abschlufi, um Mifiverstandnisse zu vermeiden, zusammenfassend auf die Anregungen hin- weisen, die er von den Verf. empfangen hat. Die Bronzezeitforschung Mittel- und Nordeuropas ist durch eine gewisse Armlichkeit und Einseitigkeit Hires Quellenguts (weitgehendes Fehlen von Siedlungsfunden, Eintonigkeit der Keramik, teilweises Vorherrschen, dann wieder fast volliges Fehlen von Metallgegen- standen, ungleiches Vorkommen von Depotfunden) in einer mifilichen Lage. Haufig bleibt es deswegen bei relativ begrenzten Einsichten in die Struktur der Kultur der Bronzezeit. So meinte W. A. von Brunn kiirz- lich sagen zu miissen, bislang ’sei die Forschung mit dem vorhandenen Material liber Forssanders Erkennt- nisse kaum hinausgekommen/ Das mag fiir manche anderen Arbeiten zutreffen, fiir die vorliegende aber nicht. Sie ist einer der sichtbarsten Fortschritte in der Erforschung der Bronzezeit in diesem Jahrhundert. Dabei darf man nicht vergessen, dafi sie erst ein Anfang ist. Wenn ihre Verf. vielleicht bislang — abgesehen

von einem gewissen Verwundern liber die erstaunliche Planmafiigkeit der entsagungsvollen Analysen- arbeit — zum Teil das Echo auf ihre Arbeit vermissen mufiten, so liegt das teilweise an der Neuartigkeit ihrer Methoden, teils an dem fiir einen Nichtmetallurgen ungewohnlichen Stoff, den sie bieten. Die Ver- wertung ihrer Arbeitsergebnisse wird vielleicht noch langer auf sich warten lassen; aber die Anerkennung wird dann um so sicherer sein.

Saarbriicken R. Hachmann

Early Pastoral Nomadism and the Settlement of Lower Mesopotamia

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Early Pastoral Nomadism and the Settlement of Lower Mesopotamia

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The Akkadians' nomadic origins have generally been assumed. However, the conventional prehistoric archaeological picture fails to illuminate those origins and the Akkadians' involvement in Akkad. Thus the origins of pastoral nomadism must be sought in the context of mixed farming within the Fertile Crescent, specifically during the PPNB. Subsequent expansion into marginal agricultural lands led to a symbiotic relationship between pastoral nomads and farmers. The Akkadians seem to have moved into the northern Arabian steppe and desert (Jezireh and Hamada) during the mid-seventh millennium B.C.; the PPNB/C populations apparently began intensive herding at the end of that period, and maintained ties to the Fertile Crescent seen in both exotic trade and everyday culture. They began to penetrate into Akkad during the time under discussion. Archaeological sequences in the Arabian desert suggest that the Akkadians probably were of a West Semitic (Levantine) background. Thus, the alluvium in the Akkadian area became a distinct entity as early as ca. 6000 B.C. and represented the early prehistoric forerunners to Akkadians of the fourth and third millennia B.C.

INTRODUCTION

A half century has passed since the appearance of Jacobsen's two seminal works on the early historical settlement of the southern Mesopotamian plain. The first (Jacobsen 1939a), dealing with ethnolinguistic questions, set the tone for evaluating the Sumero-Semitic interaction during the mid-third millennium B.C. and later. The appearance of his Sumerian King List (SKL) in the same year (Jacobsen 1939b) took us to the frontiers of early recorded history for the same region. Our perceptions of the early historic settlement of the southern alluvium have changed greatly since then. We should hardly find that surprising given the nature of cuneiform and archaeological studies: much of the change involves a wide variety of data from many sources. From Mesopotamia itself, the survey of the southern plain has shown the changing patterns of settlement over many millennia (see esp. Adams 1965; 1972; 1981; Adams and Nissen 1972; Jacobsen 1969; Wright 1981). The post-World II archaeological definition of the Near Eastern Neolithic has been critical to our understanding of Mesopotamian origins, and the excavations at Mari, Ebla, and Abu Salabikh have widened our horizons for the third millennium B.C. Finally, the exploration of the larger Arabian peninsula, from both a geological and an archaeological perspective, has improved our understanding of the Mesopotamian data. Clearly, while examining each of those topics separately would be a herculean task, a brief examination of each will help clarify the central questions of the current study: first, how and when did early pastoral nomadism from the greater Arabian peninsula affect human settlement on the alluvium? and second, can we be justified in examining the historical Semitic presence in Mesopotamia and relating it to the earlier archaeological record?

AKKAD IN THE EARLY THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C.

The study of Semitic populations within the southern alluvium hinges on three generalizations found in virtually every examination of the problem. First, based on anthropological studies of regions in which both sedentary and mobile populations

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palmyrene range
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jebel druze
HARRAT AL RAJIL
WADI SIRHAN
NAFUD
jebel tuwayq
w. hauran
w. ubaydh
w. khirr
w. hemar
w. batin
w. sirhan
w. sakaka
w. rutba
w. el khor
w. el ubaydh
w. el tulayl
w. el hawa
w. dubb
w. ajfan
w. sawwan
w. ghadaf
w. ubeidir
w. hubal
w. amiq
khabur r.
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have been present, the consensus is that a symbiotic or closely linked relationship exists between the nomadic and sedentary groups. The particular ecological development between them in such regions is very closely intertwined. Settled and nomadic components ("tribe and town, desert and sown") must integrate to create a "dimorphic," or mixed, society with different social forms (Rowton 1969: 311; 1973a: 257). That way of life was particularly characteristic of Akkad (fig. 1) due to the specific geomorphological and ecological conditions there both in the past and present (Rowton 1969: 311). Based on the contemporary record, historians and archaeologists also conclude that since it appears unlikely that the Sumerians (and possibly their predecessors) originated from a nomadic background, the Semitic element contributed most substantially to that biethnic or dimorphic condition, especially in Akkad (Falkenstein 1954: 789; Moscati 1957: 50; Gibson 1972a: 2; Rowton 1969: 311; Knapp 1988: 77).

The second statement hinges on the popular and widespread notion that the Semites invaded the alluvium in periodic waves. Generally, the grouping works chronologically as follows (Kupper 1957: xiv–xv; Adams 1974: 2; Kienast 1981: 83–84; Gelb 1961a: 27):

Akkadian:	ca. 3000–2500 B.C.
Amorite:	ca. 2500–1800 B.C.
Aramean:	ca. 1500–900 B.C.
Arab:	ca. 900 B.C.–present

These "more pastoral and tribally organized invaders" generally are integral to the study of the alluvium and exhibit interdependent forms of adaptation on the plain (Adams 1974: 2).

The third generalization holds that the "nomadic" settlement of the Syrian Jezireh and its impact on Mesopotamia was a late development. Historians have regarded Arabia before 2000 B.C. as a "waste land" (Gelb 1961a: 27), "barely inhabited before the domestication of the camel" (Rowton 1982: 319). Scholars do not consider the prehistoric aspects of pastoral nomadism or climatic improvement, nor do they present a reasoned argument for relating historical development to prehistoric cultures. Such shortcomings in scholarship make it impossible to interrelate the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula with those of the civilized lands such as Mesopotamia and Egypt or

Fig. 1. Principal steppe/desert PPN/PN sites in relation to Mesopotamia.

1. Mureybit
2. Dibsi Faraj
3. Abu Hureyra
4. Tell es-Sinn
5. Bouqras
6. Baghouz
7. Mari
8. Sippar
9. Uqair
10. Jemdet Nasr
11. Kish
12. Abu Salabikh
13. Nippur
14. Uruk
15. Ur
16. Eridu
17. Jowf
18. Moore 1981
19. Qdeir 1
20. Nadaouiyeh 4
21. Umm Tlel 2
22. Kowm I and II
23. Tell Taibe
24. Watelin in: Dussaud 1929:150
25. Soukhne (Rigm es-Saboun)
26. Douara Cave
27. Palmyra
28. Sabkhet Muh PPNB Site 79
29. Sabkhet Muh PPNB Site 122
30. Field Site 102 and 108
31. Jebel Tenf (Field Sites 4, 12–13)
32. Field Sites 16–17
33. Jebel Seys
34. Dmeyr (as-Sidd)
35. Deir es-Shemali
36. Umbachi
37. Khebariye
38. Nemara
39. Jawa
40. Shubeika
41. Qasr al Burqu (02000 and 03000)
42. Qa'a Mejalla/Dhuweila 2202
43. Jebel Naja 2321
44. Ibn al Ghazzi 3133
45. Jebel Qurma/El Ghirga
46. Azraq
47. Wadi Jilat (Dhobai)
48. Kilwa
49. Umm Wual
50. Bardawil
51. Dawqira
52. 201-42
53. Muhunsur (Field Sites 25 and 30 al Umchaimin)
54. Field Site 77
55. Field Site
56. El Jidd, Field Site 21
57. Field Site 22
58. Field Site
59. Field Site 233
60. Field Site 15
61. Field Site
62. Tellul al Basutin (Field Sites 62, 67, 69, 70, 72, 81)
63. Field Site
64. Field Site 36
65. Field Sites 41, 51, and "Sugarloaf"
66. Wright 1958
67. Qasr Muhaiwir
68. Watelin in: Dussaud 1929: 150
69. Ta'as al Kaffar
70. Usiyah'
71. Tell Chokheh
72. Tell Aswad
73. Haditha Neolithic Site 71
74. Haditha Neolithic Site 73
75. Haditha Neolithic Site 75
76. Haditha Neolithic Site 76
77. Haditha Neolithic Site 81
78. Wadi Hussainiyat
79. Es-Souab 3

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even the villages of the Fertile Crescent. The Arabian peninsula is forever seen as a literal and cultural blank (see Knapp 1988: maps 2–3; 3–1; Nissen 1988: fig. 14).

The idea that Amorites, Aramaeans, and Arabs were essentially pastoral nomadic Semitic people who invaded the plain has been largely accepted, perhaps based on the historical data extant for those populations (Buccellati 1966; Kupper 1957; Brinkman 1968; Hitti 1970; Gibson 1972a: 2). The crux of the matter in historical terms centers on the "Akkadians." "Akkad" as an ethnopolitical entity is a very vague concept and the use of the term in royal titulary does not begin until Ur III (Hallo 1957: 87–89; Rowton 1982: 319). The (presumably) Sumerian logogram URI (meaning Akkad) has no satisfactory etymology (Edzard 1960: 244; Kraus 1970: 36–42, 61–82; Edzard, Farber, and Sollberger 1977: 175–76) and we do not know when the term came to mean "Akkad" (for the Uruk IV period attestation of the sign, see Green and Nissen 1987: 305, no. 594). The older title "King of Kish" may have represented early political control over the area later known as Akkad (Gibson 1972a: 2; n. 20). Therefore, the study of Semitic populations within the Akkadian area can proceed only if we analyze the political and economic history of the region in conjunction with contemporary historical documentation. Although many of the data have been presented before, notably by Gelb and Jacobsen, more recent information can tie together some relevant observations.

Jacobsen's reconstructed Sumerian King List begins with Etana in the Early Dynastic II period (his ca. 3100 B.C.) as the first authentic "king" of Kish (Jacobsen 1939b: 152; Table 2). He suggests that the earlier legendary rulers belonged to a more remote period. Table 1 presents an Early Dynastic I–IIIa sequence that follows his reconstruction and adds more recent relevant material from Kish, Mari, and Ebla.

At least 13 of the 23 names that the table lists from the SKL for the Kish I dynasty are Semitic (Gelb 1961b: 4–5; 1981: 54–55; Edzard 1960: 245) as are the majority of attested names from independent sources. However all of the names are probably Semitic, some merely expressed in Sumerian ideographs. At Mari, a series of six names attested in the SKL have now been reconstructed as Semitic (Geller 1987; Gelb 1989), as have all of the independently attested inscriptions (Dossin 1967; Gelb 1989). The one name from Sippar in the SKL appears to be Sumerian but the one independently attested (ED II–IIIa?) name is Semitic: Manki-Beli (Budge 1899: pl. 4/22451; Walker and Collon 1980: pl. 27/21; Gelb 1961b: 2 *contra* Leichty 1986: 212).

The presence of nonroyal Semitic names and words is also attested from the northern part of the alluvium. Many private votive inscriptions and land sale documents are either from Kish, Sippar, or other northern centers, or contain Semitic names and phrases (Edzard 1960: 245–46; Gelb 1960: 266; 1961b: 2–4; 1981: 55; Gelb, Steinkeller, and Whiting 1990). Economic texts from Kish and Mari mention Semitic names and phrases, e.g., *mi-at* for "hundred" (Gelb 1960: 266; 1981: 55; 1989: 129; Charpin 1987: 89–90). Deities also occur in Semitic form (Gelb 1989: 132). The recently reconstructed Old Semitic calendar system from the Early Dynastic had a wide distribution in the Upper Euphrates at Ebla, Mari, and presumably Kish (Lambert 1970; Charpin 1982; 1987: 90; Pettinato 1977; 1981: 147–48).

The Semitic developments in Akkad during the early third millennium B.C. are reflected in materials recovered in Sumer. Semitic names are attested in Early Dynastic documents from Fara, Adab, Ur, Lagash, and Nippur (Gelb 1961b: 4). Akkadian loan words passed into Sumerian (Gelb 1960: 266; 1961b: 5, 141). Biggs (1967; 1974) has noted scribes with Semitic names at Abu Salabikh. In an Abu Salabikh economic text (IAS 518), the use of Semitic *li-im* for "thousand" and *mi-at* for "hundred" parallels the usage at Mari and Ebla (Biggs and Postgate 1978: 106–7). Another economic text from the site (IAS 508) may be written in Semitic (Biggs 1974: 44, 96). Texts from Abu Salabikh, Adab, and Girsu use the early Semitic month names as well (Gelb 1989: 140; Charpin 1987: 90). The Abu Salabikh literary text IAS 326 (+ IAS 342) is referred to as a Semitic hymn to the sun god (Michalowski 1987: 171). It may have duplicates at Mari and Ebla and is probably written in Semitic (Michalowski 1987: 171; Gelb 1987: 53; Edzard 1984: no. 6; Archi 1987: 128–30). Biggs (1981: 127) suggests it was composed at Kish or Ebla.

A number of royal personages in Sumer had close Semitic ties. Pu-abi, a Semitic queen at Ur, belongs to the ED IIIa (Sollberger and Kupper 1971: 41). Meskiaganunna, king of Ur during the ED II(?), had a Semitic wife who in one of the earliest Semitic texts from the south dedicates an offering for him (Sollberger 1965: no. 2; Sollberger

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TABLE 1. Legendary and Attested Early Rulers: Kish, Mari and Ebla*

Kish		*Mari*	*Ebla*	
ED I (2900–2700 B.C.)				
		Etana		
		Balih		
Maškakatu	Kalibum	Enmenunna		
Kullasina-Ibᶜel	Qalumum	Melam-Kiš/ Barsalnunna		
Nangiš-lišma	Zuqaqip	Samuk		
Endaraginna	Atab	Tizkar		
Babum	Mašda	Il-ku		
Pu-annum	Arwium	Ilta-sadum		
ED II (2700–2600 B.C.)				
Enmebaragesi**	Lugal-UD**			
Agga	Ur-zag-e**	Il-šu (Il-pu)		
Susuda	Enna-Il**	NE-zi		
Dadasig	Uhub**	Ištup-šarru	Ikun-Mari**	Igriš-Kalam
Magalgalla		Saʾʾumu	Ikun-Šamaš**	
		Ikun-Samagan**		Irkab-Damu
ED IIIa (2600–2500 B.C.)				
		Iblul-Il**		Arennum
Kalbum		Enna-Dagan**	Idi-narum**	
Tuge		Iš-gi$_4$-Ma-ri**		
Mannunna				
Inbi-Ištar**		Iku-Išar**		Ibrium
Lugal-mu		Hidaʾar		Ibbi-Zikir

*The basic order of names for Kish is after Hallo 1971: 40, 46 and figs. 7, 8; for Mari and Ebla, see Archi 1985; 1987; Geller 1987: 144–45; Gelb 1989.

**Contemporary mention or inscription.

and Kupper (1971: 43). At Lagash, Ur-Nanše had a Semitic wife, Abda (Sollberger 1956: 2, no. 20; Sollberger and Kupper 1971: 45).

The early mention of Semites as destructive nomads revolves around the epic *Lugalbanda and Enmerkar*, which presumably took place in ED II since an early fragment is known from ED IIIa (Biggs 1966: 85, n. 88; 1974: 91 no. 327). In that account, the Semitic MAR.TU besiege Uruk, having ravaged the Sumerian and Akkadian countryside in the past (Kramer 1963: 273; Rowton 1969: 313–14). However, the best known contemporary Sumerian example of the term for the Semites comes from the reign of Eannatum of Lagash (ca. 2400 B.C.). In an inscription dedicating a large Lagash canal, he states that his Tidnum name—his Semitic tribal name—was Lumma. This is in contrast to his "national" (*kalam*) name. Sollberger suggests that the Semitic background was possible since in the *Stela of Vultures*, Eannatum says that Inanna gave the young prince his Sumerian name (Sollberger and Kupper 1971: 60, 48, n. 3). Edzard suggests that a Tidnum name was reasonable, for Tidnum soldiers served in Eannatum's army (Edzard 1960: 249–50; for at least three possibilities of interpreting this Semitic name, see Gelb 1980: 144, 147). Kramer suggests that Tidnum, later a MAR.TU tribal name, refers here to the regions west of Sumer (Kramer 1963: 53, 55; Buccellati 1966: 244; see also Heltzer 1981: 1–3; Edzard, Farber, and Sollberger 1977: 157; Edzard and Farber 1974: 30). Tidnum, read as GÌR.GÌR in the above Eannatum inscription, has other ED IIIa parallels. In the *Archaic City List* (Green 1986: 77; Archi 1987: 128) from Abū Ṣalābīkh, Tidnum is read as GÌR.PIRIG (Biggs 1974: no. 21, col. iii, line 1) with a duplicate

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from Fara (Deimel 1923: no. 25; Civil, personal communication). This earlier combination goes back to the Protoliterate or Jemdet Nasr period. The sign ligature GÌR.PIRIG there is read as Tidnum in the Uruk example of the *Archaic City List* (Green and Nissen 1987: 294, no. 552).

Our understanding of the Semitic presence in "Akkad" hinges on a date for those early royal and common references. Sign orthography, historical synchronisms, and textual examination help determine a date for the early "Akkadian" rulers of the northern alluvium. Jacobsen has suggested that "the heroic age" in which Sumer changed from council-orientated leadership to individual heroes or kings probably began ca. 2700 B.C. or ED II (Jacobsen 1957: 106–7, 120). It may have happened even earlier; the sign LUGAL is attested in Uruk III or ca. 2900 B.C. (Green and Nissen 1987: 240, no. 334). Based on the synchronisms in the SKL, several authorities have placed the "mythical" or "legendary" kings of Kish in ED I (Mallowan 1965: 69–70; Hallo 1970: 61, n. 59a; 1971: figs. 7–8). The division between the antediluvian and postdiluvian rulers, then, can be suggested as ca. 2900 B.C. or the beginning of ED I. That date may be confirmed by an examination of the five antediluvian towns of the SKL, only one of which (Larak) still awaits identification (Mallowan 1971: 289; Jacobsen 1987: 147, n. 8). The other four (Eridu, Bad-tibira, Sippar, and Shuruppak) were occupied during the Protoliterate–ED I periods (see Adams 1981: figs. 9, 27). In addition, in the north and south, cities began to take on large-scale urban proportions during ED I (Uruk: Nissen 1972; Adams and Nissen 1972: 12, 17–19, fig. 5; Kish: Gibson 1972b: 115; 1973: table 1).

Unfortunately, the archaeology of Akkad is poorly known. The major sites of Kish and Sippar have been treated in less than exemplary fashion and we are thus at the mercy of recent synthesized studies (Kish: Gibson 1972a; Moorey 1975; Sippar: Walker and Collon 1980). A brief examination of some relevant data from Kish, Sippar, and Mari may support the conclusions drawn from the historical data. Gibson, in his study of Kish, suggested that the A Palace and the cemetery could be dated to ED II based on the assumption that shell inlay fragments found there dated to that period (Gibson 1972a: 59; cf. also Weiss 1975: 435; Moorey 1967: 106–7; 1970: 93–94). The so-called Fara type tablets from Kish (Mallowan 1965: 70, n. 22; Gibson 1972a: 79), Gelb dates to the period preceding Fara, i.e., ED II (Gelb 1981: 55). Adams and Moorey state that the A Palace was in ruins by ED III and thus the Kish kings exercised their power earlier (Adams 1981: 88; Moorey 1975: 167). Mallowan (1965: 69) also suggests that the great palace dated to ED II.

The relevant material from Sippar was haphazardly excavated by Rassam in 1881 and 1882, probably from the É-Babbar. The material was reexamined recently. Of the 14 ED alabaster worshipper statuettes catalogued (Walker and Collon 1980: 96–97), one is inscribed by Ikun-Shamash of Mari (Table 1). Stylistically, they should belong to the ED II–IIIa (Porada 1965: 163). ED II–III maceheads, stone vases, and stone land sale tablets also clearly mark Sippar as an important ED II–III center. Unfortunately, we have little to suggest that Sippar was an important center in the preceding ED I.

The large number of inlay fragments, worshipper statuettes and plaques from Mari also confirm its tie to the alluvium and place it within the ED II–IIIa (Parrot 1956; 1967; 1971). Recent work in the central Euphrates region near Anah revealed at least three major ED I–III sites (Abdul-Amir 1988: 47–49). One, Ta^{c}as al-Kaffar, was a walled settlement (Abdul-Amir 1988: 117). Another, Usiyah, had an equid team burial similar to those from the Hamrin basin, Abū Ṣalābīkh, and Ur (Roaf and Postgate 1981: 198; Zarins 1986). Tell Chokheh, just north of Falluya, and Tell Aswad, south of Hit, also had substantial ED II–III occupations (Roaf and Postgate 1981: 174–75; Abdul-Amir 1988: 117), suggesting continuous interaction among the Kish and Sippar environs, the western desert and the area along the Euphrates to the north. That observation is confirmed by the Ebla texts, which show Kish, Mari, and Ebla were intimately connected (Archi 1987 and references). A mathematical text from Ebla (TM 75.G.1693) has a most interesting colophon that may read: "As established by the scribes of Kish" (Friberg 1983: 9; cf. Gelb 1981: 61).

A final archaeological observation should be made in support of this proposal: Recent work in the Gulf and Iran has established that the "série ancienne" or "Intercultural style" of steatite/soapstone vessels had not only a widespread geographical range, but also a short temporal range (Kohl 1974). Where provenance is known, the context suggests an identification with elites (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988: 53–55). Vessels have been catalogued from Mari (Parrot 1956: pls. 46–52; 1967:

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pl. 71; 1971: pl. 14), Kish (Kohl 1974; Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988: 57), Sippar (Collon and Walker 1980: 99), and numerous Sumerian sites, including Adab, Nippur, Ur, Fara and Ur (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988). The presence of those vessels at Palmyra (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988: 58 and reference) and the location of walled Early Dynastic forts on the Upper Euphrates reinforce the idea of a trade route through the western desert. Kohl (1979: 62; 1986: 368–74) suggests that the forms reached a peak of popular usage between 2600 and 2500 B.C. Potts (1985: 682, n. 51) places the peak between ED II and ED IIIa. From Tepe Yahya in Iran, the bulk of the excavated material is placed in Yahya IV B1–4, or 2700–2400 B.C. (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988: 52). Excavation of late third millennium B.C. tumuli at Dhahran and Bahrain has failed to turn up Intercultural style vessels and thus also supports an ED II–IIIa date for the earlier style (Zarins, Mughannum, and Kamal 1984: 27; Ibrahim 1982: 34; Mughal 1983).

The conclusion here is that the title "King of Kish," used by rulers by the ED I–II, referred to political supremacy over the northern part of the plain ca. 2900–2500 B.C., a period when Semitic writing was beginning to be recognized as a state instrument for political domination (Biggs 1970: 138). Since Semitic populations exercised that control, they exerted political and socioeconomic power not only south into Sumer but also apparently north along the Euphrates to Mari and beyond. A cultural symbiosis was characteristic of the region and the early Semitic populations penetrated Mesopotamia through the middle Euphrates valley; they spread to the regions of Kish, Sippar, and Mari and moved sporadically south (Goetze 1961: 111). This being the case, their entrance into the plain as pastoral nomads would have occurred prior to ED I, or as Cooper (1973: 239–40) says, "Sumero-Akkadian language contact in Mesopotamia can be projected back literally to the dawn of history." Rowton (1969: 311) suggests that during the fourth millennium B.C., large areas of the steppe and marsh adjacent to the main watercourses were best exploited by mixed farming and pastoralism. Very little documentation can be generated to prove historically that "Akkadian" populations were nomadic, since our ability to interpret the Protoliterate texts is limited (above). However, if we are to take advantage of and explain the anthropological model and paradigm, we cannot arbitrarily suggest that the symbiotic interaction began only in ED I–II. Nor can we suggest that the same forces were not at work in prehistoric times, shaping the northern alluvium of Akkad. To best understand the nature of prehistoric settlement in the region we must turn to the earliest archaeological record of pastoralism and the Arabian Desert west of the alluvium.

THE PRE-POTTERY NEOLITHIC B COMPLEX AND THE FERTILE CRESCENT

Archaeologists in the last half-century have examined closely the "Agricultural Revolution" in the Fertile Crescent, particularly along the northern rim of the Mesopotamian plain and especially at the limits of natural rainfall farming (fig. 2).

The PPNB cultural manifestations appear to solidify and expand on the earlier tenuous steps toward mixed agriculture that perhaps were begun in the late Epipaleolithic and PPNA. Since its definition at Jericho by Kenyon (1960: 47–57), the sedentary aspect of the PPNB has been found in a large arc covering Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Israel, Syria, and Turkey (Zarins 1989b: 30; fig. 1; fig. 2 here). The northernmost sites have been found on the Balikh and Khabur tributaries of the Euphrates (fig. 3; Copeland 1982; Cauvin 1972; Moore 1981; 1985; Akkermans 1988). The southernmost Euphrates sites appear to be Bouqras and Tell es-Souab 3, suggesting that rainfall farming could not be practiced further south. Recognizing the pattern, most archaeologists refer to a "Levantine" origin for this phenomenon. Moore (1979: 64) suggests a concept called "The Ancient Levant" (fig. 2) which included substantially all of Syria, western Iraq, most of Jordan, and a portion of northern Saudi Arabia. The researchers at Palmyra refer to PPNB sites there as part of the "inland Levant" (Fujii *et al.* 1987: 37).

The cultural characteristics of the period are well summarized elsewhere (Singh 1974; Mellaart 1975: 55–69; Bar-Yosef 1980: 127–30; Moore 1981; 1982: 9–16; 1985). The current article will briefly summarize the latest data on the subperiods.

After four seasons of excavation at ʿAin Ghazzal in Jordan, the investigators have subdivided the sequence into three specific phases: PPNB: 7000–6200 B.C., PPNC: 6200–5800 B.C. (also called Final PPN or PPNB final, Stordeur 1988; Cauvin 1981: 481), and the PN (Neolithic): 5800–5000 B.C. (sometimes called "Late Neolithic," Rollefson 1988;

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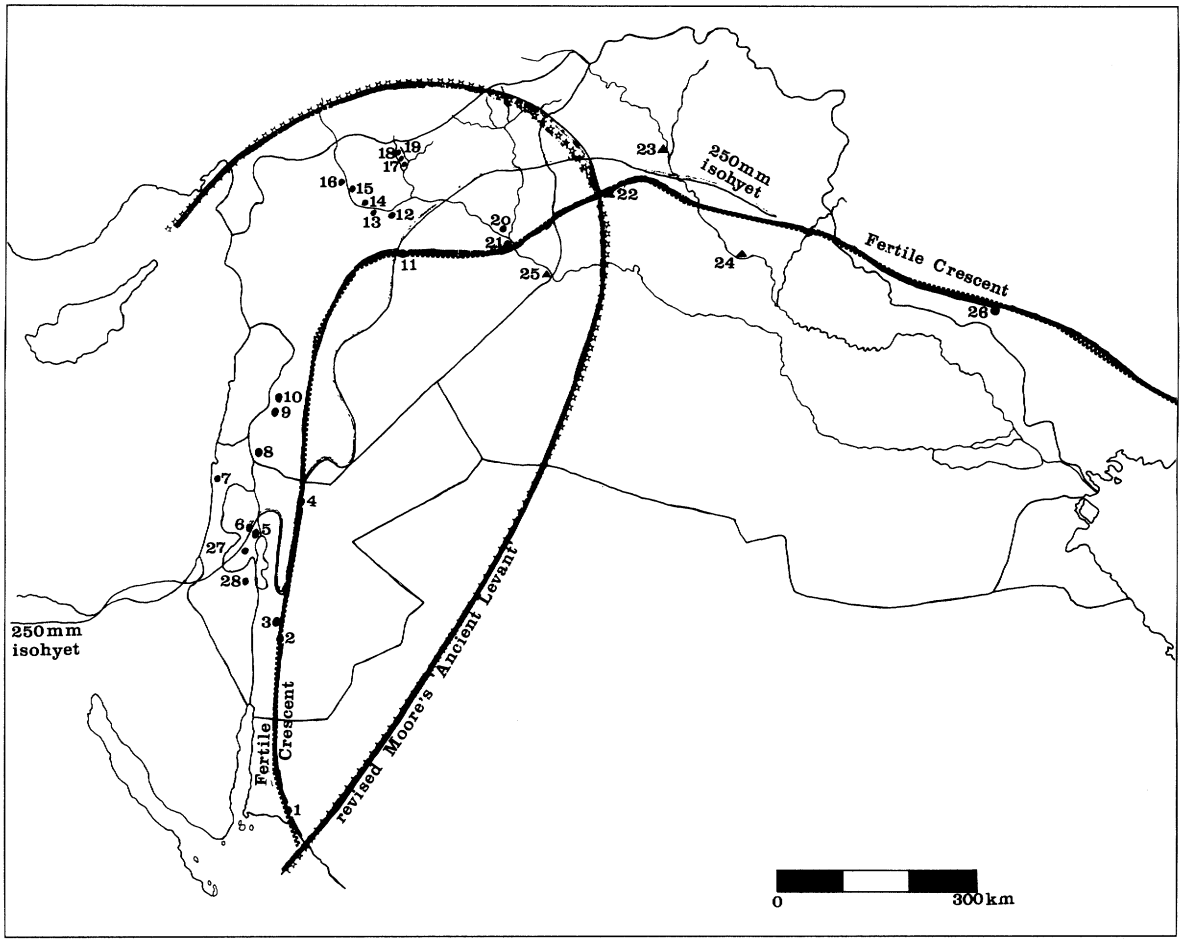

Fig. 2. Fertile Crescent in Relationship to the "Ancient Levant."

1. Al Aynah, 200–104
2. Abu Neheileh
3. Beidha
4. Ain Ghazzal
5. Jericho
6. Abu Ghosh
7. Nahal Oren
8. Beisamoun
9. Tell Ramad
10. Labwe
11. El Kowm
12. Abu Hureyra
13. Dibsi Faraj
14. Mureybit
15. Sheikh Hassan
16. Nahr el Homr
17. Marfraq Slouq
18. Tulul Breilat
19. Tell Aswad
20. Tell es-Sinn
21. Bouqras
22. Umm Dabaghiyah
23. Hassuna
24. Tell es-Sawwan
25. Baghouz
26. Ali Kosh
27. El Khiam
28. Nahal Hemar

Köhler-Rollefson 1988; Rollefson and Simmons 1988: 98–99; Kafafi 1987). Possible similar sequences may be found at ᶜAin Abū Neḥeileḥ in southern Jordan (Henry 1986), Kowm II in northern Syria (Stordeur 1988), and Al Aynah in Saudi Arabia (Ingraham *et al.* 1981).

Three major topics—climate, subsistence, and lithic technology—which relate to pastoral nomadism and can be recognized in the archaeological record are briefly examined here in light of the revised PPNB/C record. It seems clear that the PPNB/C was part of a climatic optimum that declined slowly and terminated in stages during the late third millennium B.C. (for the evidence, see Zarins 1989b and references). Mellaart (1975: 65) speaks of a "wetter phase" during the early part of that period which allowed the spread of PPNB culture into more marginal steppe sites such as Bouqras and Kowm. Moore (1979: 69) has postulated a major shift in vegetation zones between the beginning of the Natufian and the end of the PPNB. Others have suggested that the climate of southern Palestine was wetter during the seventh millennium B.C. (Horowitz 1979: 248; Danin 1985: 39–40;

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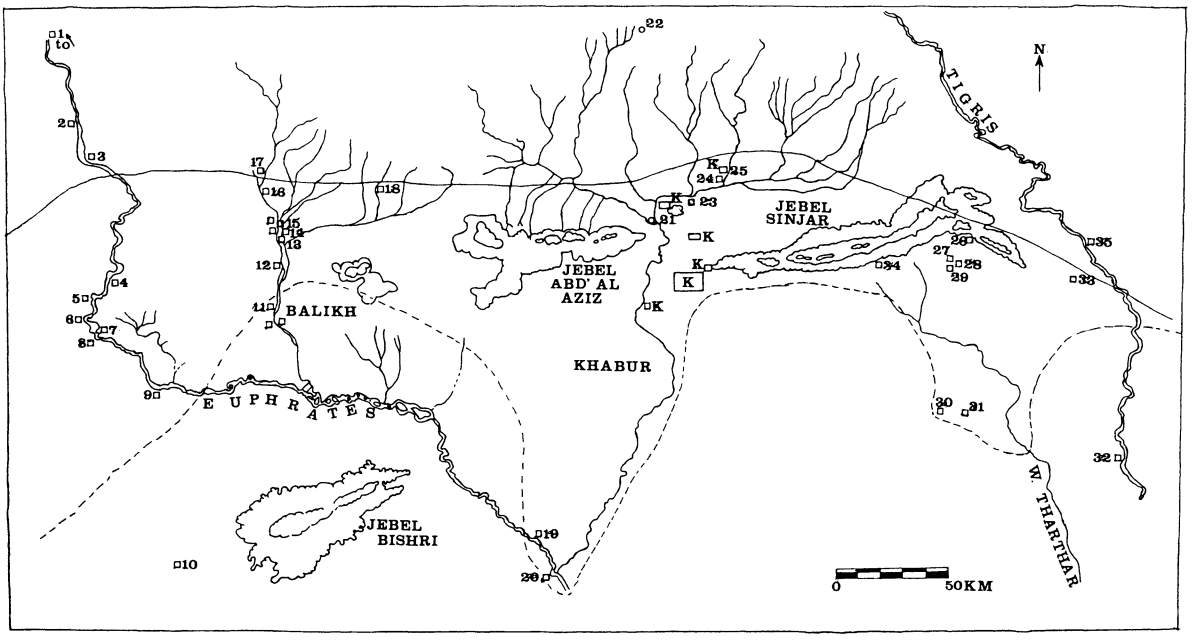

Fig. 3. The Jezireh and Northern Mesopotamia (after Roodenberg 1988; Akkermans 1988).

1. Hayaz Höyök and Kumartepe
2. Carchemish
3. Til Barsip
4. Mumbaqat
5. Hububa Kebira
6. Selenkahiye
7. Mureybit
8. Emar
9. Abu Hureyra
10. Kowm
11. Khirbet el Bassal
12. Mounbatah
13. Mafraq Slouq
14. Tullul Breilat/Tell Sabi Abyad
15. Tell Hammam
16. Tell Assouad
17. Tell Abyad
18. Tell Chuera
19. Tell es-Sinn
20. Bouqras
21. Hasetche
22. Mardin
23. Tell Aswad
24. Tell Brak
25. Tell Awan
26. Tell Afar
27. Maghzaliyeh
28. Yarim Tepe
29. Tell Sotto
30. Umm Dabaghiyah
31. Tellel eth-Thalathat
32. Assur
33. Hassuna
34. Grai Resch
35. Nineveh

table 1; Rosen 1987: 48–49). Work in the Palmyra basin has largely supported that theory (Sakaguchi 1978: 26, 109; 1987: 14; Fujii *et al.* 1987: 29).

Economically, according to Bar-Yosef, a radical change took place by the beginning of the period. However, while there is clear evidence of cereal and pulse domestication from the preceding PPNA, there is little evidence of domesticated animals at that time. Bar-Yosef (1980: 128) suggests that most of the earlier (wild) game had given way to a dominance of ovicaprids and bovids and that their domestication in later periods was not in doubt. Without clearly stating that the PPNB animals were domestic, he suggests that a drastic faunal change was evident at such sites as Mureybit, Abu Hureyra, Beisamoun, Jericho, and Abu Ghosh. The evidence of sheep remains at Jericho, found outside their natural habitat, also suggests a concerted conscious manipulation. Mellaart (1975: 65–66) feels that a loose association of gazelle and other ungulates with humans prevented intensive domestication during the PPNB and only the domestic goat could be placed in that category. A study of the fauna at Jericho convinced Clutton-Brock (1978; 1981: 56–57, 60–61) that domestic goat and sheep were present by the eighth millennium B.C. Moore (1979: 68) states that ovicaprids and gazelle were herded by the PPNB (see also Legge 1972; Garrard 1984: 126). Moore later (1982: 16) proposed that only ovicaprids were herded and that the innovation began during the PPNB (Moore 1981: 448, 456). Surely, however, the dramatic reversal of the relative percentages of gazelle vs. sheep/goat ca. 6200 B.C. in favor of the latter strongly argues in favor of

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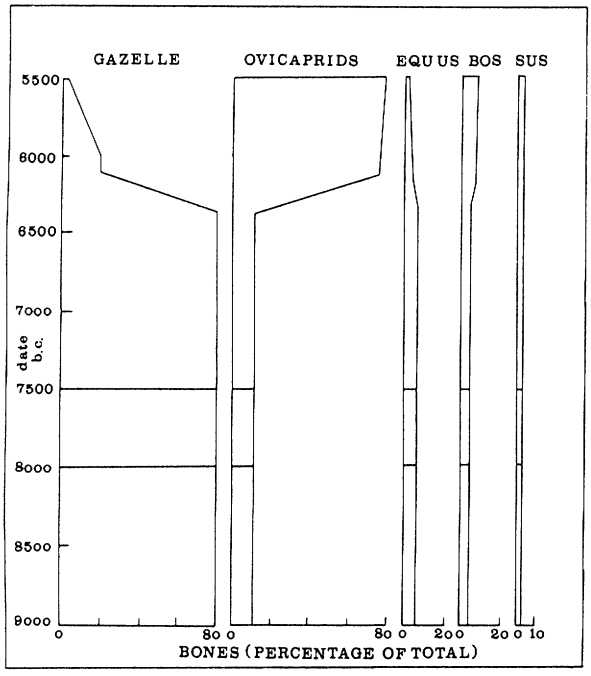

Fig. 4. Composite of total animal bones recovered from Abu Hureyra, Mureybit, Beisamoun, Jericho, Abu Ghosh, Bouqras, and Tell es-Sinn (after Legge and Rowley-Conwy 1987, Clason 1980, 1983, and Bar-Yosef 1980).

the introduction of sheep/goat animal husbandry by the PPNC (fig. 4). This reversal is paralleled at Balikh PPNB/C sites, such as Tell Assouad and Tell Sabi Abyad. The earlier levels at Tell Assouad contained a majority of wild animals but by the PPNC, domestic ovicaprids were dominant (Akkermans 1988). The same pattern for dominant ovicaprid herding in the PPNC is seen further north along the Euphrates at Hayaz Höyök (Roodenberg 1988). At Bouqras, contemporary to the last half of the PPNB at Abu Hureyra and thus part of the PPNC, the initial faunal identification suggested that ovicaprid remains predominated and that goat were "semidomesticated" (Hooijer 1966: 194). A recent study of new material from Bouqras notes the presence of domesticated ovicaprids and wild sheep (Akkermans *et al.* 1982: 57; Clason 1983: 361). At ᶜAin Ghazzal during the PPNB, herding domestic goats and hunting were equally important (Rollefson 1988: 4; Köhler-Rollefson 1988). In PPNC, goats were increasingly well represented and hunting declined (Köhler-Rollefson 1988). In addition to ovicaprids at Bouqras, domestic cattle were present in PPNC context (Clason 1979–1980; 1983: 361; Buitenhuis 1984: 213). They were introduced at Abu Hureyra, ᶜAin Ghazzal, Hayaz Höyök, Tell Abu Abyad and Tell Assouad at the same time (Legge and Rowley-Conwy 1987: 95; Rollefson 1988; Roodenberg 1988; Akkermans 1988). The distribution of animal domesticates in the Levant, coupled with other evidence (see below), suggests that the hearth area for much of PPNB animal husbandry may have been in the northern Syrian region just north of the Jezireh (fig. 3).

Lithic production was becoming more specialized during the period and exotic or highly desired flint sources were exploited as part of an apparent, long-range trade network involving the Mount Carmel area, central and southern Syria, and northern Arabia (Mellaart 1975: 65). Other long-distance trade items moving through Syria, northern Arabia, and the Levant included Vannic obsidian, alabaster, jadeite/greenstone, turquoise, and white plaster ware. The "markers" identified with lithic production include the distinctive biended cores (often called naviform or boat-shaped) and crested blades as byproducts that produced the desired long blades characteristic of the PPNB. Such blades sometimes exhibited pressure retouch and were turned into reaping knives, distinctive tanged projectile points (e.g., Amuq and Byblos points), endscrapers, sickle blades, borers, notches, and very commonly simple and transverse type burins (Mortensen 1970; M.-C. Cauvin 1972: 90–93; Mellaart 1975: 63; Moore 1982: 11; Rollefson 1988). This classic PPNB sequence can be tied to numerous other sites and the assemblages are most often identified on the basis of projectile points (fig. 5). For the PPNC, smaller projectile points occur although Byblos and Amuq points are still present. Burins are still dominant but truncation types become much more common (Table 2). Notches and retouched flakes occur in greater numbers and sickle blades disappear (Rollefson 1988). By the Pottery Neolithic, small bifacially knapped, tanged, and winged projectile points are common, as are truncation burins and large side scrapers (Gilead 1990). Tabular or cortical flint scrapers also appear (fig. 6; Rollefson and Simmons 1988: fig. 7).

THE STEPPE/DESERT PPNB

Several researchers view the steppe/desert south of the central Fertile Crescent as distinct from the settled zone, although the various ecological subgroupings of the region are usually more complex

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than is generally realized (see Wirth 1958; Zarins 1989b: 35–36; Betts 1989; Betts *et al.* 1990: 1–4). In fact, PPNB materials were found outside the expected sedentary zone before similar finds at the Levant tell sites, but they were not recognized as such. Material was reported form Wadi Ahmar in the south Sinai early in the twentieth century (Currelly 1906: 229–44). In eastern Jordan and central Syria, explorers saw from the air large-scale enigmatic structures, Maitland's [1927] and Rees's [1929] so-called "kites" or Poidebard's [1934] "*enceintes fortifeés indigenes.*" Finds in Jordan, Syria, and Iraq remained unknown within the larger context of Levantine archaeology (see Field 1951: 89, n. 9; 1960; Rhotert 1938; Waechter and Seton-Williams 1938). However, by the 1940s, three distinctive categories of artifacts were known in this vast area: rock art, lithics, and structures.

Intensive work conducted since the 1960s in the Negev and Sinai, eastern and southern Jordan, and northern Saudi Arabia (see Zarins 1990) allows us to begin assessing similar material from Syria and Iraq. Based on work in the Negev, researchers have constructed a tripartite division of the PPNB based on knapping techniques, projectile point typology, and Carbon-14 dates (Bar-Yosef 1981a: 221, 226; Noy and Cohen 1974; Zarins 1990: table 1). Summary studies suggest a site typology based on site size, architecture, and lithic usage (Simmons 1981: 32–47; Goring-Morris and Gopher 1983; Baron 1981). In the Sinai, PPNB sites are known from both the north (Gilead and Goldberg 1976; Mintz and Ben-Ami 1977: 242–43) and south (Copeland and Hours 1971: 17; Goring-Morris and Mintz 1976: 138; Bar-Yosef 1981a; 1981b; Goldberg and Bar-Yosef 1982). It appears that many sites belong to the PPNC, a significant fact mirrored at Syrian sites (Bar-Yosef 1981b: 45). In the Azraq region of Jordan, a number of PPNB sites have been defined on the basis of stratigraphical association or surface concentrations (Garrard and Stanley-Price 1975–1977; Garrard *et al.* 1985; Garrard *et al.* 1987; Rollefson 1982: 26–27; Rollefson and Frohlich 1983). From Jilat 7, two Carbon-14 dates suggest a mid-seventh millennium B.C. date for the PPNB occupation (Garrard and Stanley-Price 1975; Garrard *et al.* 1988: 322).

Betts's five-year campaign in the eastern arm of Jordan has helped to define the steppe/desert facies of the PPNB/C and the PN. Work at Dhuweila, on the western side of the Harrat Rajil, revealed a two-fold sequence. The earlier PPNC occupation was dated to 6240 B.C. and represented a small camp composed of stone circles. The lithic assemblage on flint was characterized by the presence of naviform bipolar cores, projectile points of Beidha and Byblos type, and dihedral and truncation burins (Betts 1988b: 9). Recovered animal drawings on small basalt boulders (Betts 1987) are paralleled at other sites to the southwest, such as Kilwa (Rhotert 1938), and represent in secure context the early outline style associated with the PPNC. "Kites" of the region may now be safely dated to the PPNB/C period (Helms 1982: 101; Betts 1988a), especially the Byblos and Beiha projectile points (Parr *et al.* 1978: 36–37; Helms 1981: 46–47, fig. 23; Betts 1983: 9–10; 1985: 39; Helms and Betts 1987, figs. 15–16). At Ibn el-Ghazzi, northeast of Dhuweila, a conscious attempt was being made in the PPNC to control scarce water resources by channeling and impounding. That may be one of the earliest precursors to the more famous *seil* technique the South Arabs used centuries later (Betts 1988a; Betts and Helms 1989). The apparent southern limit of the PPNC sites is in north-central Saudi Arabia. Site 201–42 in the Wadi Arar drainage contains the usual PPNC materials (Parr *et al.* 1978: 36; pl. 39, nos. 46–54). Possibly the settlement, 206–36, found at Hail (Parr *et al.* 1978: 39; pl. 27b/c) and a kite south of the Nafud (206–6) may represent the southern early extension of the PPNC expansion. To the west, the southern PPNC line remains at Kilwa, where a recent resurvey has confirmed Rhotert's earlier work (Gilmore, personal communication).

The spread of the PPNC culture over the desert/steppe suggests the continuation of a mixed subsistence strategy, but one that also included some limited sheep/goat herding (Betts 1988a; Tchernov and Bar-Yosef 1982). At Jilat 7, in southern Jordan, the subsistence strategy for the earlier PPNB included hunting gazelle and other animals, domesticating cereals, and exploiting wild grasses in a pattern similar to that at ʿAin Ghazzal. At Azraq 31, by 6400 B.C. domestic ovicaprids complemented the previous dietary pattern (Garrard *et al.* 1987; 1988: 322). The use of kites to trap gazelle and equids suggests the eventual demise of large-scale game hunting and presages the introduction and dependence on specialized herding, i.e., pastoral nomadism.

Betts defined for the first time the relationship between the PPNC and the following PN period, a period poorly understood in the Levant itself until the discoveries at ʿAin Ghazzal. The PN (Stage 2) at Dhuweila has been C-14-dated to 5450–5030 B.C. (3 dates) and at Jebel Naja to 5480 B.C. (Betts

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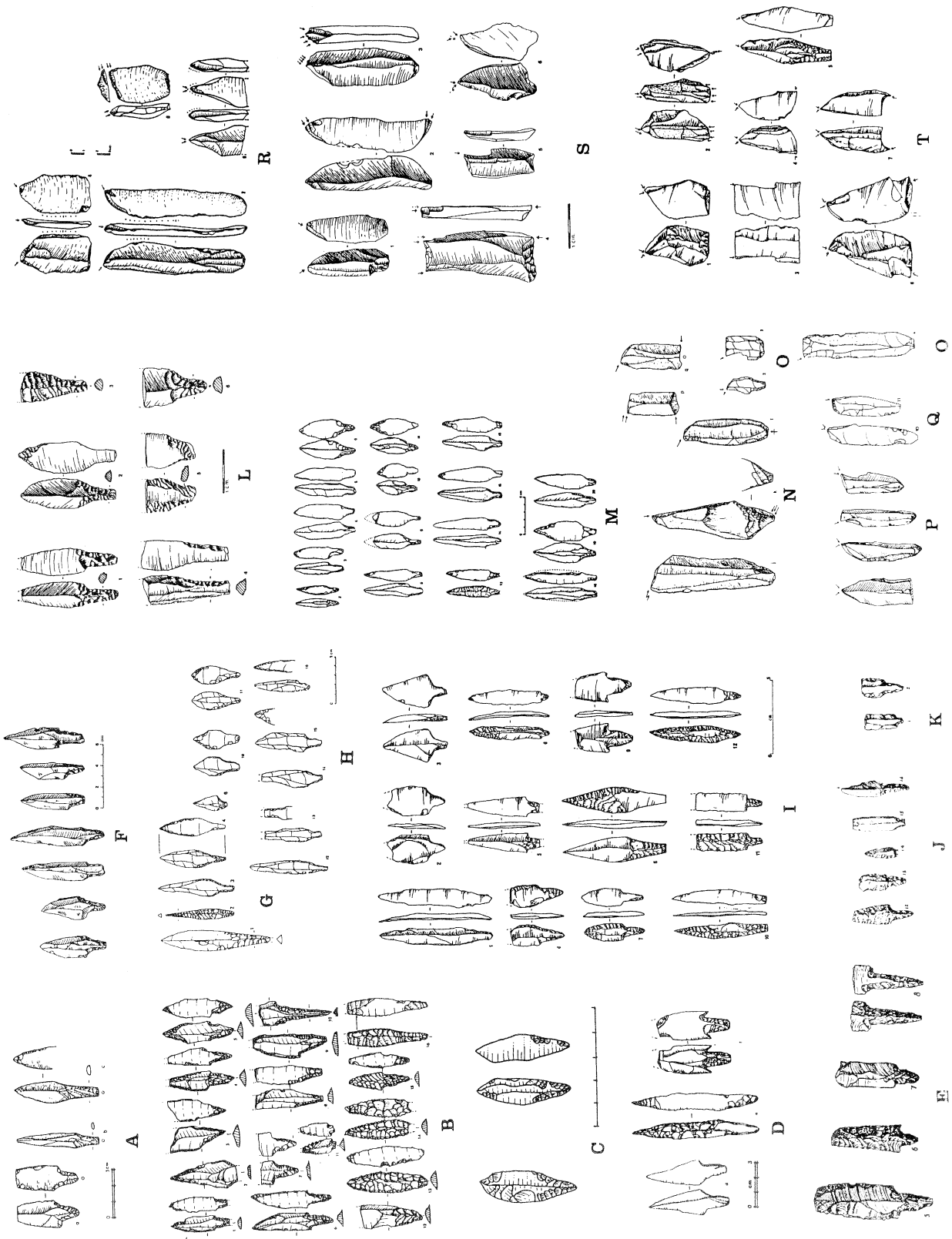

Fig. 5. Seventh and sixth millennia B.C. stone tools, principally projectile points and burins.

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Fig. 5. Seventh and sixth millennia B.C. stone tools, principally projectile points and burins.

A. PPNB/C projectile points from ʿAin Ghazzal (after Rollefson and Simmons 1988: 99, fig. 5).
B. PPNB projectile points from Mushabi VI-H, Sinai (after Mintz and Ben-Ami 1977: 223, fig. 104).
C. PPNB projectile points from Al Aynah, Saudi Arabia (after Ingraham *et al.* 1981: pl. 69 D/14, 21).
D. PPNB projectile points from Jilat 7, Jordan (after Garrard *et al.* 1988: 21, fig. 8).
E. PPNB projectile points from Kilwa, Saudi Arabia (after Rhotert 1938: 114).
F. PPNB projectile points from Abu Hureyra, Syria (after Moore 1985: 27, fig. 1.15).
G. PPNB projectile points from Bouqras, Syria (after Roodenberg 1983: fig. 8).
H. Projectile points from Tell es-Sinn, Syria (after Roodenberg 1979/80: 33, fig. 5).
I. PPNB/C projectile points from Dhuweila, Jordan (after Betts 1988b: 380, fig. 5).
J. PPNB projectile points from Qasr Hallabat, Jordan (after Garrod 1960: fig. 52).
K. PPNB projectile points from landing ground H (near Tell Hibr, Syria) (after Garrod 1960: fig. 52).
L. PPNB projectile points from Kowm, Qdeir I, Syria (after Cauvin 1981: fig. 3).
M. PPNB/C projectile points from Hayaz Höyök, Turkey (after Roodenberg 1988: fig. 2).
N. PPNB/C opposed and transverse burins from ʿAin Ghazzal (after Rollefson and Simmons 1988: 99, fig. 5).
O. PPNB burins from Tell es-Sinn (Roodenberg 1979–1980: 32–33, figs. 4–5).
P. PPNB burins from Abu Hureyra (after Moore 1985: 27, fig. 1.15).
Q. PPNB burins from Bouqras (after Roodenberg 1983: fig. 8).
R. PPNB/C burins from Kowm II (after Stordeur 1988: fig. 6).
S. PPNB/C burins from Kowm I (after J. Cauvin 1981: fig. 4).
T. PPNB/C burins from Dhuweila (after Betts 1988b: fig. 7).

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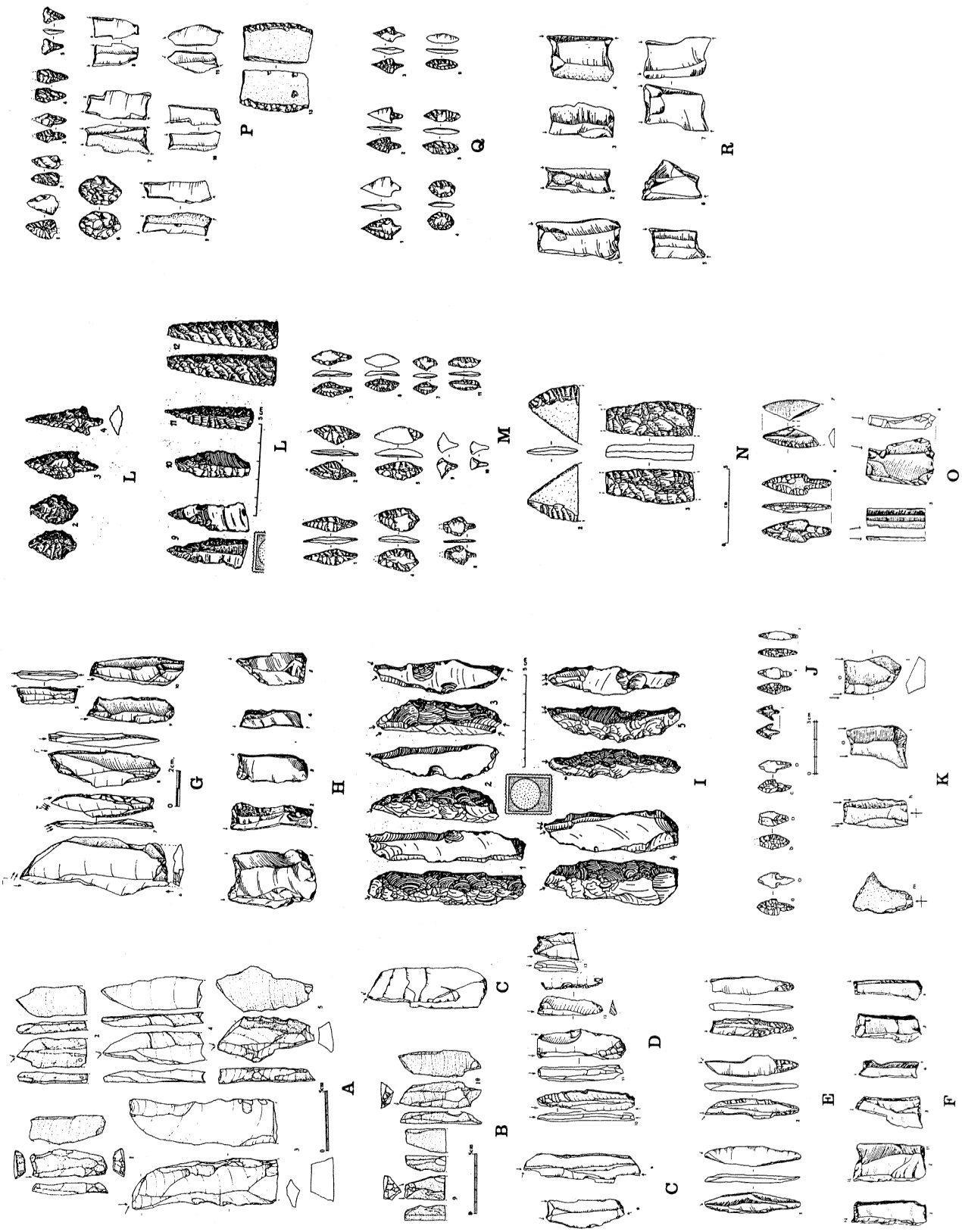

Fig. 6. Seventh and sixth millennia B.C. stone tools, principally projectile points and burins.

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Fig. 6. Seventh and sixth millennia B.C. stone tools, principally projectile points and burins.

A. PPNB/C burins from Thaniyyet Wuker, Site 122, Palmyra, Syria (after Fujii *et al.* 1987: 33, fig. 2.3).
B. PPNB/C burins from Thaniyyet Wuker, Site 122, Palmyra, Syria (after Fujii 35 *al.* 1987: 35, fig. 2.4).
C. PPNB/C burins from Jilat 7 (after Garrard *et al.* 1988: 21, fig. 8).
D. PPNB burins from Mushabi VI-H (after Mintz and Ben-Ami 1977: 226, fig. 105).
E. PPNB/C burins from Dhuweila (after Betts 1988a: 17, fig. 12).
F. PPNB/C burins from Umm Wual, Saudi Arabia (after Garrod 1960: fig. 47).
G. PPNB burins from Mushabi VI-G (after Mintz and Ben-Ami 1977: 230).
H. PPNB/C burins from Rutba, Iraq (after Garrod 1960: fig. 48).
I. PPNB/C burins from Kilwa (after Rhotert 1938: 97).
J. PN projectile points from Qadesh Barnea 3 (after Bar-Yosef 1981: 227, fig. 4).
K. PN projectile points, burins, and tabular flint scraper from ʿAin Ghazzal (after Rollefson and Simmons 1988: 101, fig. 7).
L. PN projectile points from Kilwa (after Rhotert 1938: 114).
M. PN projectile points from Dhuweila (after Betts 1988b: fig. 6).
N. Tabular flint and bifacial pieces form Dhuweila (after Betts 1988b: fig. 8).
O. PN projectile points and burins from Umm Dabaghiyah, Iraq (after Kirkbride 1972: pls. 17, 18).
P. PN projectile points, burins, and tabular flint scraper from el-Ghirga (after Betts and Helms 1987: fig. 4).
Q. PN projectile points from Dhuweila (after Betts 1988a: 18, fig. 13).
R. PN burins form Jebel Naja (after Betts 1988b: fig. 9).

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TABLE 2. Selected Significant Relative Frequencies of Burin Types at ʿAin Ghazzal

Burin Type	*PPN**	*PN**
Simple	2.2	5.1
Transverse	58.3	15.4
On Break	5.7	2.6
Canted Dihedral	3.9	20.5
Double	3.6	10.3
Concave Truncation	1.3	10.1
Convex Truncation	1.3	5.1
Combination	2.2	5.1

(After Rollefson and Simmons 1988: 102, Table 3.)
* Percent

1989). Two types of sites are attributable to the period. The burin sites have a high percentage of concave truncation burins (Table 2) and a few projectile points, usually either of the small bifacial or transverse variety (Betts 1988b: fig. 13; 1989: 5). The second site type has few truncation burins but more tabular scrapers, bifacial knives, and small projectile points (Betts 1988b: figs. 13–15). Such sites are widespread throughout eastern Jordan and much of Saudi Arabia (see Garrod 1960: 115–24). The burin sites however, appear more restricted to the northern portion of the Arabian desert. Betts's analysis of sites in the Burqu area [Sites 03000 and 02000] confirms the material from Dhuweila (Betts *et al.* 1990: 11–15). Faunal material from the Burqu sites, Dhuweila, and Jebel Naja suggests that ovicaprid herding dominated although hunting was still practiced. Sites tended to be located either along the *harra* or, as at burin sites, along deeply incised wadis where wide flood plains allowed adequate grazing (Betts 1989; Betts *et al.* 1990: 17–19). East of Burqu, Field reported similar sites in the Tellul al Basatin (Field 1960: Sites 62, 67, 69, 70, 72, 81). A rock carving at Dhuweila depicts humans holding hands or implements such as spears or *atl-atls* (Helms and Betts 1987: fig. 18–2; Betts 1987: pl. 1; fig. 2; 1988b: fig. 9–2); although Betts attributes it to the PPNC, it should, in fact, belong to the PN based on parallel scenes found at Milihiya near Hail and Jubba in the Nafud (Parr *et al.* 1978: pls. 28–31). The distinctive artistic style that involves packing or hammering out interior details is characteristic of the PN. For example, the depiction of cattle with pecked out bodies and distinctive profile found at el-Ghirqa in the eastern arm of Jordan (Betts and Helms 1987: fig. 5b) also parallels finds from numerous sites in Saudi Arabia, all probably dating to the PN as well (Parr *et al.* 1978: pl. 28b; Zarins *et al.* 1979: pl. 9a–b). Garrard, Harvey, and Switsur (1981) produced from the lake deposits at Jubba a single Carbon-14 date of 6685 ± 50 B.P., which places it in the PN.

In sum, by 6200 B.C. a recognizable PPNC culture had begun to penetrate the more "marginal" environments of the Near East, both south into the Negev and Sinai and east of the Levant into Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Evidence for that migration includes lithic materials, structural remains such as stone circles, circle complexes, kites, and in selected areas rock art. In contrast to the sedentary zone where the PPNB is seen as an early climax point after which many sites were abandoned and area reduced, the PPNB in the desert zone is the harbinger of a later climax; the population expanded throughout the Arabian peninsula in the following PPNC, PN, and Chalcolithic periods. In each succeeding period, the growing reliance on domestic herds at the expense of farming and hunting and gathering can be documented, thus demonstrating the gradual but inexorable shift to specialized pastoralism.

THE PPNB-PN STEPPE/DESERT CULTURES OF SYRIA AND IRAQ

The above discussion can provide a basis for examining similar materials from the Jezireh steppe of Iraq, Syria, and Turkey, and the deserts of southeast Syria and western Iraq. The Jezireh assemblages have not been examined for interaction patterns between the steppe and settled zones, and in the desert little work has been done since Poidebard's and Field's initial efforts. Beginning with the Jezireh (fig. 3), both survey and excavation have established a solid chronological range of materials for the sedentary communities to the north on the Euphrates, the Balikh, the Khabur, and northern Wadi Tharthar. Subsistence patterns clearly define a mixed farming/hunting-gathering strategy and the lithics are in the larger Levantine PPNB/C tradition. Several sites in the Jezireh were located on the frontiers of rainfall farming. The influence from the Levantine tradition may extend even to Hassuna. The lithic assemblage there contains several pieces in the PPNB Levantine tradition, including Amuq type projectile points (Lloyd and

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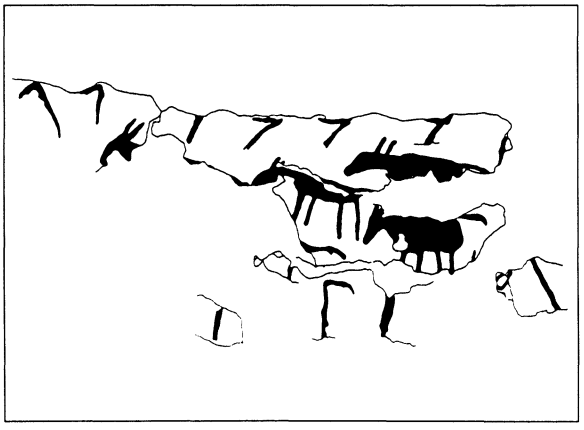

Fig. 7A. PN wall painting from Umm Dabaghiyah depicting an onager hunt (after Kirkbride 1975: pl. 7a).

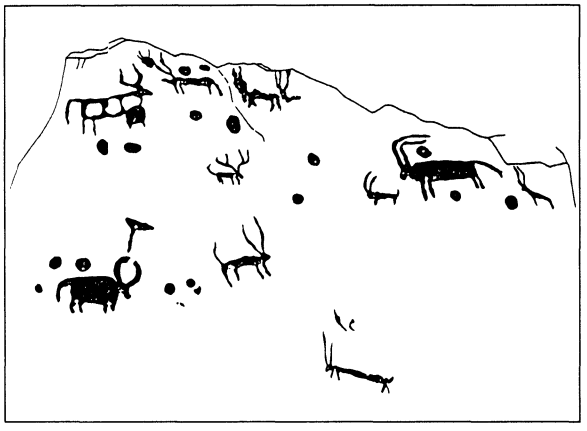

Fig. 7B. PN hunting scene at Qasr Muhaiwir, Iraq, using throw sticks and slings (after Tyraček and Amin 1981: 146, fig. 3).

Safar 1945: fig. 22:9–10), concave burins (Lloyd and Safar 1945: figs. 22:1; 24:2) and crested blades from core preparation (Lloyd and Safar 1945: fig. 23:1). Kirkbride (1972: 14; 1974: 86) describes Umm Dabaghiyah, Tell Sotto, and Tellul eth-Thalathat, in the heart of the Jezireh on the Wadi Tharthar as lying at the limits and completely marginal to the agricultural zone. Little has been recovered there in the way of agricultural products. "In fact, nothing indicates that agriculture played a significant role in the life of the villagers" (Kirkbride 1974: 88). Kirkbride suggests that most cereals and vegetables were imported. The zoological report suggests that although domestic ovicaprids and cattle were present (Kirkbride 1974: 90; Bökönyi 1973: 9), the inhabitants specialized in hunting, especially *E. hemionus* and ovicaprids. Those observations, despite the presence of an elaborate set of buildings, suggest that the inhabitants were already well on their way toward a specialized way of life for the Jezireh. The lithic assemblage also shows relationships to the western PPN tradition (fig. 6). The projectile points are of the Amuq type (Kirkbride 1972: pl. 18:2; Fukai and Matsutani 1977: 51, fig. 3:7–8). The early bifacial points and burins belong to the PN tradition (Kirkbride 1972: pls. 17:6, 18:5–6; 1973: 6; Mellaart 1975: 138, 141). There were a number of parallel sites in the region (Mellaart 1975: 140–41; Kirkbride 1972: 3). A final unique feature at Umm Dabaghiyah again has parallels to the west and the desert. A frieze found in one house complex (Level 3) depicts onagers being hunted). Kirkbride (1975: 7) interprets objects surrounding the animals as wooden hooks to hold down a net erected for capture. However, no net is actually shown and the objects can best be regarded as throw-sticks with parallels to the desert in the south (fig. 7a; also, see below).

Three other sites in the Jezireh define the effective southern frontier of dry farming along the region. Tell es-Souab 3, just discovered, is the southernmost site and little is known about its composition (Geyer and Monchambert 1987: 315, fig. 10). Bouqras and Tell es-Sinn lie outside the effective farming zone but their location on the Euphrates seems ideal for large-scale sedentary settlement (for the plan of Bouqras, see Akkermans *et al.* 1983: fig. 3). Carbon-14 dating suggests a time span of late PPNB/C and early PN (6400–5900 B.C.) at Bouqras, and the lithics contain the usual Amuq and Byblos points (Roodenberg 1983: 349, fig. 8). The common burins include the dihedral and truncation types (Table 2). Analysis of the palaeobotanical remains suggests that "crop plants were of little economic importance" since little area could be cultivated without irrigation (van Zeist and Waterbolk-van Rooyen 1983: 357, 359). In contrast, the "abundance of animal bones . . . seem[s] to indicate that animals were the main food source. . . ." (Clason 1983: 359). Domesticated ovicaprids and cattle were recovered; sheep outnumbered goats. Gazelle and wild sheep represented a distinct minority. Clason (1983: 361) concluded that people with animal herds came to a place "favorable for a pastoral mode of existence." Further north, some 30 km on the eastern side of

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the Euphrates, Tell es-Sinn occupied a similar position both in time and space. Carbon-14 tests date the finds from 6700 to 6200 B.C. (Roodenberg 1979–1980: 26). The lithics contain a high percentage of projectile points, especially the Byblos type (Roodenberg 1979–1980: 25; figs. 4–5) and a large number of burins on truncation. Domesticated plants again form a very minor component of the site (van Zeist 1979–1980: 55–56), with wild plants predominating. Clason again found an abundance of domesticated sheep, goat, and cattle and concluded that plant cultivation was of little importance (Clason 1979–1980: 35–38). Examination of those sites of the Jezireh suggests that the steppe environment was marginal for farming but excellent for expanding herds.

A number of "kites," constructed game traps, have been reported across the Euphrates to the east and up the Khabur (fig. 3). Poidebard describes the concentration of more than 16 kites in a few select areas (Poidebard 1934: pl. 140). Seven were recorded near Jebel Čembe (Poidebard 1934: 153, pl. 145), one at Jebel Jeribe, and one south of Goseibi. Two were found just north of Khatuniya on the Wadi Frati; and three were reported on the slopes of Jebel Kokab just north of the Euphrates and south of Tell Aswad. The westernmost kite was seen near Jebel Gug, along the Thallaba–Tell Barti road (Poidebard 1934: 150). The northernmost kite to date was found at Tell Awan just north of Tell Brak (Poidebard 1934: pl. 140).

Southwest of the Jezireh, in the desert zone proper, a series of recent excavations and surveys at Kowm and Palmyra supplement and clarify Field's data from western Iraq and southern Syria. The Kowm basin (fig. 1), astride the route between the Middle Euphrates and the Wudyan region and the Al Hamada (including the Palmyrene), lies between Jebel Bishri and the northern Palmyrene massif. Four major tells in the region—El Kowm I and II, Qdeir I, and Umm Tlel 2—exhibit the classic characteristics of the sedentary steppe PPNB/C community and clearly ally the sites to Bouqras, Tell es-Sinn, and Tell Souab 3 on the Euphrates as well as the classic Levantine sites of the coast, e.g., Tell Ramad. The stratigraphy and Carbon-14 dates suggest that Kowm I, Qdeir I, and Kowm II were occupied in the early sixth millennium B.C. (Cauvin 1981: 472; Stordeur 1988). At Kowm I, the projectile points are of the Byblos type already seen in abundance at Jordanian and Syrian sites (Stordeur 1988: fig. 3; fig. 5 here). An unusually large number of truncation and transverse burins was also noted (e.g., at Qdeir I, Stordeur 1988: fig. 4; fig. 5 here). Nadaouiyeh 4 in the Kowm basin resembles many of the lithic scatter sites found in the desert phase of the PPNC and contains the usual Byblos points, burins, and scrapers (Cauvin 1981: fig. 7). Excavations at Kowm II revealed six major PPNB levels, and as at ʿAin Ghazzal, a continuation into the PNA (Stordeur 1988). The lithics again contain the usual Byblos points (Stordeur 1988: fig. 6:1) and the very high percentage (over 50 percent) of burins (transverse, angle, and dihedral types; Stordeur 1988: 20; fig. 6; cf. Table 2 here). Floral samples from the site suggest the presence of domestic cereals but with an emphasis on wild spectra as at Bouqras and Tell es-Sinn (Vaughan, cited by Stordeur 1988). Domesticated sheep outnumber goats but hunting was still considered very important. Wild animals, dominated by gazelle and equids, comprised between 40 to 50 percent of the recovered fauna (Helmer cited by Stordeur 1988).

Work along the now fossilized lake and stream beds of the Palmyra basin (fig. 1) has also added to our understanding of the region. The area has a rather dense occupation history for the PPNB/C (Sakaguchi 1978: fig. 2.1). Moore (1985: 20, fig. 1, 8) lists 13 PPNB sites around the lake area. While little material was found inside the Douara cave itself (Endo 1978: 80; Sakaguchi 1987: 9–10), the wadi fans in front of the cave yielded abundant PPNB/C material including naviform cores, crested blades, and tabular flint cores (Endo *et al.* 1978: 96–97). Surface surveys along the fossil lake Sabket Mouh have turned up a number of PPNB sites, clearly indicating an active lake phase in the region (Koizumi 1978: 47, fig. 3, 11; Akazawa 1979: 215, 219; Sakaguchi 1987: 14). Those sites, like Bouqras on the Euphrates, are found most often on terrace remnants; but here they consist of simple lithic inventories dominated by naviform core production, crested blades, and truncation burins (e.g., Site 35: Akazawa 1979: 177–86, fig. 13.9; Site 79: Akazawa 1975; 1979: 187–95, figs. 13, 13–14; Abe and Akazawa 1977; Suzuki and Kobori 1970; Suzuki and Akazawa 1971; Site 122: Fujii *et al.* 1987: 29–39). The overlap of the late PPNB tradition into the early PN is found at Palmyra at Site 64 (Akazawa 1979: 215).

For the remainder of the Syrian steppe/desert, the results are uneven. For the area of interest south of the Palmyrene range stretching to the Iraqi border, virtually nothing is known (fig. 1).

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The topography is very similar to that found in western Iraq; the region has often been called "Al Wudyan," since a series of wadi systems flow into low-lying basins dominating the landscape, e.g., Al Qawa'ar, Miyah, Al Uwayrid, al Hayl and Dubbayah. West of that region, southern Syria forms a large rectangle with the Palmyrene range on the north paralleled by the Jordanian border. The southern end of the rectangle is marked by Jebel Druze. Within that area, partially dominated by the northern extension of the vast Harrat al Rajil (Helms 1981: fig. 27), a number of brief studies have taken place since the 1920s (Maitland 1927; Rees 1929; Field 1960; Poidebard 1934; Beaulieu 1944–1945; Braemer 1984; Buccellati 1966: 237, nn. 13, 14). Excluding the Kowm and Palmyra basins, our data base in Syria is restricted to surface material consisting of kites, stone circle constructions, and lithic concentrations.

Kites show a clear continuation of the material found in the Negev, Jordan, and Arabia. In Syria, they constitute perhaps one of the few reliable guide markers, having been spotted from an initial aerial perspective (Maitland 1927; Rees 1929; Poidebard 1934). Their distribution follows a southwest to northeast arc; the southernmost are around Jebel Druze and south of Safa, possibly at Jebel Seys (Poidebard 1934: 194, pl. 91:2). Note the kite cut by Wadi as-Saham at Nemara, Poidebard 1934: pl. 51; Rees 1929: 399). The kite mentioned earliest in the literature is "as-Sidd" at Dmeyr. It was described by Musil in 1908 (Musil 1928: 3–4, 7) and was photographed by Poidebard (1934: 43, 192, 194; pl. 14) and Legge and Rowley-Conwy (1987: 89). According to Watelin, kites also may have been located in the al-Hamada near Jebel Tinf (Poidebard 1934: 191–92). Following the lava scarp south of Dmeyr, Poidebard (1934: 194) describes another series of kites at Deir Semali and over ten more on the Wudyan plain from the Souhné area on the Jebel Rigm as-Saboun (Poidebard 1934: 77–78, pls. 48, 49). Watelin saw kites north of Soukné and south of Gdeihm wells (Dussaud 1929: 150; see also Helms 1981: fig. 27; Legge and Rowley-Conwy 1987: 91). West of Jebel Bishri he also found a series of kites between Resafa and Taibe (Poidebard 1934: 79, 191–92, n. 1; Legge and Rowley-Conwy 1987: 91; Helms 1981: fig. 27).

Other structures associated with the PPNB/C and PN remain problematic because no ground control has been exerted. Since work in eastern Jordan has strongly suggested that the stone circle forts and jellyfish complexes belong to that period, we can assume that similar structures in the Jebel Tinf area are contemporaneous (Field 1960: 52–54, 93; Poidebard 1934: 126). Watelin observed circle complexes in the Jebel passes between Jebel Bishri and Abu Rigmen (Dussaud 1929: 150) and Buccellati noted a number of such structures in the vicinity of Jebel Bishri (Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1967; Buccellati, personal communication). Helms (1981: fig. 27) placed "forts" in the vicinity of Jebel Bishri, Jebel Tinf, and the Sinjar. Unfortunately, many of those structures may belong to subsequent periods. For example, Khirbet el-Umbachi and Hebariye, excavated in the 1950s, should be identified with the EB III/IV (Dubertret and Dunand 1954).

Diagnostic lithic material from those regions of Syria is also rare. Field traversed a small portion of southern Syria in the 1920s. On the route from Rutba to Damascus, he found typical PPNB/C and PN burin material from Wadi ash-Shalan just north of the Jordan–Iraq line (Sites 7, 16) and at Jebel Tinf itself (Sites 4, 12, 13). Those concentrations may be part of a major complex at Jebel Tinf—if they are associated with both nearby kites and structures. Further along the road near Maqha ash-Shami, Sites 102 and 103 also may belong to the nearby "circle village" (Field 1960: 139). More recent surveys in the Hauran region suggest that the PPNB/C and PN lithic sites may be associated with structural remains (e.g., at Taibe, Zelaf, Dera'a, and elsewhere; Braemer 1984: 224).

Finally, western Iraq has sites that clearly belong to the PPNB/C–PN tradition. The region, a continuation of the Wudyan topography of southern Syria, contains a series of eastward-flowing wadi systems into either the Euphrates or the playa lakes west of the river (i.e., Hawr Habbaniya and Abu Dibbis/Bahr al Milh) (fig. 8). As in Jordan and Syria, the westernmost portion of Iraq is characterized by smaller playa lakes (such as the Palmyra basin Sabkat Mouh) and occasional lava outliers of the Harrat al Rajil (Wirth 1958). Topographically, then, it is part of the larger Levantine landscape. Field reported at least 12 relevant sites in separate, rather random traverses of western Iraq between 1926 and 1928. They are clearly located on tributaries or main branches of wadis leading to the Euphrates. His westernmost sites, Nos. 15, 22, 25, and 30, are on the braiding stream bed known as Sha'ib al Walaj. That former watercourse apparently flowed north to the Iraqi–Syrian border,

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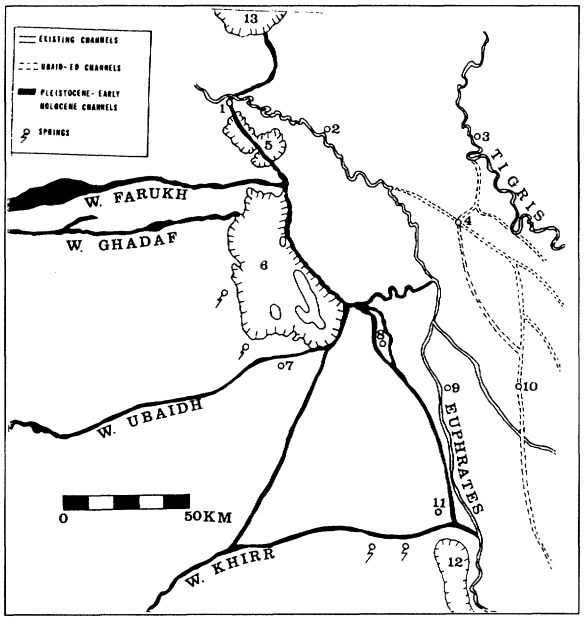

Fig. 8. Suggested Early Holocene tributary wadi and Euphrates channels in prehistoric Akkad.

1. Ramadi
2. Falluja
3. Baghdad
4. Sippar
5. Habbaniyah Depression
6. Abu Dibbis Depression
7. Ukhaider
8. Karbala
9. Babylon
10. Kish
11. Najaf
12. Bahar Najaf
13. Wadi Tharthar

where it turned east and merged with a series of wadis and lakes flowing into the Euphrates. To the northwest of Sites 25 and 30, geologists identified al Umchaimin crater, a large solutional caldera (Merriam and Holwerda 1957; Mitchell 1958). Analysis of the published aerial photo revealed several stone circle village sites, probably of the PPNB/C. On two small tributary arms of the Wadi Mullusi (classical Meloṣa), Field found Site 242. Other sites are now known from that wadi where it touches the Qa^{c}ara escarpment and merges with the Wadi Rutqah (Field 1951: 89; n. 9; Wetzel in Fleisch 1952: 214–16; Solecki 1955: 18; Tyraček and Amin 1981: 148, n. 1). In the extreme southwestern corner of Iraq, sites are found on several large wadi or lake tributaries, and the Ghadfat Ali Awaj and aj-Nuhaydayn (Site 77), both flowing into the Wadi Hauran.

Sites also have been reported on the Wadi Hauran itself, including Field's Site 36, Sugarloaf, 41, and 51 (Solecki 1955: 18; Field 1960; Wright 1958: 56). The most recently discovered is at Qasr Muhaiwir, approximately 125 km west of the Euphrates. The reports suggest that Neolithic finds along the Wadi Hauran are fairly common (Tyraček and Amin 1981: 148). A small tributary of the Hauran in the Muhaiwir vicinity, Wadi Hussainiyat (fig. 1), yielded abundant evidence of PPN and later materials, including lithics, ceramics, structures, and apparently graves (Hashimi and Skoček 1982: 32). South of Wadi Hauran, a parallel, major tributary, the Wadi Amiq, also has sites, one of which was approximately 150 km from the Euphrates (Watelin in Dussaud 1929: 150).

Much of the early material from the Iraqi sites is now in the Field Museum in Chicago. Garrod, in her initial study of the material in 1934, described it as belonging to the "Wualian" after the site of Umm Wual in Saudi Arabia (Garrod 1960: 118–19). She suggested the material had certain affinities with the "Tahunian" or the early Neolithic of Jericho. Her analysis and my reexamination of the material revealed that the assemblages were often dominated by an extraordinary high percentage of burins, especially angle burins (including simple, faceted, and multiple). Other finds included concave-ended blades, Byblos points, end scrapers, backed knives, steep scrapers, retouched flakes and naviform cores (Garrod 1960: 120). Those examples, together with tabular flint scrapers and T-shaped implements, suggest virtual identity with assemblages seen in large context from the Negev and the Sinai to the Sinjar (see also Fleisch 1952: fig. 2). Based on Carbon-14 dates and the stratified context at sites from both the desert and the steppe, it appears that the material from the wadi complexes of western Iraq dates to the PPNB/C and the early sixth millennium B.C.

ROCK ART

Rock art from western Iraq was described for the first time in 1978. Many localities were examined around the Qa^{c}ara escarpment and the adjacent wadis Mullusi and Aghari (Tyraček and Amin 1981: 148, n. 1). Two spots at Qasr Muhaiwir were photographed and drawn. In both cases gazelle and ibex are the most numerous animals depicted, but long-horned cattle are also present (fig. 7b). Analysis of the style (Tyraček and Amin 1981: fig. 3) shows virtually identical parallels to the more voluminous rock art known from north-central Saudi Arabia. In particular, the scenes from Iraq show clear parallels to the rock art from Jubba

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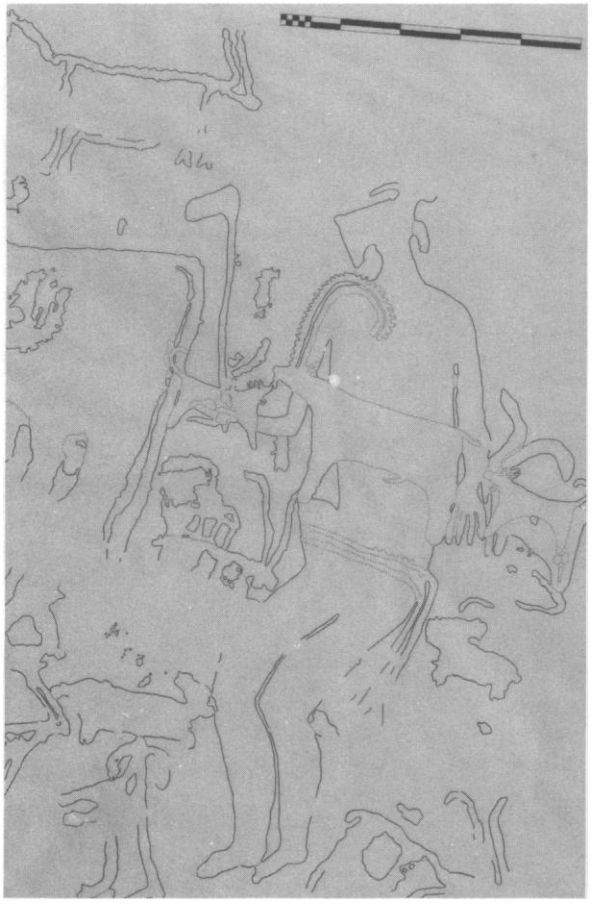

Fig. 9A. PN rock art at Jubba, Saudi Arabia, illustrating a held throw stick (after the drawing by C. Clarke).

Fig. 9B. PN rock art at Jubba, illustrating the pecking technique on bovids.

in the Nafud. The technique is common there of pecking spots on the cattle (fig. 9b) and other ovicaprids (Adams *et al.* 1977: pls. 12, 20; Parr *et al.* 1978: pls. 28–31); it is repeated in the Wadi Hauran as well as in Azraq art in Jordan (Helms 1981: 27, fig. 9; see also Courtenay-Thompson 1975). The presence of the "Jubba throw stick" in the Wadi Hauran scene (fig. 7b) shows parallels to many northern Saudi Arabian sites (fig. 10a) and also links the Wadi Hauran in style to the northern site of Umm Dabaghiyah (fig. 7a). In several Arabian drawings (figs. 9a, 10b), the implement is held by humans. Such drawings of animals and associated humans supports the contention that ovicaprids and cattle were known in the western desert of Iraq as well as throughout the "vast PPNB koïné" (Stordeur 1988). The materials gathered thus far date the rock art at Wadi Hauran to the late PPNB/PN. The earlier outline style at Dhuweila and Kilwa properly belongs to the earlier PPNB (Betts 1987; Rhotert 1938; Anati 1979: 29–35).

Investigations by Field and others since 1926 have confirmed that PPNB/C–PN sites existed in the wadi tributaries of the Euphrates. Unfortunately, nothing has been reported from a vast, unexplored region of western Iraq, but such materials have been reported as far south as the Wadi Arar in Saudi Arabia. A brief glance at major wadi and lake systems in the western desert promises to yield numerous sites along such wadis as Wadi Ghadaf and its western tributaries; Wadi Tubal flowing into a tremendous playa; and Wadi al Ubbayid, a known historical route into the Euphrates, which now terminates at Qasr Ukhaider. To the south, Wadi Arar

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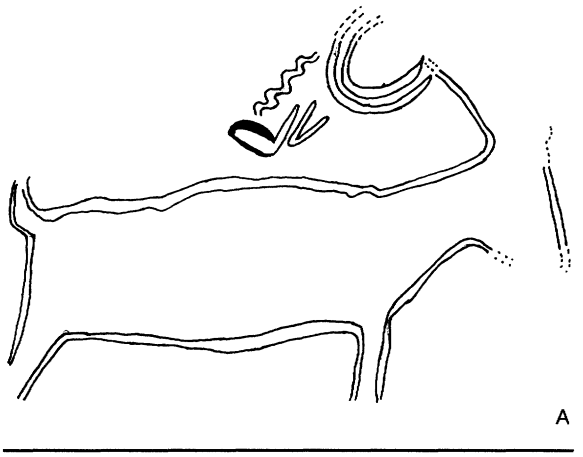
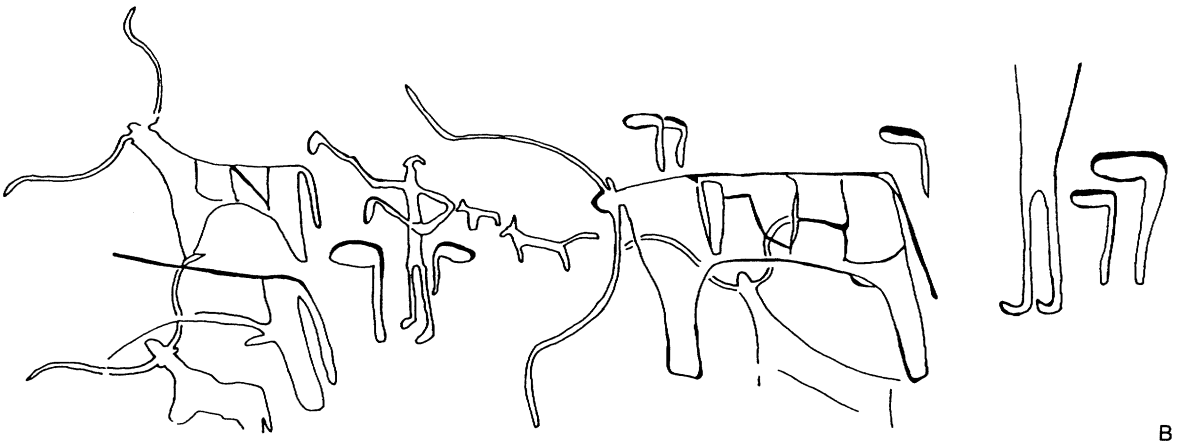


Fig. 10A. (left) PPNB/C rock art at Kilwa, depicting the throw stick (after Rhotert 1938: pl. 16).

Fig. 10B. (below) PN rock art at Hanakiya, Saudi Arabia, depicting held and thrown throw sticks (after Courtenay-Thompson 1975).



merges into Wadi Hamir. The traditional Darb Zubaydah pilgrim route in the Abbasid period follows the Wadi Khirr (among others) and it is on a tributary of this wadi that the possible southernmost PPNC/PN burin site was found at Linah in Saudi Arabia (Gilmore, personal communication).

To summarize, PPNB populations began to expand into the areas of the Near East often considered marginal to the Fertile Crescent. That expansion has been well documented in the Negev and Sinai; eastern Jordan; and at Kowm in Syria, where surveys and limited excavations have established some chronological reliability, artifact context, and relevant faunal and floral particulars. Structures such as kites and linked houses are at least partially contemporary to the lithic concentrations and rock art. Sites in southern and eastern Syria and in western Iraq have been less well investigated and their total distribution remains a matter of conjecture. A number of points suggest a close interaction between those steppe and desert sites and the Levantine region itself. The lithics (above) point to an astonishing similarity and contemporaneity. Obsidian, presumably from central and eastern Anatolia, was traded across the Upper Jezireh and the Euphrates (Akkermans 1988; Moore 1979: 67) to Umm Dabaghiyah (Kirkbride 1972: 10), Tell es-Sinn (Roodenberg 1979–1980: 25), Bouqras (Roodenberg 1983: 349), the Kowm complex (Cauvin 1981: 473; Stordeur 1988), and to Jilat 7 in southern Jordan (Garrard *et al.* 1988: 322). Obsidian at ʿAin Ghazzal (Rollefson 1983–1984: 244) and Nahal Hemar (Stager 1990) may show connections with the steppe–desert or with the Levantine coast distribution. Similarly, green Dabba marble used for beads and other purposes has been reported from Jilat 7 (10 km from the source), at ʿAin Ghazzal (Rollefson 1988; Rollefson personal communication), and as far north in the desert as Site 03000 at Burqu (Betts 1989;

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Betts *et al.* 1990: fig. 10). At Nahal Hemar on the Dead Sea, it was found in beadwork, and green-painted wooden beads may have been imitations of the marble (Bar-Yosef 1985: 12, 28).

One of the most interesting network trade items appears to be the gypsum or plaster white ware. That material is known from the second half of the seventh millennium B.C. at a wide range of north Syrian sites in the Fertile Crescent (see Kafafi 1986: fig. 1; Postgate and Watson 1979: 153). The material also has been found at the Jezireh sites of Syria (Umm Dabaghiyah, Tell es-Sinn, Bouqras, and Kowm). Rollefson suggests its occurrence at ᶜAin Ghazzal points to interaction with social groups in Syria (Rollefson 1983–1984: 244). This white material also was found at Dhuweila in the Jordanian desert in PPNC/PN context (Betts 1988a: 11).

A final note on interaction patterns involves a truly astonishing detail. The ᶜAin Ghazzal excavators noted that a left foot fragment from one of the ᶜAin Ghazzal plaster human statues had six toes, a "genetic anomaly relatively rare among most populations" (Rollefson 1983: 37; pl. 4:3). Rollefson also noted a similar foot from the PPNB Jericho statuary (Simmons and Rollefson 1984: 394; Tubb 1985: 130; fig. 11b). More recently, a foot fragment recovered from Nahal Hemar also had six toes (Stager 1990). A reexamination of a rock art scene depicting a copulating couple at Kilwa (fig. 11a) reveals that one of the figures, possibly the woman, has six toes on the left foot; she may have six fingers as well (Rhotert 1938: pl. 22). Since we have suggested that the Kilwa style belongs to the PPNB, its close relationship to the PPNB of the Levantine settled zone is beyond doubt. These connections between the "settled" and the "steppe" clearly establish the fact of symbiotic relationship in the region and strongly argue that the pattern has been in existence since the PPNC/PN. It now remains only to establish the nature of the phenomenon and to apply it to the Lower Mesopotamian valley.

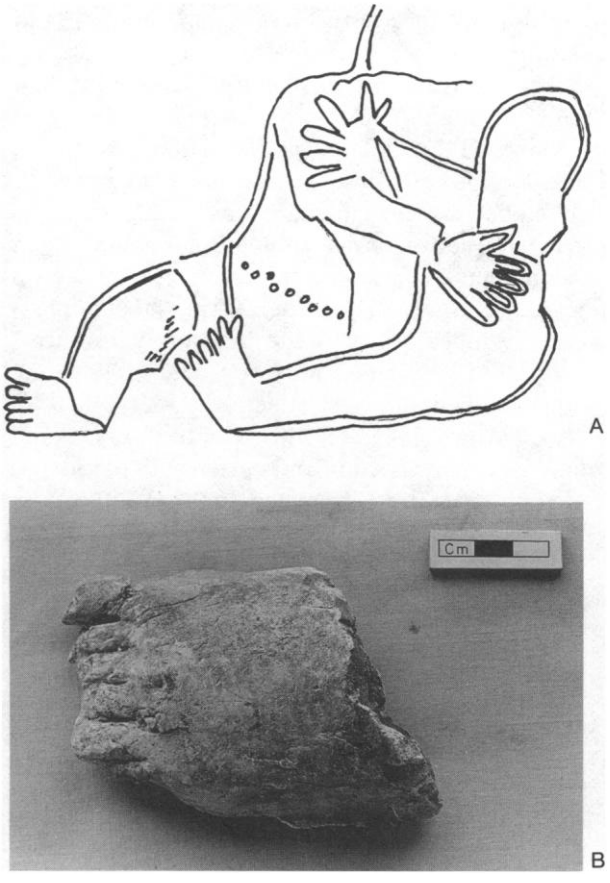

Fig. 11. A. PPNB/C rock art, copulating couple at Kilwa. Note the woman's extra toe on the left foot and possibly finger (after Rhotert 1938: pl. 22). B. Human plaster statuary fragment form PPNB at ᶜAin Ghazzal, Jordan. Note the six toes (after Rollefson 1983: pl. 4/3, photo by B. Byrd).

ORIGINS OF PASTORALISM

Anthropologists have long debated the definition of pastoral nomadism. Several recent syntheses (Dyson-Hudson and Dyson-Hudson 1980; Goldschmidt 1979; Johnson 1969; Khazanov 1984: 16–84) have suggested that all pastoral nomads share certain characteristics such as strong, localized kinship and lineage bonds, impermanent dwellings, movement to procure pasturage and water for herds, and specific relationships to formal states. Herd animals are viewed as the main form of subsistence although alternate strategies are also known (Lancaster 1981: 8–23; Lancaster and Lancaster, unpublished). Thus, pastoral nomadism seems to stress animal husbandry along patterned migration routes exploiting marginal environments (from a settled point of view). Developmental models studying pastoral nomadism have largely focused on the historical record (Khazanov 1984: 10–14; Ephᶜal 1982: 5–11; Briant 1982: 12–56; Lees and Bates 1974; Zarins 1989a), largely because researchers have concluded that a close symbiotic relationship exists between the urban, settled peoples and the nomadic peoples (Rowton 1973a; 1973b; 1974). In

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addition, the lack of theoretical underpinnings has seriously hampered progress in defining the early stages of pastoral nomadism (see Khazanov 1984: 89–90). Sahlins (1968: 33), Krader (1981: 499), and Spooner (1971: 201) suggest that this adaptation was late and entirely secondary to agriculture. They conclude that the nomadic way of life only developed when extensive population pressure began in sedentary zones, together with dramatic crop strategies. Alternately, Sherratt argues that nomadism developed only with the "secondary products" revolution (exploitation of wool and milk) in the fourth millennium B.C. (Sherratt 1981; 1983; see also Garrard 1985: 45). More specifically, many have associated pastoral nomadism with the advent of the urban state (Lees and Bates 1974; Adams 1981; Rowton 1973a; 1973b), thus artificially restricting the study of the problem in lower Mesopotamia to the mid-third millennium B.C. and later.

The evidence, however, points toward a new interpretation. Pastoral nomadism began by the end of the seventh millennium B.C. as populations began to utilize the discovery of animal husbandry in a new and dramatic way. The process can be seen as a three-tiered step. First, based on faunal material found in the Fertile Crescent, we can conclude that domestic ovicaprids and cattle were present as early as the mid-seventh millennium B.C. Second, within the steppe region, as exemplified by the Jezireh sites and Kowm, herding was emphasized. That suggestion is based on the location of sites in a very low rainfall area (currently less than 150 mm annually) and the apparent domination of animals over plants in the economy. Third, if domestic animals were known to the inhabitants of the Fertile Crescent and the steppe, and the desert sites are chronologically contemporaneous or interrelated, the latter may represent early pastoral nomads who still exercised a broad spectrum approach for subsistence.

The picture of faunal reversal beginning at the PPNC supports these conclusions. As the faunal curves at Abu Hureyra and elsewhere suggest (fig. 4), a reliance on wild gazelle was almost totally replaced by one on domesticated ovicaprids. Legge and Rowley-Conwy argue that domestication of the ovicaprids within the steppe border area of Abu Hureyra was stimulated by the widespread killing of gazelles in the steppe and desert (using the kites of the early to middle PPNB). Gazelles could not migrate north in the summer season and now verged on extinction (Legge and Rowley-Conwy 1987: 95; figure, p. 91). The demand for meat protein was best met by domesticating ovicaprids rather than depending on gazelle; and forager groups in the desert turned toward the domesticated ovicaprids as an alternative food source. Several scholars have already suggested that pastoral nomadism began at that point (Cauvin 1981: 482; Helms 1987: 51; Moore 1981: 448; Betts 1989).

Although no faunal analyses have been carried out on sites from western Iraq or from southern or eastern Syria, the faunal profiles from such sites as Abu Hureyra and the dominance of sheep and goats at Bouqras, Tell es-Sinn and Kowm 2, point to incipient pastoral nomadism, as does the presence of ovicaprids and cattle in the desert sites.

Two other arguments can buttress the suggestions here. First, the substantial increase in site numbers and site sizes in the late PPNB in the desert and steppe seem strongly related to complex interactions between the nomads and the settled populations. Animal domestication may be one variable responsible for that increase. Indeed, the ʿAin Ghazzal–Jericho–Kilwa–Nahal Hemar link would argue for close interaction of the type suggested from the ethnographic record. Second, the appearance of numerous sites in western Iraq along watercourses that today are dry indicates both climatic amelioration during the PPNB (Moore 1979: 69; Sakaguchi 1987: 14; Fujii *et al.* 1987: 38) and the ability of a new way of life to sustain human existence in the region. It appears that late Upper and Epipalaeolithic populations in western Iraq and southern Syria largely abandoned the steppe and desert (Garrard *et al.* 1988; Betts 1988c: 373–76; Cauvin 1981: 481; Braemer 1984: 224). Therefore, the PPNB–C sites represent the initial resettlement that pastoral nomadism made possible. It is also intriguing to note that the succeeding period within the Levantine sedentary zone represented a considerable decline in fortunes (Rollefson 1988), but that most of the larger Arabian peninsula was occupied largely due to the exceedingly rapid spread of pastoral nomadism.

PREHISTORIC AKKAD

The "sudden" appearance of populations without any previous occupational history in the desert and steppe (or at least a hiatus of three millennia) raises the question of ethnic and linguistic identity.

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The Semitic populations identified as "Akkadians" (or Kishites, cf. Gelb 1987: 63; 1989: 124) were pastoral groups who migrated from the western desert or hamada sometime within a protohistoric Mesopotamian context. No available historical data clarify their condition in the late fourth and early third millennia B.C., although some possibly contemporary sites have been identified in the desert (Betts 1989; Zarins 1989b). The MAR.TU who succeeded the Akkadians are well known, principally from Mesopotamian texts beginning in the mid-third millennium B.C. Historical mention ties the MAR.TU occasionally to Jebel Bishri, the mountain massif just west of the middle Euphrates. It is sometimes referred to as their homeland (Kupper 1957: ix–xiv; Buccellati 1966: 236–42; Archi 1985a). Nonetheless, the names "Akkadian, Kishite" and "MAR.TU" are merely convenient terms for populations that had existed in the region since the end of the seventh millennium B.C. Therefore, the "layering" of Semitic populations in the alluvium must be more complex and older than previously thought (*contra* Frankfort 1943: 133).

Adams (1981: fig. 27) presents an informative summation of sites and watercourses of the Mesopotamian plain for the third millennium B.C. In spite of disclaimers—natural alluvium thicker in the north, changing methodology and greater present cultivation in the north (Adams 1972: 182–83; 1981: 155)—"Akkad" was distinct from "Sumer" in terms of population density, settlement size, and settlement strategy. Nissen (1988: 144) suggests that the plain is divided into two parts, "Northern and Southern Babylonia." He describes the northern plain as having more channelization and the Euphrates there as slow moving with little latitude to develop (see also Paepe and Baeteman 1978: 46–55, regarding Sippar). The southern part of the plain, less restricted and with much more amplitude, is crisscrossed by a braiding Euphrates. Control of Kish (and Sippar) was thus important from both an ecological and an economic perspective (Nissen 1988: 144–45). Therefore, whether one uses data from Adams (1972: maps 3, 4; 1981: fig. 27), Gibson (1972a: figs. 7–10), or Weiss (1975: 444, fig. 1), it is apparent that in the northern alluvium the sites are fewer, more linear in pattern, and less dense than in the southern alluvium, suggesting a distinctly different utilization of the plain. If we apply the historic term "Akkad" to define the northern alluvium, Abū Ṣalābīkh seems to lie clearly on the border. The site represents the frontier of Semitic influence to the south (Biggs 1981). In addition, the historical data from the third millennium B.C. indicate that the kings of Kish were Semitic and ruled over the northern part of the alluvium. The distinctive ecology of Akkad favored—as it does now—a dimorphic approach to society. In that way the pastoral populations and settled farmers and urban dwellers together created a unique settlement pattern in the northern alluvium (Rowton 1969: 311).

THE GEOMORPHOLOGY OF AKKAD

Conditions in Akkad in the prehistoric and protohistoric periods point to a similar pattern. Unfortunately, our understanding of the Euphrates and its tributaries during the period in question is poor (Adams 1981: 16, 61; Paepe 1971: 20–27; Paepe and Baeteman 1978: 37–56; Baeteman 1980: plan 1). In spite of assertions that the current Euphrates has existed in its present form since 8000 B.C. (Paepe 1971: 19–20; Boerma 1983: 362), the major tributaries that contain PPNC/PN materials in the western Iraqi desert debauched either on the central Euphrates itself (above) or a past course of the Euphrates running through the Hawr Habbaniya or Abu Dibbis (Voûte 1957). West of the current river, in the Ramadi–Karbala region, three of the western wadi tributaries flowed into a possible early Holocene bed of the Euphrates (fig. 8). In addition, both the Habbaniya lake and Abu Dibbis depression are arid land features characteristic of the larger Arabian peninsula; they also were active in the early Holocene, ca. 8000–3000 B.C. (Zarins, Rahbini, and Kamal 1982: 28, with references). Therefore, future research on the middle Euphrates and the tributaries immediately to the west should turn up PPNB/C–PN materials. All the major routes from the western steppe and desert wind into the area known historically as Akkad, while virtually no tributaries of any kind that have produced early identifiable materials lead to Sumer. That explains in part the lack of early archaeological materials from "Akkad." Those materials are more likely to be found west of the present Euphrates along the geomorphological features described above (see Voûte 1957: 136, 141). The problem, then, of interpreting a major western bed of the Euphrates in the early Holocene contemporaneous with the PPNB/C, is to reconcile that

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channel with the evidence of the proposed Ubaid–ED Channel much farther east (fig. 8). In fact, several major channels may have existed in the early Holocene. Voûte (1957: 136) and Paepe (1971: 19) assumed that the westernmost (fig. 8) dated only to the late Pleistocene or Palaeolithic. It could, however, also have belonged to the early Holocene in its terminal phase.

Within the southern alluvium proper, the earliest identifiable sites are no older than the Samarra period (Adams 1981: 58; Vértesalji 1981) and they should date to the mid-sixth millennium B.C. Within Akkad itself there are no contemporary sites, but some should be found on the early Holocene western branch of the Euphrates (above). Around Anah at least six Neolithic sites have been identified (Abdul-Amir 1988: 107; fig. 1 here). No PPNB-type agricultural settlements of the Bouqras type have been found, so the Neolithic remains should fit the pattern found in the western desert. In addition, the sites cluster in the area leading from the Wadi Hauran region. The earliest sites in Akkad are Ubaid II/III as represented by Ras Al Amiya (Stronach 1962; Adams 1981: 58) and are datable to the early fifth millennium B.C. Large sites such as Tell Uqair (ancient Urum?) apparently peaked during the Ubaid period and were a focus of early settlement in the plain (Lloyd 1943; Steinkeller 1980; Green 1986). Kish existed during the Ubaid period (Moorey 1975: 101; Gibson 1972a: 111; 1972b: 115, n. 5) and may have been an important center already.

From the following Protoliterate period (ca. 3500–2900 B.C.) Kish was a large regional center (Gibson 1972a: 111, figs. 6, 26a; Moorey 1975: 101, 164) and is mentioned in the Uruk IV texts from 3200 B.C. (Green and Nissen 1987: 232; no. 297). Sippar is also attested from that period (Adams 1972: map 2; Walker and Collon 1980: 99, pl. 27:34). The site survey pattern of Akkad from the Ubaid–ED I is almost identical to that recovered from the later ED I–I/L periods. Again, in spite of the caveats expressed by Adams (above), prehistoric Akkad was already distinct from Sumer. The division may be expressed in the earliest available texts (KALAM, "Sumer"? vs. URI, "Akkad"?; Green and Nissen 1987: 232, no. 282 vs. 305 and no. 594). The prehistoric occupation pattern, like that of historical time, suggests a strong pastoral (Semitic) presence interacting with the settled population. Both have the same linear, less dense settlement patterns. That evidence correlates strongly with the arguments here from the steppe–desert to the north and west of the Akkadian alluvium. The suggestion for the Protoliterate period is confirmed by the occurrence of the term TIDNUM, the later MAR.TU tribal term, in the Uruk *Archaic City* List (above). The presence of the term so early in the historical record indicates that the pastoral–settled continuum described for the later third and second millennia B.C. was already established by ca. 2900 B.C.

Semitic pastoralists appeared in the steppe–desert and the alluvial fringe of Mesopotamia as early as ca. 6000 B.C. (cf. Kramer 1948: 160). In succeeding periods, both prehistoric and historic, they contributed in a major way to the settlement of Akkad. Their rise to political preeminence in the north may have begun in the Protoliterate period as the legends of the later Sumerian SKL so admirably expressed it.

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Kanlıgeçit – an Anatolian Model of an Urban Center in Eastern Thrace: an Overview

Eylem Özdoğan

Abstract

The Early Bronze Age site of Kanlıgeçit in Eastern Thrace is evidently a very particular settlement, as it is the only excavated site in Thrace yielding evidence on the interaction between the Anatolian and Balkan cultures during the 3rd Millennium BC. The basal levels of the site reflects a typical habitation in accordance with the other Bronze Age sites in the Balkans, comprised of wooden-post structures in wattle and daub. Likewise, cultural assemblage of dark-colored coarse wares reflects the conventional material known from other Thracian sites. However, by mid-third Millennium, the settlement was re-designed, this time of mud-brick structures with stone foundations, displaying the features of Anatolian Early Bronze Age. The core area of the settlement by the stage is encircled by a wall, the slope of the mound is coated with a glacis, and within this walled area there are free standing megarons, as well as an open large courtyard. Noteworthy of this stage is the presence of typical wheel-made Anatolian pottery, plain or red-slipped. Among the significant components of the material assemblage of this stage, two clay figurines of Central Anatolian type and the extensive presence of domestic horse bones are to be noted. In Thrace the presence of a site replicating the Anatolian model of settlement raises a number of interesting questions that are difficult to answer. Even though it seems possible that the site of Kanlıgeçit represents a northerly expansion of the Anatolian model of urbanization, whether it is due to a colonial movement or a volunteering adaptation of the Anatolian system by a local group is far from clear. Nevertheless, it is possible to surmise that the rich sources of copper, approximately 30 km to the north of the site, in the Strandzha Mountains might have triggered this phenomenon. In this respect, lack of other excavated Early Bronze Age sites in the region stands as the main obstacle in resolving this problem.

Introduction

Kanlıgeçit is a small Early Bronze Age site in the centre of Eastern Thrace to the south of Kırklareli city centre. The settlement was founded on the terrace of a small stream, Haydardere, a tributary of the Ergene River. The region where the settlement is located, is an ecological transitional zone between the steppic environment of inner Thrace, and the forested Strandzha Mountains of the north; thus, providing an access, both for subsistence and obtaining raw materials from diverse habitats.

The Excavations at Kanlıgeçit have been carried out since 1994 by a joint team of Istanbul University and German Archaeology Institute, under the co-direction Mehmet Özdoğan and Hermann Parzinger. The excavations at Kanlıgeçit, were carried out together with the excavations at Aşağı Pınar, located in some 300 m farther to the northeast (Özdoğan et al. 1997; Özdoğan E. 2005). Aşağı Pınar, covers the time range from the Neolithic to the Chalcolithic period. The settlement was interrupted during 4th and 3rd millennium BC. We presume that the settlement during these periods has shifted to Kanlıgeçit. The site was discovered in 1980 during the surface survey of eastern Thrace (Özdoğan 1986: 36). During the survey the site was divided into three distinct settlements denominated as Kanlıgecit East (B 5/16), Kanlıgeçit West (B 5/17), Kanlıgeçit South (B 5/18). Hovewer, it is now understood that Kanlıgeçit is a large, extensive settlement of the Early Bronze Age. The excavation of Kanlıgeçit started in 1994 in what was then considered as Kanlıgeçit West displaying a hitherto unknown assemblage of distinct Anatolian Imports. Succeeding excavations focused on the northern site where a fortified habitation area; »the citadel«, had been recovered (Fig. 1). It became evident during these excavations that what was consid-

ered to be three sites was actually a single large settlement dispersed in a considerably large area, composed of a citadel, surrounded by a low-density habitation. The excavations continued until 2009, with intervals, focusing on the citadel, exploring the habitation area through 36 small soundings.

At present the citadel area of Kanlıgeçit is being redesigned as an open-air site museum (Fig. 2) (Arı et al. 2010).

Stratigraphy and Architecture

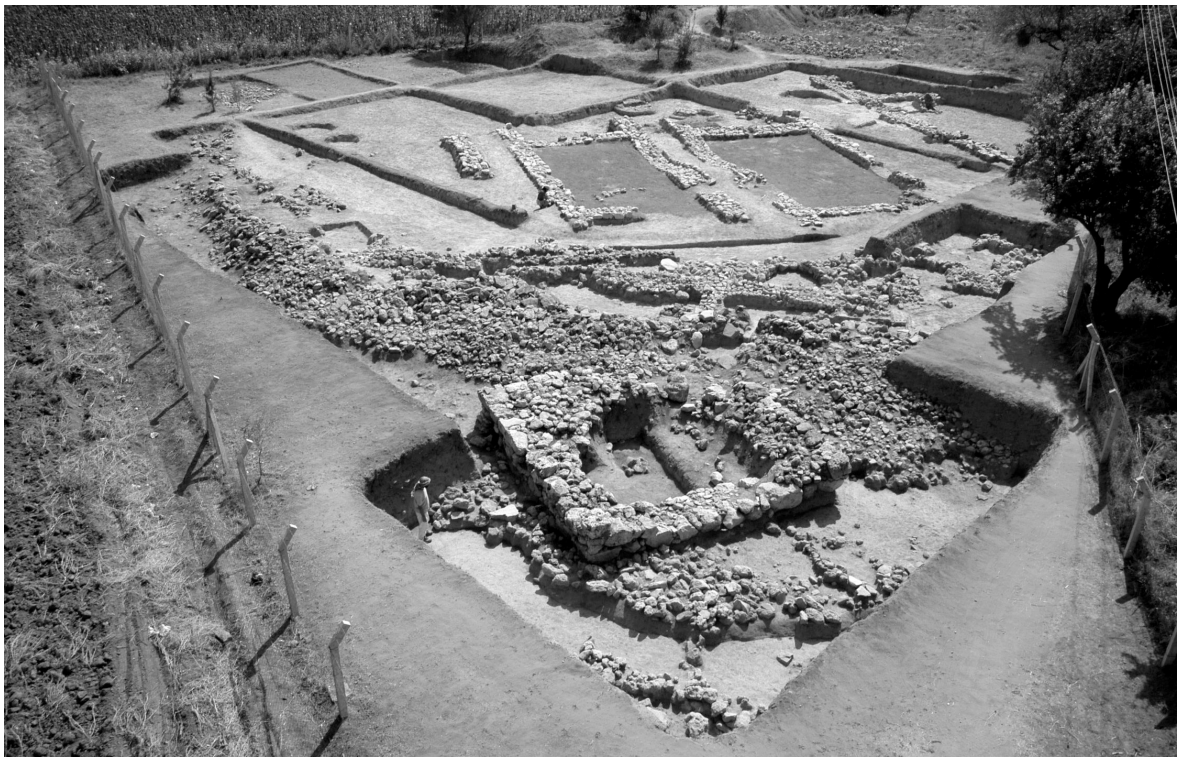
As noted above the site comprises of a central »Citadel« area and a loose textured habitation on the outskirts. Intensive surveys and soundings conducted around the citadel have revealed indications of the presence of late middle Chalcolithic, Early Bronze Age and Early Iron Age.

In the area of the Citadel, four distinct phases of the Early Bronze Age have been noted. Remains of earlier periods, namely late middle Chalcolithic, as phases 5 and 6 are known only from a number of pits exposed in the areas outside of the citadel. The characteristic features of the Pre-Bronze Ages pits reveal an assemblage, similar to those known from a number of other sites in Eastern Thrace such as Toptepe, Helvacı Şaban and Kocatepe, dated to the late middle Chalcolithic Period. The pottery of Phase 6 is easily distinguishable by dark colored unburnished wares, decorated with deeply incised decoration, bearing certain similarity to the Pre-Cucuteni assemblages of northeastern Balkans. The pottery of Phase 5 is highly burnished, light colored, presumably of early Gumelnitsa types. Also noted in the citadel area, were a number of late pits, designated Phase 0, revealing late Antique period. However, here we shall be mainly focusing on the Early Bronze Age sequences designated as phases 4–1 (Fig. 3).

Phase 4

The earliest Early Bronze Age level at Kanlıgeçit is Phase 4. Unfortunately, our knowledge of this phase is rather limited as it was only identified by a num-

Fig. 1: General view of the area, from north-west.



ber of restricted soundings in and around the empty areas by the monumental megarons of Phase 2. No major architectural remains of this phase was encountered; it evidently consists of wooden architecture with wattle and daub, as noted by some postholes. It seems possible that the settlement of this phase extends further to the north of our main exposure.

The pottery assemblage similar to the succeeding Phase 3, consists of dark and dull-burnished wares, though there are occasionally better-burnished sherds. Wares are mostly very coarse gritt tempered. Profiles are similar to late Troy I and to the contemporary Bulgarian assemblages.

Phase 3: Pre-Megaron Burnt Horizon

Phase 3, seemingly a direct continuation of Phase 4 is an architectural level destroyed by a heavy fire. Owing to the remains of burnt structures it became possible to document this architectural level in a considerably large area together with its assemblage. The upper part of the fill of this horizon had been destroyed as aresult of the leveling of the construction of the monumental architecture of Phase 2; evidently most of the deposition of this horizon had been leveled for re-designing the site. As noted above it became possible to view this phase only in unconnected exposures in between the megaron walls. All what was exposed consisted of long, rectangular, multi-roomed structures of wooden post-walls, with wattle and daub. Most of the buildings are about 7.5 × 5 m, oriented in north-south direction. The thickness of the walls is about 50 cm; in most cases they were well plastered. Occasionally, well-plastered floors, fireplaces and ovens were also identified. The building technique and the layout, like the pottery assemblage is highly reminiscent the of Early Bronze Age settlements of western Thrace. However, there are a number of features that are indicative of Troy I culture. Even though the buildings of Troy I have stone foundations, the parallel arrangement of the buildings at Kanlıgeçit strongly recalls the settlement design of Troy I. Likewise, there are some similarities between the pottery assemblages of Troy I

Fig. 2: General view of the area after the reconstruction.

and Kanlıgeçit; however, some of the main characteristic features of Troy I such as incurved bowls are absent at Kanlıgeçit.

In the relatively well-preserved buildings of Phase 3, a large number of *in situ* artifacts were encountered, indicating that the fire was unexpected. Among the finds, there are bone toggle pins, loom weights, sling missiles, spindle whorls, horn hammers, ground and-or polished stones, pottery vessels and animal figurines. Significant among the finds, are three clay human figurines (Fig. 4) of so-called »Bavurdu type«, indicating contact with Central-west Anatolia (Karul 2005).

The pottery of Phase 3 is mainly grit-tempered, dull black or grayish brown in color. Surfaces are either wiped or dully burnished. Fine wares are light buff or dark colored. The vessels are mainly in shapes of jugs and bowls (Fig. 5). Even though there are in-turned and/or carinated profiles they are notably different from those of Troy I. It is possible to say that the pottery assemblage has similar characteristics as the contemporary assemblages from Bulgaria. On the other hand, in general, the vessel forms and the finer wares are not too different from the Early Bronze Age I -II cultures from west-central Anatolia. This implies that even at this stage Kanlıgeçit had cultural connections with inland Anatolia and Eastern Bulgaria, and not specifically with the Aegean region.

Phase 2: The Megaron Phase

Phase 2 represents the period of a total renovation of the Kanlıgeçit settlement; the central part of the settlement was redesigned and modeled as a »Citadel«, strongly duplicating the so-called Anatolian Early Bronze Age town model. Within this phase there are at least three sub-phases, designated as 2a the youngest and 2c as the earliest. The distinction of

Fig. 3: Plan of the »Citadel« (orange and yellow are Phase 2, blue is Phase 1).

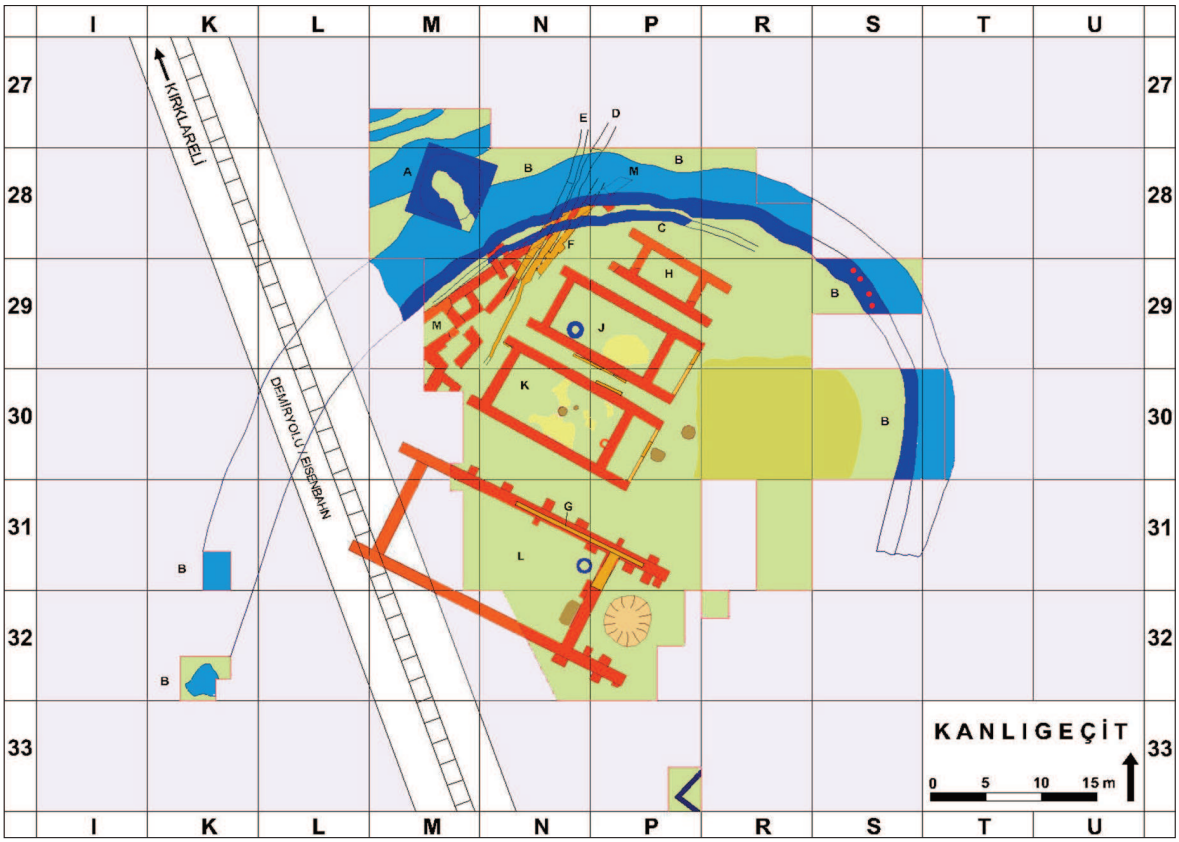


Fig. 4: Clay human figurine from Phase 3.

the sub-phases primarily reflects the three distinct renovations in the architecture, also, at the same time, reflecting changes in the pottery assemblage. The presence of Anatolian pottery begins in sub-phases 2c and gradually increases in time, however without any notable break among the sub-phases.

The buildings of the earliest sub-phase 2c are entirely of mud-brick without stone foundations; the buildings are rectangular in plan and are notably different from the wattle and daub structures of the earlier phases. From sub-phase 2b on all buildings are of mud-brick neatly laid stone foundations.

Sub-Phase 2c: The First Rectangular Mud-brick Structures

The deposit of sub-phase 2c is rather thin, as it had been leveled during the construction of the big megarons of sub-phase 2b. However, it thoroughly exemplifies how the architectural tradition of the settlement changed. The first clear indications of Anatolian impact are to be seen, by these sub-phases, as revealed by the use of rectangular mud-bricks and the presence of wheel-made vessels. Among the significant Anatolian type of pottery are the handmade and/or wheel turned plain and red-slip wares (Fig. 6). Nevertheless, the Anatolian pottery comprises less than 20 % of the pottery assemblage, the rest being exclusively of local wares that continued on from the earlier phase.

Our knowledge of the settlement organization of the citadel during this sub-phase is not very clear, due to the intensive remodeling during the sub-phase 2b. However, it is clear that the eastern sector of the citadel was reserved and arranged as an open courtyard. Within this open area, there are a number of oval pits with thick clay walls and on its southeast sections a number of domed ovens on raised platforms. Evidently, on the western section of the citadel, there were some free-standing rectangular buildings; however, whether or not they were like the later megarons of later phase in plan is not clear.

Sub-Phase 2b: The Main Megaron Phase

The architecture of this sub-phase is preserved only in the central area of the citadel. During sub-phase 2a, the northern parts of the citadel of sub-phase 2b had been totally destroyed during the construction of the enclosure wall. On the other hand, the southern part of the citadel had been eroded, leaving no structures of sub-phase 2b. Accordingly, this sub-phase had an enclosure wall like that of sub-phase 2a. The architecture of sub-phase 2b is represented by four megarons that have been aligned in a row in the southeast-northwest direction (Fig. 7). The area on the eastern side of the megarons, as in sub-phase 2c was reserved as an open yard; again with clay plastered oval pits and open or domed ovens. The layout of the megarons clearly indicates that the settlement was built according to a certain plan.

The first megaron on the north is only partially preserved; the recovered part of its southern wall is 10.4 m long. The second megaron measures 14.35 × 6.30 m. It has antes on its both ends. The clay flooring of the megaron is partly preserved in the southeast corner. This megaron has at least two renewal

Fig. 5: Vessels of phases 2 and 3.

phases, the latest possibly, dating to sub-phase 2a. During this renewal, the eastern ante was closed with a stonewall.

The third megaron measures 15 × 7.25 m. It has clay coated flooring preserved in the eastern section of the main chamber. Like the other megarons, it has been destroyed by fire. Among the burnt debris on its floor, there are the fragments of some structural elements such as an oven and a hearth and also some bin fragments. It is evident that there was a round hearth in the middle of the megaron. A most interesting recovery within the burnt debris on the floor was the skeletal remains of 3 individuals; whether or not they were caught in fire during the destruction of the megaron or whether they were imbedded there intentionally is not clear.

The southernmost megaron is somewhat different from the others. Firstly, it is much bigger and secondly there are external buttresses. The buttresses along its long walls are placed at 2.5 to 3.20 m intervals. The western part of the megaron had been destroyed during the construction of the Babaeski-Kırklareli railway; however, its southern long wall was preserved to the length of 27.5 m indicating that the original dimension of the megaron would be at least 27.5 × 11.2 m (Fig. 8). The thickness of the long walls are about 1 or 1.10 m. The floor of the structure was not preserved, but evidently the building had two rebuilding phases, the later one, might have been constructed during sub-phase 2a.

A large pit with a diameter of 4.5 m, which evidently had a ceremonial function, was found in the center of the east ante of the big megaron. The pit is about 2 m deep, with indications that it had multiple stages of use. Within the pit, particularly on its upper deposit, large amounts of Anatolian pottery of the finest quality were found. Also, notable in the pit, are a number of horse skull fragments. The contents of the pit are difficult in revealing its function. Besides the pottery of finest quality there were also large amounts of local coarse and fine pottery. Among the particular finds recovered in this pit there is a fine bone toggle pin, a stone weight, two pressure flaked arrowheads, a decorated bone fragment, some spindle whorls, few complete vessels and a few other bone implements. In par-

Fig. 6 Red slipped burnished plates from Phase 2

ticular the arrowheads and the toggle are of excellent workmanship.

To the west and northwest of the megarons, parts of another buttressed wall were recovered. This wall was preserved to the length of 23 m, and it resembles the long walls of the big megaron. Hovewer, association of this wall with any structure could not be detected. We might assume from other preserved wall fragments in this area that this buttressed wall might have been a part of a large and monumental residential unit. The presence of fine quality of import sherds in this area supports our interpretation.

Phase 2a: Late Megaron Phase

During this sub-phase, there were some renovations; the area around the megarons was surrounded by »temenos walls«. Even though the main megarons of sub-phases 2b continue, there were some slight modifications, such as the closing of eastern antes. What was denominated as the temenos walls was best identified to the west of megarons running parallel to their western ends at a meter a part. However neither the northern nor the southern extensions of this wall were recovered. Nevertheless, this wall was renewed with slight modifications in its orientations at least three times.

The dominant type of pottery of Phase 2 are the local coarse or medium coarse wares, mainly in dull shades of dark colors, smoothed or slightly burnished surfaces; still finer wares with buff, brown, gray or black surfaces, some with ribbed tubular lugs or strap-handles. This assemblage seems to be similar to all other Early Bronze Age settlements in Eastern Balkans. On the other hand, in sub-phases 2a and 2b there are some black burnished fine wares, notably different from the traditional Balkan pottery, displaying characteristics of West Anatolian types. Unfortunately, secure deposits of sub-phase 2a could not be recovered.

The typical Anatolian red-slipped and/or wheel-made plain wares, as well as the so-called »Trojan Plates« mostly appear in the lower deposits of Phase 2, that is to say, in sub-phases 2c and b. As no secure of sub-phase 2 had been recovered. Our knowledge

on the transition between phase 2 and 1 is not clear. However, as red slip pottery is extensively found in Phase 1, it is possible to infer that it became common in sub-phase 2a.

Notable among the Anatolian imports of Phase 2 are plain plates, two handled tankards, jugs with raised rims, black burnished bowls with incurved rims and tubular lugs. The early appearance of wheel-made pottery in sub-phase 2c such as beaked spouted jars and lustrously burnished wares though rather rare, is significant.

Phase 1: Destruction Phase

During this phase, the site has been significantly modified: a part of the eastern section was cut away and refilled to obtain a sloping edge encircling the citadel. This sloping edge of the mound was coated with stones to construct a glacis (Fig. 9). Particularly in the eastern section of the citadel there are indications of an artificial fill of yellowish clay soil. The newly shaped mound, during this phase was an enclosure or a defensive wall, raised above the glacis. Our knowledge of the central part of the citadel is extremely limited. Deposits of this phase lying above the megarons had almost completely been removed by recent agricultural activity prior to our excavations. The enclosure wall of this phase had been terraced through a length of 50 m of flat stones as an alignment above the glacis, thus, constituting the foundations of a mud-brick wall. Both the glacis and the enclosure wall had at least two major renovation phases. The presence of some big post-holes along the wall strongly suggests the presence of a wooden palisade along the mud-brick construction.

On the northwestern side of our exposure, associated with the glacis there is a massive stone structure, measuring 6.40 × 6.40 m, in places preserved to a height of 1 m. It seems possible that this structure was the foundation of a tower-like construction, possibly part of the main entrance, as a gateway bastion to the citadel (Karul 2002). The presence of an entrance at this location is also indicated by the remains of a ramp immediately to the west of the tower. However, its western part has been destroyed

Fig. 7: Second and third megarons of sub-phase 2b, from east.

by the railway. The tower-like structure was built of large ashler limestone blocks; and the outer faces were well dressed.

The pottery assemblage of this phase consists of fine wares with metallic luster; there is a significant difference in the fine wares from the earlier phases. On the other hand, the coarse wares have the same characteristics as those of the earlier occupation levels. Most of the fine wares are red or reddish brown, slipped and burnished; however, they have a much more metallic luster than the earlier ones. Occasionally there are jet-black burnished sherds of fine vessels with metallic luster. Some brownish-buff sherds, mostly with a patterned burnish, which is similar to Trojan »tan ware« were also recovered. It is also worth mentioning that the pattern burnished decoration also occurs in eastern Marmara region during this time period. Among the metallic wares there is the extensive presence of large storage vessels, most of which were recovered on the talus of the glacis presumably washed down from the slope. This implies that there was a big storage capacity in the citadel. In spite of the presence of Trojan tan wares, most of the pottery is notably different from Trojan and other Aegean assemblages bearing similarities to those of Central Anatolian pottery of the very end of the 3rd millennium BC. The extensive presence of domestic horse bones throughout phases 2 and 1 strongly suggests that Kanlıgeçit was connected to the trading network of Anatolian peninsula (Özdoğan 2003; Özdoğan and Parzinger 2000).

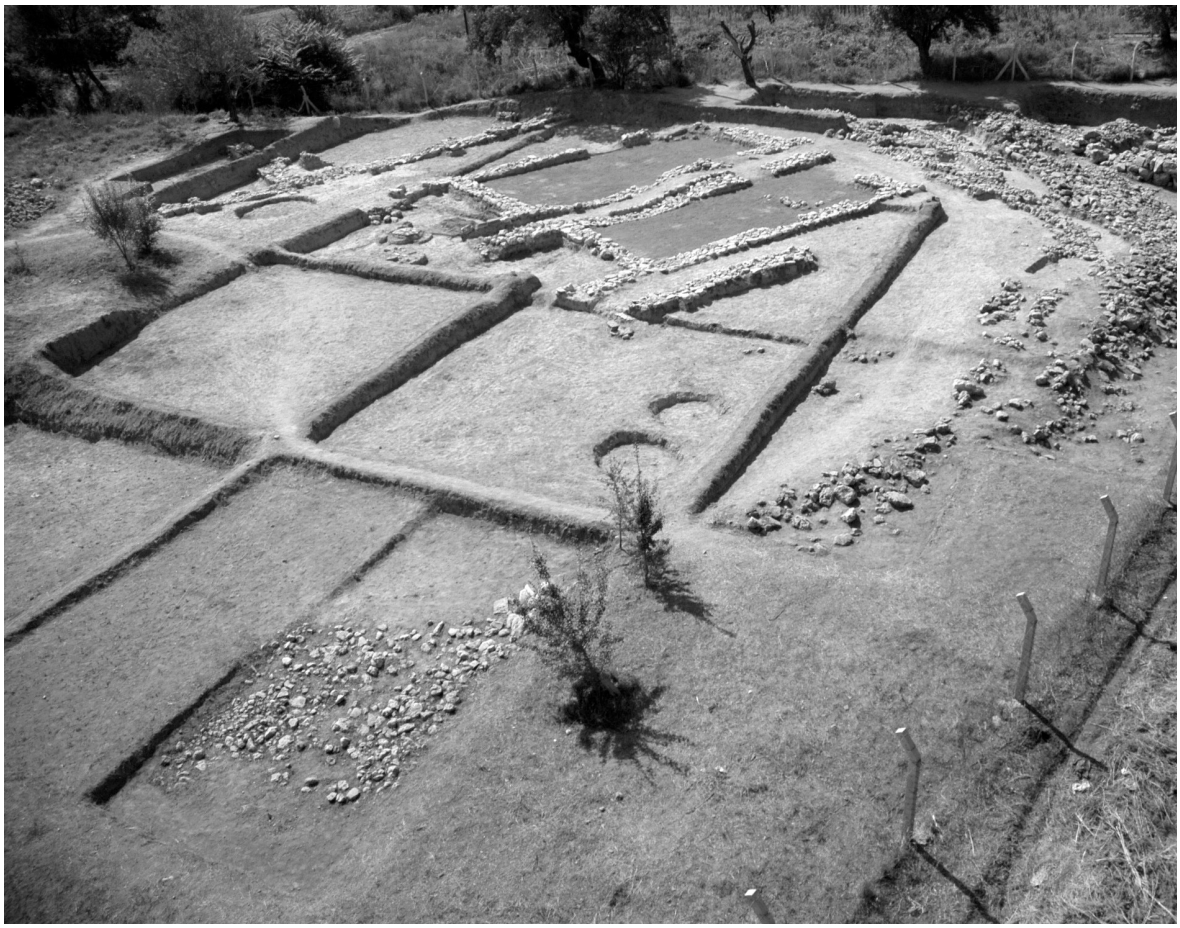
Epilogue

Kanlıgeçit at present is the only excavated Early Bronze Age site in Eastern Thrace; with the exception of Menekşe Çatağı located along the coastal strip the Sea of Marmara. Menekşe Çatağı had revealed typical Early Bronze Age assemblage of northwestern Anatolia with no particular features suggestive of long-distance trade. In this respect Kanlıgeçit stands as a significant but at the same time an odd site reflecting Anatolian urban models, though in a smaller scale (Özdoğan 2003). In this respect it is also different from the other excavated

Fig. 8: Southernmost megaron of sub-phase 2b, from south.

Bronze Age sites in Bulgaria. The impact of Anatolian model is not only restricted to the presence of import wares; the entire lay-out of the citadel, likewise the employment mud-brick megarons with stone foundations are all alien features to this part of the world. Even though in western Thrace and elsewhere in Bulgaria, there are a few typical Anatolian import vessels, such as the depas and a hoard find of Galabovo, no other site bears the characteristic features of Kanlıgeçit. What this implies is difficult to say at present; whether Kanlıgeçit represents a colonial expansion of the Anatolian model during the second half of the 3rd millennium or whether it stands as an acculturation or an adaptation of Anatolian way of living by a local group, is not clear. This can only be clarified as more Early Bronze Age sites excavated in the future. Nevertheless Kanlıgeçit was destroyed by the turn of the 3rd millennium to the 2nd, and throughout the 2nd millennium BC, no further settlement or any indication of Anatolian contact are to be found in eastern Thrace.

Fig. 9: Defensive wall raised above the glacis of Phase 1 and megarons of Phase 2c.



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Troy has been of outstanding importance for Early Bronze Age archaeology ever since the discovery and excavation of the site by Heinrich Schliemann. Partly due to the paucity of archaeological research on EBA Anatolia, Troy has long been considered as the only key site for Western Anatolia and the Northern Aegean. However, as a result of recent excavations at other contemporary sites, it has become clear that Troy was not the only significant EBA settlement in this region and that its position as a key site is due for a re-examination. To explore the similarities and diversities of EBA cultures across the Northern-Aegean and Western Anatolia, an international conference entitled »Early Bronze Age Troy: Chronology, Cultural Development and Interregional Contacts« was held in early May 2009 at the University of Tübingen. Besides the general aspects of chronology and stratigraphy, it addressed themes such as the emergence of stratified societies, concepts of EBA economy and trade, production and distribution of raw materials and craft specialization with special reference to Troy itself.

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PHOENICIAN COINS AND PHOENICIAN EXPLORATION

Prof. Dr. Mark A. McMenamin

Summary

Numismatic evidence favoring the hypothesis of a Carthaginian presence in North America has recently come to light. The evidence is twofold. The first piece of evidence consists of a particular group of early Carthaginian gold coins (called staters) that bear a map (derived from modified Punic letters) showing both the Old World and the New World. Going from east to west, the maps show India, the south coast of Europe above Sardinia and Sicily, and America.

The second piece of evidence consists of a series of seven or eight copper coins found scattered across North America from Nebraska to Georgia to Connecticut. The coins have an image of the Punic horse, the Phoenician palm tree (uprooted as if to be transplanted) and an enigmatic inscription in the Punic language. It seems unlikely that these coins were brought across the Atlantic in modern times, and if authentic they suggest a Carthaginian presence in ancient America.

Taken separately, these pieces of evidence could be dismissed as some type of fluke or hoax, respectively. But taken together, along with the fact that Carthaginian gold and base metal coins were reported from the Azores in 1778(1), the available evidence suggests that the Carthaginians had the ability to cross the Atlantic at will.

The Carthaginians were the western tribe of the Tyrian Phoenicians. The awesome abilities of both Tyrians and Carthaginians as seafarers left such an impression on the ancient mind that rumors have circulated ever since on the subject of exactly how far the Carthaginians reached with their ships. Peter Whitfield, although he accepts Herodotus' account of the Phoenician circumnavigation of Africa in 600 BC, says of the Phoenicians that "of their science, geography and chartmaking, if any, we know nothing . . . and as far as we can tell formal cartography played no part in their maritime achievement(2)."

The recent discovery of Tyrian deep water shipwrecks dated to 750 BC, complete with intact ceramic jugs and amphorae, promises to provide us with more information about Phoenician trade and exploration(3). This is a fortunate development, because, apart from Phoenician coinage(4), there are indeed comparatively few well preserved relics

of Phoenician civilization. When Carthage was defeated in 146 BC, most of Phoenician literature, architecture, geographic knowledge (which Phoenicians were secretive about to begin with), and that hard-to-define-something we call 'style' was lost forever.

Or was it? In 1996 I argued that Carthaginian gold staters minted in 350 BC contained tiny maps of the Mediterranean world(5). I further claimed that these small maps ("worldcards") included cartographic representations of India and the Americas(6). These claims led to a heated controversy, culminating in the publication of an image of one of the coins with the pattern of interest on the cover of the magazine Mercator's World(7).

I was first drawn to this problem by curious markings in the reverse exergue, underneath an image of the Carthaginian horse, on gold staters of Group IIIa of Jenkins and Lewis(8). The hitherto problematic markings in the exergue field of these coins are discussed by Müller(9) and Jenkins and Lewis. Müller claimed to be able to read the inscription as:

ha.lh

Müller (p. 126) explained the letters as two abbreviated personal names, which he interpreted as the initials of Carthaginian moneyers(10):

> . . . two groups of letters, separated by a point, are set off in the exergue. So far as it is possible to discern them, the characters, which are very obscure, read: ha.lh; the two letters in the middle are tilted toward one another, a result of being squeezed into the tight space of the exergue. This legend, similar to analogous legends of the coins of Sabrata (see p. 27-28 and 33), undoubtedly represents two abbreviated personal names, such as the names of two suffetes (Carthaginian senators) or the names of two magistrates/moneyers; the latter would appear to be the most probable on account of the small size of the letters. [my translation from the French]

Jenkins and Lewis were able to rule out Müller's 1860 hypothesis on the grounds that the Punic letter h in this form (i.e., shaped like a Russian "ya") is found only in Neo-Punic and does not appear in inscriptions until the first century BC. Jenkins and Lewis(11) were nevertheless frankly puzzled by the inscription-like patterns:

> . . . not the least baffling aspect of it is that the letters, if treated as such, are so extremely hard to interpret: the whole thing seems quite unnecessarily obscure by comparison with the inscriptions on other Punic coins of the same date . . . .

Alexander MacGregor, Jr. of the Department of Classics, University of Chicago reinterpreted the exergue pattern as the Phoenician letters aleph-resh-tsadhe ("aratz"), which means "homeland" in Phoenician(12). Unfortunately, this explanation does not apply to known specimens because more than three letters are visible in their exergue patterns.

The exergue pattern varies widely, but there are elements in common from coin to coin, such as the centrally located dot in the middle of the pattern. In an attempt to test the map hypothesis against the inscription hypothesis for these coins, in April 1999 I visited the student room of the British Museum Department of Coins and Medals (the repository of most coins of this type). Examination of the Carthaginian gold and silver coins in the British Museum collection provided a good deal of new information, but I still had no definitive answers. Later, however, it became clear that the exergue pattern I was examining on the gold staters was indeed an inscription in the Punic language, although one that had not been correctly interpreted for some 2,000 years. A close look at stater Jenkins-Lewis 6 (J-L 6) had revealed the Punic word qrthdsht, meaning "New City" or "Carthage(13)."

The Punic letters in most of the gold staters have been contorted almost beyond recognition, but by comparison with some of the early Carthaginian silver tetradrachms (British Museum Carthage PCG III C. 40 AR, R4835/32, PS 061565 and British Museum Carthage PCG III C. 40, PS 197869; both SG(14) 6427), the exergue pattern in J-L 6 can be read as qrthdsht, or "Carthage" (Figure 1; note that Punic is read from right to left and lacks vowels). The text element that proved to be key in this case consisted of the two short vertical strokes tilted to the left and positioned to the left of the central dot in the exergue pattern of J-L 6, a gold stater Group IIIa of Jenkins and Lewis. The two vertical strokes on the gold coin correlate well with the (more centrally located) vertical strokes on the silver coin inscriptions. The vertical strokes in both the gold and silver coins represent the Punic letter h. The central dot in the gold stater exergue pattern thus appears to be a modified right cross-bar in the Punic letter t.

The inclined strokes forming a Punic h are also seen in gold stater J-L 8-3, but they are smaller and the overall exergue pattern in this coin is more stylized. The Punic t at the end (left side) of this inscription has been modified into the shape of an eye. This t also has a central dot, which seems to serve as the pupil of the eye. Very interestingly, a later coin in the gold stater series (J-L 22) lacks an inscription but has the eye(15) (this time lacking a pupil) in the same position as the eye/letter in coin J-L 8-3.

Note that all of the coin inscriptions or patterns shown in Figure 1 are (with one exception) placed in their proper age sequence from 410 BC to circa 350 BC. The beginning of this date series is extremely well established due to the efforts of numismatist G. K. Jenkins.

While viewing coins in an auction catalog in the 1970's (Bank Leu Auction 2 of 1972, lot 2.69), Jenkins(16) noticed a Greek (Akragas) tetradrachm struck over another coin. Jenkins realized that the undertype was an early Carthaginian silver coin, a beautiful type (SG 6426) with, on the obverse, the forepart of a prancing horse being crowned by Nike, both to the right, a single barleycorn in the field to the right, and the Punic inscription qrthdsht ("New City" or "Carthage") below. The reverse has a symmetrical date palm with two date clusters, flanked by the inscription mhnt ("The Camp"). Jenkins was able to

Table 1			
No. Pellets	J-L/TCWH I Numbers	EXERGUE PATTERN	EXERGUE LINE
1	5/2	unclear	single
2	6/3	qrthdsht	double
	11/12	map; sh may be visible to left of central dot	single
	12/13	unclear	single
3	7/4	unclear	single
	13/14	map	single
4	8-2/6	map	single
	8-1, 8-3, 8-4/5, 7, 8	qrthdsht for 8-3/7; others unclear	single
	10/11	map	single
5	4/1; "soft serve ice cream" forelock curl	map; sh may be visible to left of central dot	double

detect this coin as the undertype because he noticed that a date bunch was visible on the front overtype horse's flank and parts of its main, and that the bridle and topknot from the Carthaginian horse and Nike's belt appear on the front eagle of the Greek coin. Jenkins was able to use this juxtaposition of types to date the Carthaginian coin to approximately 410 BC. Jenkins received compliments from his fellow numismatists(17) for his sharp eyes. To provide a relative dating method for the gold coins, I assume that coins of Group IIIa with fewer dots or pellets on the reverse were struck earlier, and that those with greater number of dots on the reverse (as many as five dots are known) were stuck later in the Group IIIa series. This seems a reasonable method(18), for the count of reverse dots has proved a reliable dating method for coins minted later in the Carthaginian gold and electrum stater series(19) (Groups VI and Xa), and also works for some Carthaginian bronzes.

Jenkins and Lewis were able to organize the electrum staters of Carthage of Groups VI and Xa into relative chronological sequences within each group based on the number of pellets (deployed above the exergual line around or sometimes on the body of the horse) occuring on the reverse of the coins. Using a similar approach, I propose here (20) a relative chronology for the map coins. In general, the more pellets on the back of one of the gold staters, the further along in the sequence the coin is. The table organizes these coins by numbers of pellets.

In general, the exergue patterns with a more map-like aspect are associated with more pellets on the reverse of the coin. Note that even in most of the unclear patterns, a central dot I interpret as Sardinia is still present.

Coin J-L 4/TCWH I 1 has a double exergue line and a "soft serve ice cream" curl at the top of Tanit's forehead that seems to link this coin stylistically to the gold staters of Group IIIb (coins J-L 14-17), coins which have both a double exergue line and (in specimens J-L 15-17) the distinctive forelock curl. Coin J-L 4/TCWH I 1 also has five pellets on the reverse (the most of any coin of J-L Group IIIa), and thus might well be expected to have the most stylistic similarities to the next group, Group IIIb. Note, however, that coin J-L 6/TCWH I 3 also has a double exergue line but has only two reverse pellets, and would thus seem to be out of sequence. Jenkins and Lewis (p. 77) did not note in their dot placement diagram for this coin that the exergual line is double.

A further piece of evidence supporting this relative chronology is provided by the two pellet coin J-L 11/TCWH 12 and the three pellet coin J-L 13/TCWH 14. Both coins share the same obverse die, but the obverse design of coin J-L 13/TCWH 14 was struck from very worn dies. Here, then, there is clear evidence that a two pellet coin preceded a three pellet coin, in accordance with the scheme proposed above.

As noted earlier, the only coin that seems to be out of sequence is J-L 6/TCWH I 3 on account of its double exergual line, which might lead one to suggest that it should be placed, as is coin J-L 4/TCWH I 1, close to the staters of Group IIIb. However, coin J-L 6/TCWH I 3 lacks the soft-serve ice cream curl shared by coin J-L 4/TCWH I and most of the Group IIIb coins. There is no reason why a double exergual line could not have appeared in the middle as well as the end of the Group IIIa series, thus coin J-L 6/TCWH I 3 does not invalidate the coin sequence proposed here for the gold staters of Group IIIa.

Assuming that this coin chronology is correct, an interesting pattern emerges in Table 1. Rows denoting coins with one or two pellets have a total of 25% world maps, whereas rows denoting coins with three to five pellets have a total of 66% maps. Admittedly the sample size is small, but there does seem to be a trend toward improvement in the quality of the map pattern later in the Group IIIa series. Did a purely decorative pattern early in the series subsequently evolve into a map? Or was the pattern always meant to be a map (most of the unclear exergue patterns have the central dot I have interpreted as Sardinia), but over time the stylization improved? Or should the map hypothesis be abandoned altogether in favor of a highly abstract but exclusively textual inscription that reads "Carthage"? The answers to these and other questions regarding these coins and their curious patterns must await the coming to light of more coins (and better preserved coins) in the Group IIIa series.

The decoding of the gold stater inscription has important implications for study of these coins. First, reading the inscription as "Carthage" probably vindicates Jenkins and Lewis' contention(21) that the coins were minted at Carthage rather than at Sicily(22) or

Sardinia(23) (unless the name "Carthage" was also used on coins struck at other mints or other "New Cities," which remains a possibility).

Second, what becomes of the map hypothesis? The degree of stylization of the inscription in the gold coins is extreme for Phoenician coins of any era. Rather than being a celator's error or a die blunder, however, this stylization was completely controlled and quite intentional as indicated by the series of progressive stylization shown in Figure 1 (1-6).

As shown by the conversion of a Punic t into an eye in coin J-L 8-3, the letters in these inscriptions could be modified to portray other images. This could even be viewed as a Africanization of Punic writing, similar to the distortion of animal images in African petroglyphs to portray rain creatures with strange proportions(24). Thus, it is still possible that the exergue pattern in the gold coins represents a Punic world map, in which case Punic letters have been distorted to create the map pattern.

A map hypothesis is also possible for the (less stylized) inscriptions on the silver coins. In discussing these coins, Mildenberg(25) noted the somewhat unusual nature of these inscriptions; in his words they resembled "a thin pearl necklace" (translation mine: "Außen feiner Perlkreis"). In discussing the map hypothesis for the exergue pattern in the gold coins (and unaware at the time of Mildenberg's writings concerning the silver coin inscription), I wrote(26):

> [The celator] was evidently taking advantage of the circular outline of the coin die and using it as a graphical convention to project a great circle of the globe. The horse stands on the chord linking South America to Southeast Asia. The ports of call are strung out on an arc of this great circle like beads on a necklace.

The letters in the "tablet" inscription (as it is referred to in SG) on the silver coins may represent ports of call from east to west. Decipherment of the gold stater inscription may, rather than falsifying the map interpretation, ultimately support the exergue map hypothesis.

This may be especially so since the only other known Phoenician map bears an interesting relationship to the exergue patterns. A Phoenician bronze bowl from the 8th century BC (Figure 2) is a cartographical representation of the world(27). On this bowl, four arrays of stylized mountains radiate away from an elongate, central body of water with islands. The largest island functions as a central dot, serving as a "centering point" for the bowl map in the same way that the central dot forms a centering point for the exergue pattern(28). The bowl map may be a prototype for the coin-maps(29).

The case is far from settled, however; the map hypothesis remains conjectural and in fact we have no idea why the Carthaginians stylized these exergue images to such an extreme degree. Space limitations are not a factor-judging from the tiny, finely detailed goat's head in the exergue of coin J-L 22, the celators could easily have rendered the inscription as clear letters on the gold coins. They had some other purpose in mind. It has been argued that the strongest evidence in

favor of the map hypothesis for the exergue pattern in the Carthaginian coins is the fact that Greeks also used maps on coins. The hinterland of Ephesus(30) appears on the reverse of coins minted during the 4th century BC (similar to the age of the Carthaginian coins discussed here).

The Farley Coins

A related series of coins, most bearing a Punic inscription, have been described from diverse places in North America (Figure 3) by Gloria Farley(31) and others(32). These very curious coins (Figure 4) would, if taken at face value, so to speak, provide direct evidence for Phoenician involvement in North American affairs in antiquity. One interpretation of the Phoenician inscription on these coins is as a statement entitling the bearer to a land allotment in the New World(33).

If true, this would be an astonishing revelation, but questions remain regarding the authenticity of these coins. Two new arguments have surfaced regarding these coins: one involves die axis, the other involves the process of electrotyping.

Die axes of the Farley coins is variable, and fortunately may be measured in specimens known only from photographs as long as they have holes in them so that the two sides may be matched. I accomplished this by tracing the outline of each side of each Farley coin from its photograph, drawing an up arrow on the tracing, and then drawing in a small circle on the tracing showing the position of the hole. Next, I glued the obverse tracing to the back side of the reverse tracing, being careful to match up the holes. From there it was simple to measure the die axis from the paper coin proxy. I currently have the Arkansas, Pennsylvania and Tennessee coins, and was able to measure die axis directly from them.

Following are the die axis measurements of the Farley coins, reported in degrees clockwise from the vertical. The Tennessee and Pennsylvania coins have vertical axes (no displacement). The Kansas, Nebraska, Georgia and Alabama coins have roughly 12 degree displacement (Alabama is only an estimate, it has no hole). The latter three coins are struck from the same obverse and reverse dies. The Connecticut coin, also struck from these dies, could not be measured as it has no hole and I lack good photographs, but it may also have something like 12 degree displacement.

The Arkansas coin has the most displacement of the series at 33 degrees. Although it seems to be a unique specimen from this set of dies, it is interesting that it has significant die axis displacement. Either it was struck from loose dies using the Sicilian process (perhaps not too surprising, since other coins in the series have obverse inscriptions mentioning Syracuse) or from fixed dies improperly placed. I see the former possibility as more likely, and thus I interpret the die displacement of the Arkansas coin as evidence supporting the authenticity of the coin.

I included(34) the Tennessee coin as one of the Farley coins primarily because of where it was found and because it has a retrograde "n" (in an inscription on the obverse) in common with the Pennsylvania coin. The Tennessee coin,

however, may be an electrotype made from a Syracusan dekadrachm. In electrotyping, a silver shell of the obverse and reverse is made using an electroplating process applied to a wax impression of the coin, the two shells are joined together, and are then filled with molten base metal to form a reproduction. Electrotypes of this sort were made in the 19th century AD by the British Museum and other museums(35). Although silver plated copies were made in antiquity (R. Doty, personal communication, 1999), whether or not the ancients were able to do electrotyping is another matter. This consideration calls into question the antiquity of the Tennessee coin. The Tennessee coin may have no connection to the other Farley coins, and any resemblances to the struck Farley coins may be coincidental (indeed, only the struck Farley coins have the Punic inscriptions on the reverse). These could be The work of counterfeiters (36) experimenting in a variety of metallic media, and then mischievously distributing their creations across the country. It is hard to imagine why someone would go to all the trouble of doing this, however, so at this point I am still leaning toward an interpretation of authenticity for the Farley coins. The question of the antiquity/authenticity of the Farley coins is at present still an unsolved problem. They are either genuinely ancient or an astonishingly skillful hoax.

To conclude, we may hope that a key piece of evidence will soon be surfacing from the bottom of the Mediterranean. Meanwhile, please contact me if you have further information concerning Carthaginian gold staters of J-L Group IIIa or additional information concerning the Farley coins, especially unpublished examples.

Figure Captions

Figure 1. Evolution of the Punic word Carthage on Gold and Silver Coins from 410-320 BC.
1, Punic inscription qrthdsht as it appears on the obverse of Carthaginian silver tetradrachms of type SG 6426. The Punic letters are clearly legible.

2, Punic inscription qrthdsht as it appears on a Carthaginian silver tetradrachm of type SG 6427. The letters have been somewhat stylized and the spacing is irregular. British Museum Carthage PCG III C. 40, PS 197869.

3, Punic inscription qrthdsht as it appears on a second Carthaginian silver tetradrachm of type SG 6427. The letters have a stylization similar to the coin previous. British Museum Carthage PCG III C. 40 AR, R4835/32, PS 061565.

4, Punic inscription qrthdsht as it appears on a Carthaginian gold stater of Group IIIa, coin Jenkins-Lewis 6. Although the inscription is heavily stylized, the Punic letters (especially the h) are still recognizable. This coin has two pellets on the reverse and is thus early in the Group IIIa series.

5, Punic inscription qrthdsht as it appears on a Carthaginian gold stater of Group IIIa, coin Jenkins-Lewis 8-3. Note the modification of the Punic letter t into an eye. This coin has four pellets on the reverse.

6, Punic inscription qrthdsht as it appears on a Carthaginian gold stater of Group IIIa, coin Jenkins-Lewis 4. This inscription is so heavily stylized that the Punic letters are no longer recognizable, although the central dot of the t and the sh (turned on its side) are visible. The symbols may also serve to portray world geography (e.g. final t = America; central dot of central t = Sardinia; symbols to left of central dot [which are still part of the central t?] = boot of Italy [above], and triangular Sicily [below]). Interestingly, depiction of Sicily as a triangle is attested to in ancient literature (Strabo; see p. 9 in P. Whitfield, 1998, New Found Lands: Maps in the History of Exploration, New York, Routledge). This coin has five pellets on the reverse and is thus late in the Group IIIa series.

7, Exergue pattern as it appears on a Carthaginian gold stater of Group IIIa, coin Jenkins-Lewis 11. No letters are recognizable, and the exergue pattern has apparently been transformed into a map of the ancient world. This coin has two pellets on its reverse.

Figure 2. Phoenician bronze bowl (8th century BC; discovered in Nimrud) showing five stylized mountain ranges radiating away from a Mediterranean like body of water with islands. Goats are visible on the mountain flanks. Bowl is 24.5 centimeters in diameter; London, British Museum.

Figure 3. Map showing distribution of the Farley coins. Coins attributed to this series have been found in Alabama, Arkansas, Kansas, Pennslyvania, Connecticut, Nebraska, Tennessee and Georgia. The coins were found between the 1840's and the 1970's.

Figure 4. Sketch of the reverse of the Farley coin reputedly found in Waterbury, Connecticut in 1958. Images on this side of the coin include protome of the Carthaginian horse, a palm tree with dangling roots, an incomplete border of dots and the Punic inscription bpgrlt. Diameter of coin approximately 29 mm.

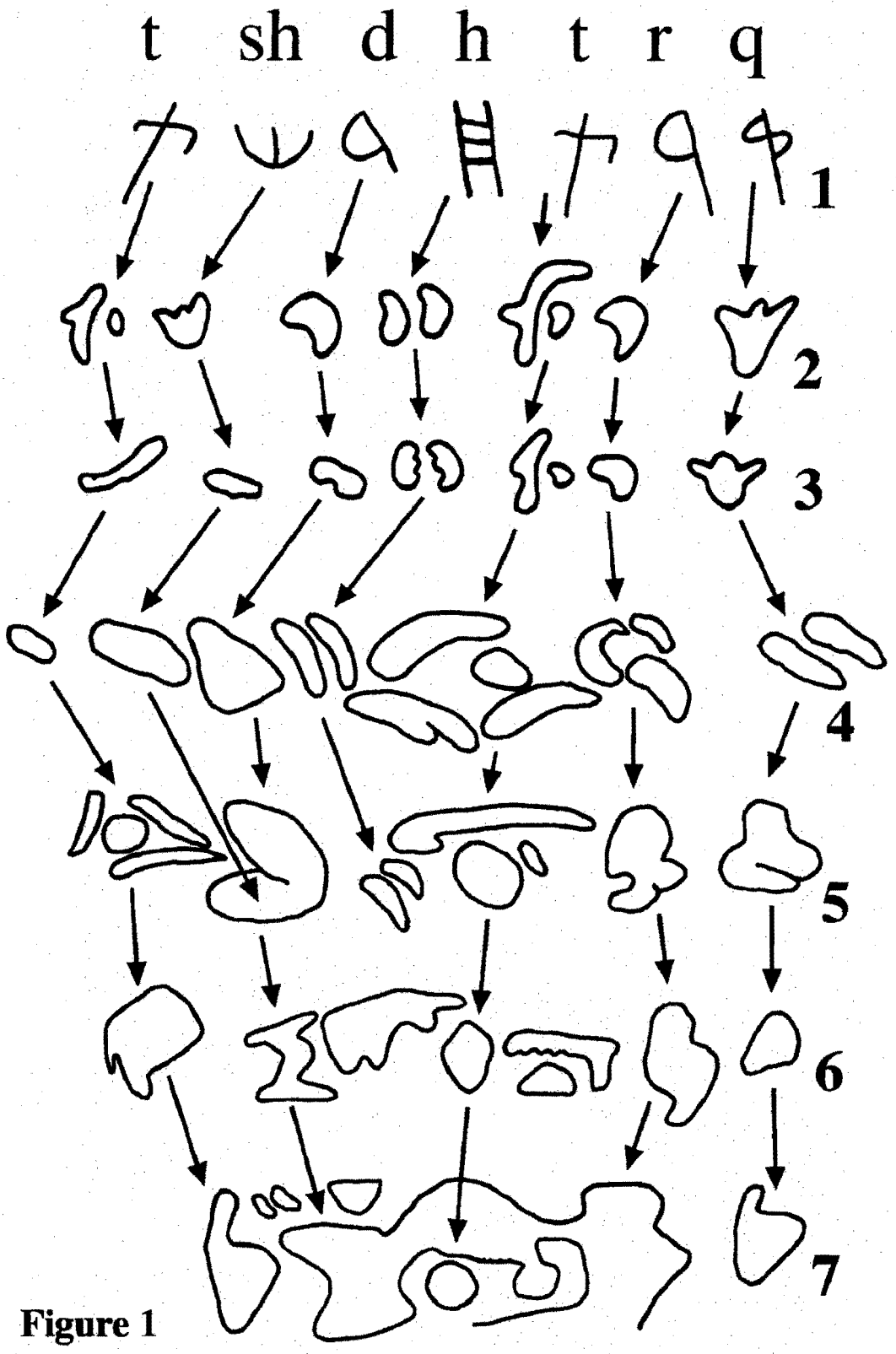

Figure 1

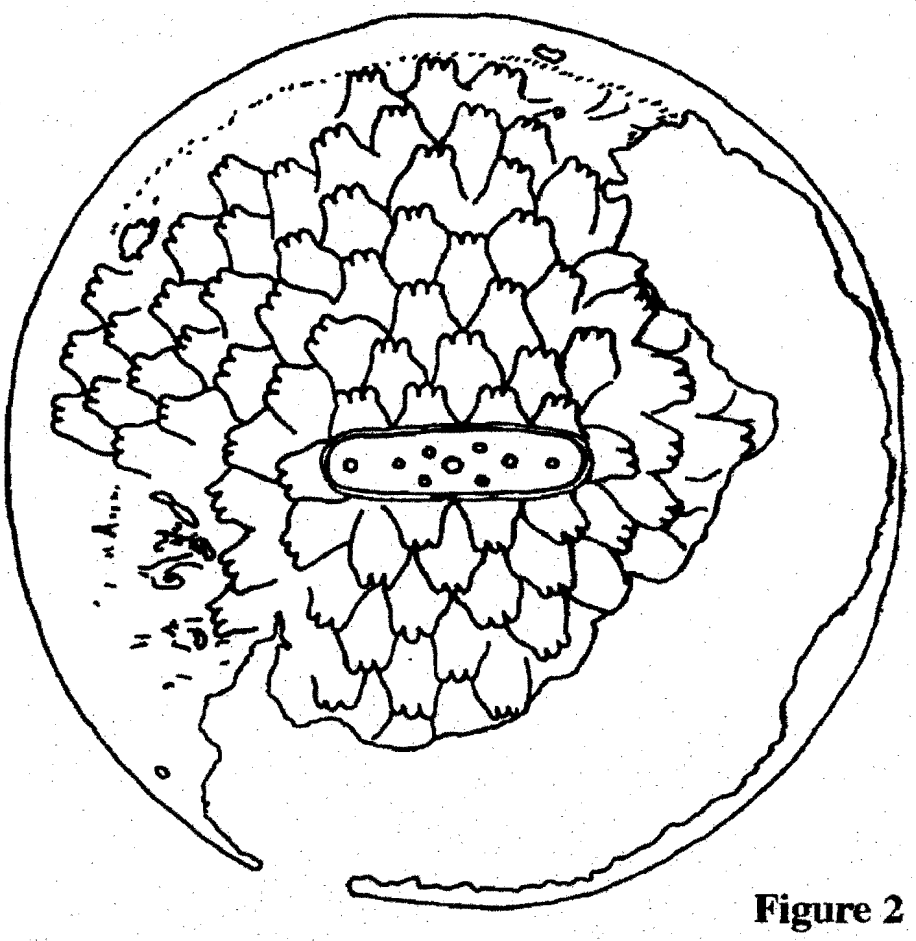

Figure 2

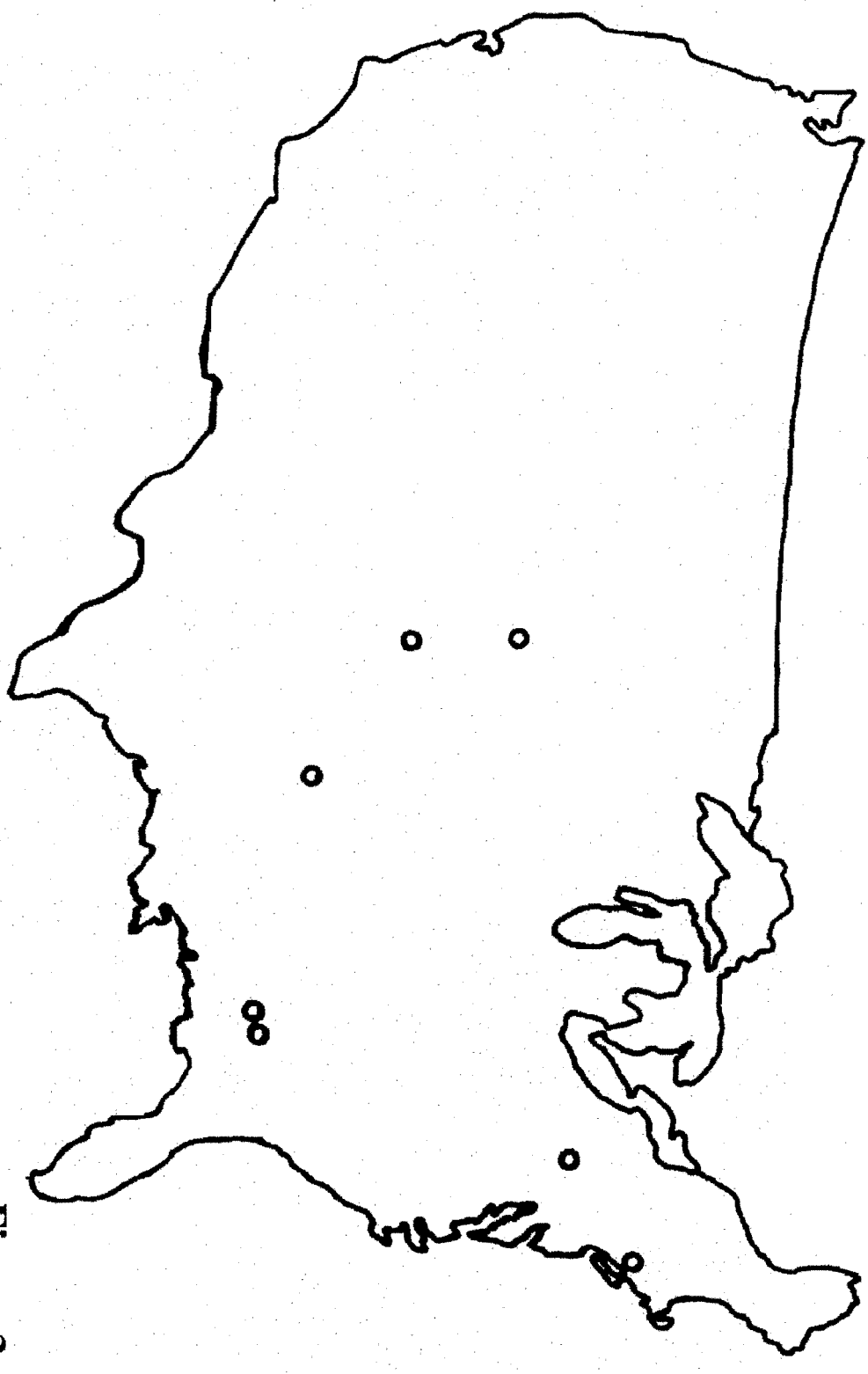

Figure 3

Figure 4

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MOSES/MUSAEUS/MOCHOS AND HIS GOD YAHWEH, IAO, AND SABAOTH, SEEN FROM A GRAECO-ROMAN PERSPECTIVE

George H. van Kooten

Introduction

The revelation of Yahweh's name to Moses on Mount Horeb is a decisive episode in the narrative of Moses according to the book of Exodus (3:1). Mount Horeb also features later in Jewish Scripture. It is the place where Moses transmits Yahweh's Ten Commandments to Israel (Deuteronomy 1:6; 4:10; 4:15; 9:8; also 1 Kings [= 3 Kings LXX] 8:9). Furthermore, it is the destination of Elijah's journey: an angel takes him out of his depressed state of mind under a broom bush and sets him on his feet for a journey to Mount Horeb, where Yahweh reveals himself to him, too (1 Kings [= 3 Kings LXX] 19:8). Yahweh's revelation on Mount Horeb is a powerful theme in the Jewish Scripture, and in this paper I shall address the question of whether something of the revelation of Yahweh's name to Moses, the second founding father of Judaism after Abraham, was known to the Greeks, and how *they* perceived Moses and Yahweh. As Martin Goodman has indicated, Graeco-Roman authors, aware of Jerusalem and the Temple as dominant features of Jewish religion,

> wrote much about the role there of the priestly caste and the high priests as leaders of the people. There would be much less certainty about the divinity worshipped. Pagan writers mostly agreed that Jewish cult was aniconic, but they differed widely in their views on the deity understood by Jews as the recipient of their offerings. Was it Jupiter, as Varro thought, or Dionysus, as Plutarch suggested? Other suggestions included Iao, the sky, or the god 'of uncertain name'.[1]

In this paper, I shall comment on the variety of these attempts at identifying the God of the Jews. First, I shall sketch a general picture of Greek views on Moses, paying special attention to the contexts

[1] Goodman 1998, 10.

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in which the issue of the Jewish God's name arises. The specific relevant passages can only be appreciated, however, when viewed against the more general background of Graeco-Roman evaluations of Moses (§1). Secondly, this tracking of the 'Greek Moses' gives rise to a further consideration about whether in fact, in a particular Greek source, Moses might also have been identified with the figure of Mochos, who is frequently mentioned in Greek sources (§2). Thirdly, I shall give an analysis of Greek references to Iao, as Yahweh is referred to by Greek authors (§3). Finally, this analysis will be concluded with a discussion of Sabaoth, a name which also occurs in Greek authors and derives from the Hebrew Yahweh Sabaoth, as Yahweh is often called in full (§4).

Although nobody would decline the help of Menahem Stern's monumental, three-volume collection of Greek and Roman sources about the Jews, entitled *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (Jerusalem, 1974–84), I have first undertaken independent research into the Greek sources and supplemented this research with my use of Stern's collection. This procedure results in a different emphasis on one Greek source, Alexander Polyhistor, and has also yielded a text by the first-century AD physician Dioscorides not included in Stern. Nevertheless, I will make continuous reference to the numbers of Stern's texts.

1. The Figure of Moses in Graeco-Roman Authors

First, we turn to the figure of Moses in Graeco-Roman authors. I shall deal with the occurrences in chronological order. As we shall see, there is no reason to conclude with the lexicon article on Moses by Beate Ego in *Der neue Pauly*, that 'die Figur des Moses in der paganen Literatur vor allem im Kontext antisemitischer Aussagen (steht)'.[2] Ego's conclusion is at odds with Gager's much more balanced study by the name *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (1972), in which he shows that 'anti-Semitism was not a constant companion of the Jews in antiquity' and that there is little foundation for the view that the intelligentsia were the 'true anti-Semites' of the ancient world.[3] The views among the intelligentsia were much more varied.

[2] Ego 2000, 417–18.
[3] Gager 1972, 18.

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At the end of his study, Gager concludes: 'The first and most enduring reaction of the Greek world to Moses was positive. (. . .) In the end, (. . .) the more positive view of Moses prevailed.'[4] Although there does appear to have been a specific anti-Jewish polemic in Egypt in the Hellenistic-Roman era, the entire reception of Moses in antiquity seems to have been much less black-and-white than Ego suggests, and to have included a considerable positive perception.

The oldest reference to Moses in Greek literature seems to have been made by the sixth-century BC ethnographer and chronicler Hellanicus of Lesbos. Hellanicus is ranked with Herodotus and Thucydides as one of the authors who have done most to influence the development of Greek historiography. The next to refer to Moses was Philochorus (*c.* 340–260 BC), a scholar-historian who took a scholarly interest in local Greek history, chronography, cult, and literature. Both names we have on the authority of Pseudo-Justin Martyr (3rd–5th cent. AD), who says in his *Exhortation to the Greeks*, that 'those who write the Athenian history, Hellanicus and Philochorus, the author of *The Attic History*, (. . .) have mentioned Moses as a very ancient and time-honoured prince of the Jews' (*FGrH* 4 frg. 47b; 328 frg. 92b; Stern, No. 565).[5]

Lysimachus of Alexandria (355–281 BC), a contemporary of Philochorus, is perhaps an instance of animosity towards Moses and the Jews, as Josephus tells of him that he brings up the same theme as later writers such as Manetho, Apion, and Chaeremon, to the effect that the Jews in Egypt became afflicted with leprosy. According to Lysimachus, they took refuge in the temples and lived a mendicant existence, and spread the disease throughout Egypt. When the Egyptians were about to purge the temples of these impure and impious Jews, drive them out into the wilderness, and drown the lepers, Moses advised them to take their courage into their own hands, leave Egypt, and make their way straight through the wilderness until they reached inhabited country and settled in Judaea (*Against Apion* 1.304–311; cf. 2.145; Stern, No. 158). As we shall see, Lysimachus' anti-Semitic stance is also taken by other Egyptian authors like Manetho, Apion, and Chaeremon.

[4] Gager 1972, 163–4.

[5] Stern doubts if Pseudo-Justin's statement concerning the references to Moses by Hellanicus and Philochorus is indeed true; see Stern 1984, vol. 3, 38–40.

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This anti-Jewish account contrasts sharply with the more positive account of Lysimachus' contemporary Hecataeus of Abdera (4th–3rd cent. BC), who likewise tells the story of the outbreak of pestilence in Egypt, but goes on to include not only the Jews, but also the Greeks as victims of the Egyptian measures against foreigners. The most outstanding and active foreigners banded together and arrived in Greece, among other destinations, whereas the greater number of foreigners were driven into Judaea. In this interpretation, both Jews and particular notable Greeks originated from Egypt, when they were expelled by the Egyptians. Within this framework, Hecataeus draws a more sympathetic picture of Moses. As Momigliano has suggested, his interest seems to be part of the Hellenistic discovery of Judaism after the Greeks' conquest of the Persian Empire. Although Greek curiosity extended to other barbarians as well, the

> Jews were the newcomers. Everything had still to be learnt about them. It is perhaps not by chance that the first Greek book to speak extensively about the Jews was written by an adviser of Ptolemy I [Hecataeus, that is] in the years in which he was campaigning for the conquest of Palestine.[6]

In Hecataeus, Moses is called outstanding both for his wisdom and courage, and, as the founder of the temple of Jerusalem and the one who instituted its forms of worship and ritual, is credited with a very philosophical theology: 'he had no images whatsoever of the gods made for them, being of the opinion that God is not in human form; rather the heavens which surround the earth are alone divine, and rule the universe'.[7] Hecataeus also highlights Moses' function as a lawgiver, and explicitly remarks that 'at the end of their laws there is even appended the statement: "These are the words that Moses heard from God and declares unto the Jews"' (cf. Deuteronomy 29:1;

[6] Momigliano 1971, 83–84.

[7] Hecataeus' positive remarks encouraged the writing of a pseudepigraphic work under his name *On the Jews*. According to Origen, 'a book about the Jews is attributed to Hecataeus the historian, in which the wisdom of the nation is emphasized even more strongly [in comparison with Numenius and Pythagoras, that is]—so much so that Herennius Philo in his treatise about the Jews even doubts in the first place whether it is a genuine work of the historian, and says in the second place that if it is authentic, he had probably been carried away by the Jews' powers of persuasion and accepted their doctrine' (*Against Celsus* 1.15). See the commentary by Chadwick 1953, 17 note 4 on this Jewish forgery. On Pseudo-Hecataeus, see, extensively, Bar-Kochva 1996.

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Hecataeus in Diodorus Siculus 40.3.1–6; Stern, No. 11).[8] As will become clear, this line of positive appreciation also runs through history and comes to the fore, for instance, in Strabo, who seems to elaborate on Hecataeus' positive representation of the Jewish concept of God.

An anti-Jewish image of Moses arises again in Manetho, who was an Egyptian high priest in Heliopolis in the early Ptolemaic period, around 280 BC, and wrote a history of Egypt. Interestingly, Manetho, a Heliopolitan priest himself, regards Moses as a former priest of the god Osiris at Heliopolis, who changed his allegiance, and in the place of his theophoric name Osarseph, which referred to Osiris, took on a new name, Moses (Verbrugghe & Wickersham 1996, frg. 12: Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.250; cf. frg. 13; Stern, No. 21).

A very interesting case of Greek acquaintance with Moses is presented by Alexander Polyhistor. His familiarity with Moses also includes knowledge of the revelation of God's name to Moses. Born at Miletus in about 105 BC, Alexander was brought to Rome as a slave in the aftermath of the Mithradatic Wars. Having received Roman citizenship at Rome after he had been freed, Alexander became a teacher and produced, among other works, geographical compilations, including works on Rome, Delphi, Egypt, the Chaldaeans, and the Jews. His interest in the Jews may well have been prompted by Pompey's capture of Jerusalem and the subsequent incorporation of Judaea into the Roman Empire in 63 BC.[9]

Within this material, Alexander also drew comparisons between various historical sources and sought their congruence. This can be demonstrated from a remark on Moses. Commenting on a certain 'Cleodemus the prophet', who in his history of the Jews lists Abraham's descendants by his second wife Katura, Alexander explicitly remarks that this information is in conformity with the narrative of the Jews' lawgiver Moses (Josephus, *Jew. Ant.* 1.240).[10] The congruence between Moses and other historical writers is of interest to this Roman ethnographer. This comparative historical research is also in evidence in

[8] Hecataeus also regards Moses as having introduced 'an unsocial and intolerant mode of life', but explains this 'as a result of their [the Jews'] own expulsion from Egypt'.

[9] Cf. Stern 1974, vol. 1, 157.

[10] On Alexander Polyhistor's reference to Moses as a very ancient figure, see also Pseudo-Justin Martyr, *Exhortation to the Greeks*, edn. Morel, p. 10B; = K. Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum (FHG)*, frg. 24b.

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the first-century BC historian Nicolaus of Damascus, who, in his universal history, draws similar lines between extrabiblical accounts and Moses.[11]

Among his Jewish sources, Alexander Polyhistor also consulted the Jewish writer Artapanus, who lived in the third or second century BC. Although hardly a fragment of Artapanus has survived apart from the summaries which Alexander gives of Artapanus' works in his compilations,[12] and which, in turn, are now only extant in Eusebius of Caesarea, most scholarly attention seems to have been drawn to the Jewish author Artapanus himself, rather than his later Greek compilator Alexander Polyhistor, as if the latter were only the uninteresting vessel in which the literary remains of Artapanus were stored. Stern's collection of Graeco-Roman authors on Jews and Judaism is no exception. Stern gives the outline of Eusebius' *Preparation for the Gospel* IX.17–39 (Stern, No. 51a), in which Polyhistor's fragments from Artapanus are transmitted, yet does not give the full texts of the fragments themselves. It is highly remarkable, however, that Alexander made such extensive use of Artapanus' views on Moses, as we shall see presently, and included them in his encyclopaedic material.

These views on Moses included the idea that Moses, when grown up, was called Musaeus by the Greeks (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* IX.27.3).[13] Among the Greeks, Musaeus was known as a mythical singer with a descriptive name which pointed at his affiliation to the Muses. The second-century AD Greek philosopher Numenius, too, identified Moses with Musaeus (frg. 9; see below at the end of §1 and also Burnyeat, this vol., §1). Alexander Polyhistor, however, also took over Artapanus' view that Moses became *the teacher* of Orpheus (Eusebius IX.27.4). Whereas in Greek sources Musaeus is in fact viewed as *the disciple* of Orpheus, according to Artapanus' identification of Musaeus with Moses, followed by Alexander Polyhistor, this relationship is inverted and Orpheus is represented as *the disciple*

[11] Josephus, *Jew. Ant.* 1.94–95, with regard to the history of the Flood (Stern, No. 85).

[12] One fragment, which overlaps with a fragment transmitted through Alexander Polyhistor and Eusebius, has also been preserved via Clement of Alexandria; see Holladay 1983, vol. 1, 192 and 240 note 85.

[13] Greek text and English translation, with annotations, in Holladay 1983, vol. 1, 208–243.

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of Moses, alias Musaeus. This representation could be due to a corruption of Alexander Polyhistor's text in Eusebius, who preserved Alexander's summaries of Artapanus, but it seems likely that Alexander found Artapanus' identification of Moses with Musaeus and his reversal of the relationship between Musaeus and Orpheus unproblematic. As Holladay has pointed out, this is in fact only a modification of the Greek view in Hecataeus of Abdera (*FGrH* 264, frg. 25 = Diodorus Siculus 1.96.2) that 'Orpheus transmits to the Greeks the sacred wisdom gained in his Egyptian travels (. . .). It is altered by Artapanus so that Moses, not the Egyptian priests, becomes the ultimate source of Greek wisdom.'[14] In this way Moses was interwoven into Greek history in an encyclopaedic work of a respected scholar in first-century BC Rome. Moses is even described as the first inventor of philosophy (IX.27.4). This philosophical characterization of Moses runs parallel to his depiction, as discussed above, by Hecataeus of Abdera.

Of direct relevance to the topic of this conference volume is the fact that Alexander also includes Artapanus' material on the revelation of God's name to Moses. On this account, once, as Moses was praying to God on behalf of the Jews, 'suddenly (. . .), fire appeared out of the earth, and it blazed even though there was neither wood nor any other kindling in the vicinity. Frightened at what happened, Moses fled but a divine voice spoke to him' (IX.27.21). After he met with the Egyptian king, Moses told him that he had come 'because the Lord of the universe had commanded him to liberate the Jews' (IX.27.22). The divine voice which revealed itself to Moses appears to be understood as 'the Lord of the universe'. Not amused by this statement, the king imprisoned Moses, but during the night Moses was miraculously freed from prison and gained access to the king, who, interrupted in his sleep, 'ordered the name of the god who had sent him.' As soon as Moses revealed this name to him, the king fell down speechless. Having been resuscitated by Moses, the king 'wrote the name on a tablet and sealed it securely, but one of the priests who showed contempt for what was written on the tablet died in a convulsion' (IX.27.23–26).

This extensive use of material from Artapanus by Alexander Polyhistor is proof of pagan acquaintance with the narrative of the

[14] Holladay 1983, vol. 1, 232 note 45.

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revelation of God's name to Moses in first-century BC Rome. Much emphasis is now laid on the magical influence of this name.[15] Apart from Artapanus' report of this revelation, Alexander Polyhistor also knew the similar, though much briefer account in another Jewish author, Ezekiel the Tragedian, who is dealt with by Jacques van Ruiten is his contribution to this volume. Ezekiel, in his tragic drama *The Exodus*, also mentions the episode of the burning bush (frg. 8; Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.29.7) and talks about 'the divine word' (θεῖος λόγος) which beams forth from this bush (frg. 9; Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.29.8).[16] Yet, Ezekiel does not mention the revelation of the name, but, in accordance with the play's central topic, only God's order to Moses to tell the Egyptian king that he should allow Moses to lead the Jews forth from Egypt (frg. 9). Since both accounts of the burning bush became part of Alexander's ethnographic, encyclopaedic compilations, it is no exaggeration to assume that this story must have become widespread, dependable information in particular circles at Rome. This is particularly probable if one bears in mind that Alexander taught people in Rome such as Hyginus, who was in turn the teacher of Ovid and was appointed by Augustus librarian of the Palatine Library, which might, therefore, well have included copies of Alexander Polyhistor's works.

Nevertheless, in Rome scholarly visitors and residents will have held varying and conflicting views of Moses. We know from Josephus that in the first century BC, Apollonius Molon of Alabanda, in the province of Asia, was among those whom Josephus deemed to have espoused ignorant and ill-willed reflections on Moses and his law code (*Against Apion* 2.145). Apollonius lectured at Rhodes and visited Rome in the 80s BC, and taught Romans such as Cicero (Stern, No. 49).

It was also in Rome that the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus settled down and, after decades of work, completed his grand universal history around 30 BC. The *Library of History*, as this universal history is called, runs from mythological times to 60 BC. The first six books are devoted to the period prior to the Trojan War and include a description of Egypt with mention of Moses in book 1, the contents of which Diodorus drew from Hecataeus of Abdera.

[15] Cf. Gager 1972, 142.

[16] Both fragments have also been preserved via Alexander Polyhistor. See Holladay 1989, 451 note 91 and 453 note 100.

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Dealing with the first lawgivers in Egypt, Diodorus reports that, 'After the establishment of settled life in Egypt in early times (. . .), the first, they say, to persuade the multitudes to use written laws was Mneves (Menas).'[17] To convince the people, Mneves claimed that the laws had been given to him by the god Hermes, 'with the assurance that they would be the cause of great blessing,' and this device—Diodorus adds—was also used by the Greeks, who claimed to have received their laws from Zeus or Apollo, and by several other peoples, such as the Jews, among whom 'Moses referred his laws to the god who is invoked as Iao'. Whereas Alexander Polyhistor shows that the story of the revelation of God's name to Moses is known outside Jewish circles, Diodorus is the first testimony of Greek acquaintance with the actual name itself. Diodorus mentions this name in a context in which he discusses the alleged divine origins of human law. Egyptians, Greeks, Jews, and others ascribed their laws to the gods, 'either because they believed that a conception which would help humanity was marvellous and wholly divine, or because they held that the common crowd would be more likely to obey the laws if their gaze were directed towards the majesty and power of those to whom their laws were ascribed' (Diodorus 1.94.1–2; Stern, No. 58).[18]

This passage from Diodorus is particularly relevant here, as it demonstrates that Greeks such as Diodorus were aware of the name of Moses' God, called 'Iao' in Greek. This is remarkable, as after the return from the Babylonian Exile in 539 BC, the Jews increasingly refrained from invoking and pronouncing the name of Yahweh.[19] The Aramaic papyri from the Jews at Elephantine show that 'Iao' is an original Jewish term.[20] It is also found in a Septuagint version

[17] Pseudo-Justin Martyr (3rd–5th cent. AD), *Exhortation to the Greeks*, edn. Morel, p. 10Bff., where he draws extensively on the passage from Diodorus Siculus, mistakes the reference to Mneves for Moses, turning the latter into the first lawgiver of the Egyptians.

[18] This criticism of the divine origins of human law is also applied to Moses' law by Apion; see Josephus, *Against Apion* 2.25 (Stern, No. 165): 'Moses went up into the mountain called Sinai, which lies between Egypt and Arabia, remained in concealment there for forty days, and then descended and gave the Jews their laws'.

[19] See, e.g., Bickerman 1988, 262–6 at 262: 'Another marked change in the attitude of the new age to the ancient revelation was the progressive disuse of the proper name of the Deity, YHWH (disclosed to Moses in the burning bush), and the adoption of various circumlocutions to denote the God of Jerusalem. The change is postexilic'; and Rösel 2000.

[20] Stern 1974, vol. 1, 172; and Schäfer 1997, 232 note 128, with detailed references to Cowley 1923 and Kraeling 1953.

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of a fragment of Leviticus among the Dead Sea Scrolls, *4Q120*, dating probably from the first century AD.[21] Given the increasing use of 'Iao' in Graeco-Roman authors and in the Greek magical papyri, as we shall see below, Peter Schäfer's observation that Iao as the name of the Jewish God 'has gone out of fashion gradually on "official" documents [of the Jews] and has been favourably adopted by pagan writers and by literary genres (magical papyri, amulets, etc.) which tend to be syncretistic' seems to be most apt.[22] From the surviving evidence, this development first comes to light in Diodorus' designation of Moses' God as Iao.

Moses is also referred to in other passages in Diodorus' universal history. We have already discussed the passage from Hecataeus, preserved in Diodorus, in which Moses was hailed for his wisdom and admired for his philosophical conceptions of God and aniconic form of worship (Diodorus 40.3). In passing, Diodorus also mentions Moses in his description of the desecration of the temple in Jerusalem by the Greek-Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who, ironically in view of Moses' supposed institution of aniconic worship, finds there 'a marble statue of a heavily bearded man seated on an ass, with a book in his hands,' which Antiochus supposes 'to be an image of Moses, the founder of Jerusalem and organizer of the nation, the man, moreover, who had ordained for the Jews their misanthropic and lawless customs' (1.94; Stern, No. 63).

The fact that despite such anti-Jewish overtones, one would be mistaken to lay too much emphasis on the anti-Semitic setting of pagan references to Moses, thereby obscuring some telling passages to the contrary, becomes clear again from Strabo, who studied in first-century BC Rome, and made several visits to Rome on later occasions. In his *Geography*, Strabo also discusses Judaea, whose inhabitants he regards as descendants of the Egyptians (16.2.34): 'Moses, namely', Strabo continues, 'was one of the Egyptian priests (. . .), but he went away from there to Judaea, since he was displeased with the state of affairs there, and was accompanied by many people who

[21] See *pap4QLXXLeviticus^{b} (4Q120)*, published in Skehan 1992 in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, vol. 9, frg. 20.4 (Lev 4:27), p. 174 and probably frg. 7.12 (Lev 3:12), pp. 170–1 (= Göttingen LXX Manuscript 802; edn. Wevers & Quast 1986, pp. 13, 58, 69). I owe this reference to my colleague Eibert Tigchelaar. See also Howard 1977 and Skehan 1980. For an occurrence of Iao, see also *PHeid 1359 Onomasticon of Hebrew Names*, third/fourth century AD: Io or Iao (edn. Deissmann 1905).

[22] Schäfer 1997, 232 note 128.

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worshipped the Divine Being (τὸ θεῖον).' Similarly to Hecataeus and Diodorus, Strabo contrasts Moses' view on God with the animal worship of the Egyptians and the anthropomorphic representation of the gods among the Greeks: 'for, according to him, God is this one thing alone that encompasses us all (τὸ περιέχον ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας) and encompasses land and sea—the thing which we call heaven, or universe, or the nature of all that exists: ὃ καλοῦμεν οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσμον καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν (16.2.35; Stern, No. 115).[23] It is perhaps not too far-fetched to suggest that Strabo's interpretation of the Jewish God as 'the nature of all that exists,' ἡ τῶν ὄντων φύσις, is an allusion to the revelation of God's name to Moses as Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν (Exodus 3:14). This ontological meaning of the name of Yahweh in Greek sources is the topic of Myles Burnyeat's contribution to this volume.

By offering this ontological interpretation of the Jewish God, Strabo moves beyond Hecataeus. Already Hecataeus, as we have seen, equated the God of the Jews with the heavens. Talking about Moses, Hecataeus says that 'he had no images whatsoever of the gods made for them, being of the opinion that God is not in human form; rather the heavens that surround the earth are alone divine, and rule the universe' (Diodorus 40.3.4; Stern, No. 11; cf. Burnyeat, this vol., beginning of §4: 'material things must be held together and governed by some changeless incorporeal entity'). As Stern informs us, Hecataeus explains the aniconic Jewish worship of God in the same way as Herodotus commented on the Persians: 'The first nation known by the Greeks to have spurned idolatry were the Persians; see Herodotus, I, 131. Herodotus, who had some difficulty in defining an abstract deity, thought that the Persians worshipped the sky'[24] (see also Van den Berg, this vol., §2).

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[23] A similar stress on the one-ness of God, combined with respect for the Jewish criticism of idols, is found in Varro, Strabo's older contemporary in Rome. See Varro apud Augustine, *The City of God* 4.31: 'He [Varro] also says that, for more than 170 years, the Romans of old worshipped the gods without an image. "If this practice had remained down to the present day", he says, "the gods would have been worshipped with greater purity". In support of this opinion, he cites, among other things, the testimony of the Jewish nation (. . .). Hence, when he says that only those who believe God to be the governing soul of the world have perceived what He is; and when he deems that the rites of religion would have been observed more purely without images: who can fail to see how close he has come to the truth?' (transl. R.W. Dyson; Varro, frg. 18 edn. Cardauns).

[24] Stern 1974, vol. 1, 30: commentary on Diodorus 40.3.4.

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Hecataeus' characterization of Jewish religion as worshipping the heavens is not only taken over by Strabo, but surfaces again in later authors such as Juvenal, at the beginning of the second century AD, and Celsus. In his fourteenth Satire, Juvenal depicts an instance of pagan reverence for the Sabbath. This devotion, in Juvenal's view, amounts to worshipping the heavens: 'Some who happen to have been dealt a father who reveres the Sabbath, worship nothing but the clouds, and the divinity of the heavens' (Juvenal 14.96–97; Stern, No. 301). Likewise, though only implicitly in his attack on the Christians, Celsus says: 'It is because certain Christians have misunderstood sayings of Plato that they boast of a God who is above the heavens and place Him higher than *the heaven in which the Jews believe*' (Celsus in Origen, *Against Celsus* 6.19; Stern, No. 375; see also *Against Celsus* 5.41 and Van den Berg, this vol., §2). Perhaps, as Bickerman suggests, this way of equating the abstract Jewish God with the heavens is also reinforced by the frequent designation of God in the Septuagint as 'the God of Heaven' (ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ).[25]

To return to Strabo, Strabo clearly shares this tradition, but it is interesting to see that he not only identifies the Jewish God with the heavens that surround the earth, as does Hecataeus, but also with the universe and, even more importantly, with 'the nature of all that exists (ἡ τῶν ὄντων φύσις)'. Strabo continues this passage by explaining the attraction of Moses' aniconic conception of God to 'not a few thoughtful men', whom Moses led away from Egypt to Jerusalem, and hailing Moses' establishment of an appropriate worship, ritual, and government. His descendants, however, are blamed for degenerating into superstitious and tyrannical people (16.2.36–37; Stern, No. 115).

Explicit anti-Jewish remarks come to the fore in first-century AD authors such as Apion and Chaeremon. Both are Egyptian, and their anti-Jewish attitude cannot be divorced from the Jewish-Greek tensions in Alexandria, which increased when Rome annexed Egypt in 30 BC. In this, they continue the line developed by Lysimachus and Manetho in the fourth/third century BC. Apion, who was head of

[25] Bickerman 1988, 263: 'translated into Greek (or Latin), this designation of the Lord was somewhat equivocal; "the God of Heaven" could seem to refer to the sky and therefore, to the cosmic deity of the philosophers. In fact, Greek savants perpetuated this interpretation of the God of Jerusalem; it still appears under the pen of Juvenal and even in Celsus' critiques of the Christian faith.'

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the Alexandrian School, like Manetho regarded Moses as a native of Heliopolis, and, like Lysimachus and Manetho, considered the exodus from Egypt as a consequence of an outbreak of leprosy among the Jews (Josephus, *Against Apion* 2.8–9; Stern, No. 164).[26] Apion, whose anti-Jewish views were addressed by Josephus in the work now known as *Against Apion*,[27] was also part of the delegation sent by the Greeks of Alexandria to Gaius Caligula in order to resolve the Greek-Jewish tensions.[28] The designation of Moses as the leader of a group of lepers also occurs in Chaeremon of Alexandria, who taught the young Nero, wrote on Egyptian history and religion, and himself had Stoic inclinations (Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.288–290; Stern, No. 178).[29] It can hardly be a coincidence that the most anti-Jewish reports on Moses, those by Lysimachus, Manetho, Apion, and Chaeremon, and the depiction of Moses as having 'much dull-white leprosy on his body' by later authors such as Nicarchus (Stern, No. 248), Ptolemy Chennus (Stern, No. 331), and Helladius (Stern, No. 472) all emanate from Egypt. This is not to say that this view on the exodus of Jewish lepers from Egypt remained restricted to Egyptian circles. It is also voiced by authors such as Diodorus Siculus (*Library of History* 34–35, 1.1–2; Stern, No. 63), Pompeius Trogus at the turn of the Common Era (Iustinus, *Historiae Philippicae* 36.2.12; Stern, No. 137), Tacitus (*Histories* 5.3.1; Stern, No. 281) and, perhaps also by Herennius Philo of Byblos (Stern, No. 329; cf. No. 472). Nevertheless, the predominance of Egyptian writers among those expressing anti-Semitic views is significant.

A fascinating case in its own right is that of Herennius Philo of Byblos (*c.* AD 70–*c.* 160), who links the Jews and the name of their God with the history of the period before the Trojan War (*FGrH* 790, frg. 1; Stern, No. 323) in the following way.[30] Philo, who came from Byblos in Phoenicia, wrote a history of this area in Greek, and

[26] Josephus, *Against Apion* 2.9–14.

[27] On the figure of Apion in Josephus' *Against Apion*, see Jones 2005.

[28] Apart from the references to Apion in Josephus' *Against Apion* 2.9–14 (Moses as a Heliopolitan), 2.15 (Moses' leadership during the exodus), 2.25 (Moses at Mount Sinai) and 2.28 (introduction of novel features into the story of Moses), Apion is also mentioned in connection with Moses in Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* X.10.16 as a source for the dating of Moses and the Jewish exodus from Egypt.

[29] Cf. the article by Frede 1989 on Chaeremon; fragments edited by Van der Horst 1984.

[30] This fragment has been preserved in Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 1.9.20–21 via Porphyry.

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claimed that he derived his material about the Jews from Sanchuniathon of Berytus, who is credited with having written 'the truest history' of the Jews, and whose writings Philo purports to have translated into Greek.[31] Philo underlines the trustworthiness of Sanchuniathon's report on the Jews by stating that Sanchuniathon himself had received the records from Hierombalus, 'the priest of the god Ieuo', and had had his history approved of by Abibalus, king of Berytus, and by 'the investigators of truth in his time'. It seems likely to me that Hierombalus, who is otherwise unknown in Greek sources, and is presented as the priest of the god Ieuo, a name equally unique to this passage, was understood, either by Philo or by his source, as a priest of the Jewish god Iao[32]—the name we already encountered in Diodorus Siculus. For this reason Sanchuniathon's history of the Jews would have been regarded by Philo as reliable, inasmuch as Sanchuniathon was presented as having derived his information about the Jews from a Jewish priest of Iao. As we shall see in due course, Philo himself, in another fragment from his works, proves to be familiar with Iao as the name of the Jewish God. This all adds up to the reasonable assumption that Philo of Byblos associated the Jews with the divine name Ieuo or Iao, and inferred that this name was already in use before the Trojan War.

Not far from Byblos in Phoenicia, other references to Moses are found in the surviving fragments of writings by the Platonist philosopher Numenius of Apamea in Syria, a near-contemporary of Philo of Byblos. Like Alexander Polyhistor before him, Numenius identifies Moses with Musaeus (frg. 9; Stern, No. 365; see also Burnyeat, this vol., §1 note 10). Whereas his fellow-Platonist Celsus 'rejects Moses from the list of wise men', which comprises, among others, Musaeus and Orpheus (Origen, *Against Celsus* 1.16; Stern, No. 375; see also Burnyeat, §1), Numenius shows a very different assessment of Moses, and even poses the rhetorical question: 'What is Plato but Moses speaking Attic?' (frg. 8; Stern, No. 363; see also Burnyeat, §§1–2). As is clear from Myles Burnyeat's contribution to this volume,

[31] Scholars agree that Sanchuniathon's writings do not antedate the Trojan War, but are probably a product of the Hellenistic era. Cf. Goodman 1996; Attridge & Oden 1981; and Baumgarten 1981, 51, 55, 57, 58–60.

[32] The name 'Ieuo' in this passage from Philo of Byblos (which has been preserved, via Porphyry, in Eusebius' *Preparation for the Gospel*) is indeed changed into 'Iao' in Theodoretus of Cyrrhus in Syria (*c.* AD 393–466), *Graecarum affectionum curatio* 2.44.

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Numenius' high esteem for Moses has to do with the latter's ontological appellation for God as 'I am that I am' (Exodus 3:14).[33] Numenius himself is also reported to have quoted Moses (frg. 1c), and to have told a story about Moses' confrontation with the Egyptian magicians Jannes and Jambres (frg. 10; cf. Exodus 7:11; cf. Burnyeat, §2). Indeed, among his fragments there is evidence of Numenius' acquaintance with the creation account of Genesis (frg. 30; Stern, No. 365).[34]

This outline of the earliest Greek evidence concerning Moses may now suffice, and, apart from some occasional remarks, I will not go into the reception of Moses in the later Greek writers Galenus, Celsus (who is dealt with by Robbert van den Berg in this volume), Porphyry, and Julianus, and in the Greek magical papyri. These later authors are left out from further systematic consideration, as it has become sufficiently clear that the reception of Moses in Greek literature up to Numenius was varied, and reactions towards him certainly not predominantly hostile. There are even traces of acquaintance with the name of the Jewish God in Alexander Polyhistor, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Philo of Byblos, and Numenius. I shall add some other evidence below, but shall first discuss an interesting possibility that Moses was not only identified with Musaeus (as Alexander Polyhistor and Numenius have it), but also, elsewhere, with the Phoenician prophet and natural philosopher Mochos of Sidon, who allegedly lived before the Trojan War.

2. Mochos in Greek Writings: Pythagoras, the Descendants of Mochos, and the Jews

The reason to assume that Moses was identified with Mochos of Sidon lies in the fact that the Neoplatonist philosopher Iamblichus (*c.* AD 235–*c.* 325), in his book *On the Pythagorean Way of Life*, sketches Mochos in a way which is reminiscent of Moses. As John Dillon puts it, 'this Mochos (. . .) sounds suspiciously like a garbled form of

[33] Cf. also Stern 1980, vol. 2, 209: 'It has been suggested that Numenius had in mind the way in which Plato, introducing the Artificer, used the term τὸ ὂν ἀεί which Numenius combines with the ὁ ὤν of the Septuagint', with reference to Merlan 1967, 100.

[34] On this fragment, see Van den Berg 2005.

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Moses himself.'[35] According to Iamblichus, the philosopher Pythagoras, sent by his teacher Thales from Miletus to the Egyptian priests for further studies, first sailed to Sidon in Phoenicia (2.11–3.13). There,

> he joined the descendants of Mochus, the prophet and natural philosopher, and other Phoenician hierophants, and was initiated into all sacred rites of the mysteries celebrated especially in Byblos and in Tyre, and in many parts of Syria. (. . .) Having learned besides that those which existed there (in Syria) were somehow derived and descended from the sacred rites in Egypt, he hoped thus to participate in the more noble, more divine and pure rites of Egypt. Filled with admiration for them, then, in accord with instructions from his teacher Thales, he was transported without delay by some Egyptian seamen who had most opportunely anchored at the shore under Carmel, the Phoenician mountain where Pythagoras spent a good deal of time alone in sacred pursuits. (. . .) And they (the seamen) remembered how, when they first anchored, he was seen coming from the top-most crest of Carmel; for they believed it the holiest of mountains, and not accessible to the common multitude (3.14; transl. J. Dillon & J. Hershbell).[36]

The setting of this passage in Iamblichus gives the figure of Mochos a particularly Jewish aura. (1) It is suggested that the descendants of Mochos do not just live in Phoenician Byblos and Tyre but, more broadly, in Syria, which includes Syria Palestina. (2) Moreover, even the term 'Phoenician' seems to have been a rather general reference which overlaps to some extent with 'Hebrew' and 'Jewish'. This is apparent from a passage in Philo of Byblos, which will be discussed later, in which Philo regards the divine name Iao, which we have already encountered in Diodorus Siculus as a designation of the *Jewish* God, as *Phoenician* (*FGrH* 790 frg. 7). This suggests that 'Phoenician' and 'Hebrew' are somehow interchangeable. (3) The rites which the descendants of Mochos celebrate in Syria are said to derive from Egypt. This might point to the Egyptian provenance of Moses and suggest that Mochos and Moses are considered identical. In that case, the mention of rites derived from Egypt and now common among Mochos' descendants in Syria might presuppose the event of the exodus of Moses and his descendants from Egypt to Syria

[35] Dillon 1996, 143.

[36] Text quoted in Stern 1980, vol. 2, 443–444, but not as a separate number. Stern refers briefly to Mochos in Stern 1974, vol. 1, 129, mentioning Iamblichus merely in passing.

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Palestina.[37] (4) Although Mount Carmel, mentioned in Iamblichus as the place of Pythagoras' regular retreat, is known in Antiquity as the holy mountain of Zeus (Scylax, *Periplus Scylacis* 104; 5th/4th cent. BC) and is also noted for a cult and oracle consulted by Vespasian (Tacitus, *Histories* 2.78.3 = Stern, No. 278; Suetonius, *Vespasian* 5.6 = Stern, No. 313), it also has a strong Jewish association inasmuch as it is linked with the prophet Elijah (1 Kings [= 3 Kings LXX] 18:19–20) in Jewish tradition. Like Pythagoras in Iamblichus, Elijah is said to have climbed to the crest of Carmel (1 Kings [= 3 Kings LXX] 18:42).

All these features seem to warrant Dillon's surmise that Mochos in this passage 'does sound suspiciously like a garbled form of Moses himself'.[38] If Mochos here is indeed to be identified with Moses, Iamblichus' picture of Pythagoras studying with the descendants of Mochos/Moses seems also to be congruent with views entertained by the third-century BC Greek biographer Hermippus of Smyrna, who had closely linked Pythagoras and the Jews (Stern, Nos 25 & 26; see also Burnyeat, this vol., §1 note 6). His views have been preserved in Josephus and Origen. According to Josephus, 'Hermippus (. . .), in the first book of his work on Pythagoras, (. . .) states that the philosopher (Pythagoras) (. . .) was imitating and appropriating the doctrines of Jews and Thracians' (*Against Apion* 1.163–165; cf. 1.14, 1.162 and 2.168, and Aristobulus, frgs. 3 and 4).[39] Origen, in a similar vein, says that 'Hermippus in his first book on "Lawgivers" related that Pythagoras brought his philosophy to the Greeks from the Jews' (1.15). Both reports on Hermippus talk about Pythagoras' contact with the Jews and thereby seem to confirm the likelihood that Iamblichus, in his story of Pythagoras' visit to Syria and Mount Carmel, blended Mochos and Moses.

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[37] The Jewish emigration from Egypt to 'Syria Palestina' is also mentioned by the Stoic geographer Polemon of Ilium (fl. *c.* 190 BC); see Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 10.10.15: 'a part of the Egyptian army was expelled from Egypt and established itself in the country called Syria-Palaestina not far from Arabia' (Stern, No. 29).

[38] Dillon 1996, 143. Cf. also, more cautiously, Dillon & Hershbell 1991, 41: 'The connection of "Mochus" with Moses is tenuous.'

[39] The Thracians seem to be mentioned in one breath with the Jews, because the Thracians 'worshipped the god Sabazius, who was identified with the Jewish God' (Stern 1974, vol. 1, 96). On Sabazius and his identification with the Jewish God, see §4 below.

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The close link between Pythagoras and the Jews is also established in other sources. According to Antonius Diogenes, an early imperial Greek writer of an encyclopaedic novel, 'Pythagoras came also to the Egyptians, the Arabs, the Chaldaeans and the Hebrews, from whom he learnt the exact knowledge of dreams' (Diogenes apud Porphyry, *The Life of Pythagoras* 11; Stern, Nos. 250 & 456a). In line with this picture of Pythagoras' interest in Judaism, there appear to be allusions to the Septuagint in Pythagorean writers such as Ocellus Lucanus (Stern, No. 40) and Pseudo-Ecphantus (Stern, No. 564). Conversely, a Jew such as Josephus could also compare a particular strand of Judaism, that of the Essenes, with Pythagoreanism: Essenes constitute 'a group which follows a way of life taught to the Greeks by Pythagoras' (*Jewish Antiquities* 15.371).[40] These cross-references between Pythagoreans and Jews make it probable that Iamblichus, in his account of Pythagoras' visit to the descendants of Mochos in Syria, in fact identified Mochos with Moses. Just as Alexander Polyhistor and Numenius saw no objection in identifying Moses with Musaeus, Iamblichus felt no hesitation in blending the figures of Moses and Mochos of Sidon.

That is not to say that this identification of Mochos with Moses occurred frequently. Let me make it clear: Jewish and Christian sources which mention Mochos resist such identification, nor do other pagan sources on Mochos reflect Jewish associations with this Phoenician sage. Josephus refers to Mochos as one of the number of Greek and barbarian historians of antiquity who provide external verification for the trustworthiness of Moses' account on the longevity of the patriarchs, thereby implying that Mochos and Moses are not one and the same (*Jew. Ant.* 1.107). The second-century AD Christian philosopher Tatian, in his proof of the early date of Moses, before even the foundation of Troy, also refers to Mochos, who is said to confirm in his Phoenician history, albeit in a indirect way, Moses' antiquity (*Oration to the Greeks* 36–37).[41] Tatian too excludes an identification of Mochos with Moses.

Iamblichus' judaizing portrait of Pythagoras, in which Mochos and Moses are blended, perhaps becomes somewhat more understandable if one takes into consideration the fact that, in Greek sources,

[40] For traces of Pythagorean thought in Judaism, Stern refers to Lévy 1927, 211ff. and Walter 1964, 166ff. (Stern 1984, vol. 3, 33–34).

[41] Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 10.11.10–11 is dependent on Tatian.

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Mochos was not only regarded as a writer on Phoenician history,[42] but was also credited with particular views on creation. According to the Stoic philosopher Posidonius (*c.* 135–*c.* 51 BC), as reports in Strabo and Sextus Empiricus have it, 'the ancient dogma about atoms originated with Mochos, a Sidonian, born before Trojan times' (Strabo, *Geography* 15.2.24–25; Edelstein—Kidd, frg. 285). Mochos regarded atomic bodies to be the primary and most fundamental elements of the cosmos (Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Physicists* I.359–363 [= *Against the Mathematicians/Professors* IX.359–363]). Such views on Mochos will have lent weight to claims that the study of philosophy had its beginning among the barbarians, as Diogenes Laertius asserts in the opening of his compendium on the lives and doctrines of the ancient philosophers; he mentions Mochos as an example (*Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 1.1).

Mochos' purported views on the physical constituents of creation may have facilitated Iamblichus' merging of Mochos with Moses. Iamblichus calls Mochos not only 'prophet', but also 'natural philosopher' (φυσιολόγος). At the same time, Moses was known among Greeks for his creation account, as Numenius demonstrates (frg. 30), and the Jewish god was regarded by the Neoplatonist philosopher Porphyry as the creator of all things (Stern, No. 452). The Jewish god was also called the 'god of the four elements', or the demiurge by the schools of Numenius' fellow-Neoplatonists Iamblichus, Syrianus, and Proclus (Stern, Nos. 467, 544 & 545). Because of his supposed views about the demiurge and creation, Moses was even preferred by Galen to Epicurus (Galen, *De usu partium* 11.14; Stern, No. 376).[43] The fact that Iamblichus himself seems to have characterized the Jewish god as 'the god of the four elements', as a creator god, might have expedited the coalescence of Mochos, as natural philosopher, and Moses, as author of a creation account.

However, from the description of Mochos' atomistic view in ancient sources outside Iamblichus, it is clear that not all ancient authorities subscribed to Iamblichus' view that Mochos and Moses were one and the same. This becomes even clearer if Damascius' late-antique description of Mochos' cosmogonic mythology is taken into account (*De principiis* 3.3.2; 5th/6th cent. AD). Nevertheless, the evidence from

[42] See also Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 3.126A, where Sanchuniathon and Mochos are mentioned together as the historians of Phoenicia.

[43] On Galen and Moses' creation account, see Tieleman 2005.

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Iamblichus on Pythagoras' period of study among the descendants of Mochos/Moses, combined with that of Hermippus and Antonius Diogenes on the close connection between Pythagoras and the Jews, shows that a common identity between Mochos and Moses could be established by some, just as Alexander Polyhistor and Numenius did not disapprove of identifying Moses and Musaeus.

3. Iao in Pagan Greek Writings

Having analysed the varied reception which Moses received from pagan Greek authors, I shall now focus on the question of whether these sources show any awareness of the name of Moses' God. We have already come across three relevant instances. (1) First, in first-century BC Rome Alexander Polyhistor included information from Artapanus in his encyclopaedic ethnography, regarded Moses as identical with Musaeus, and narrated at some length the story of God's revelation to Moses. The account describes the powerful impact of the name of the Lord of the universe on the Egyptian king and his entourage as soon as this name was uttered or read from a tablet. (2) Secondly, Diodorus Siculus, a near-contemporary of Alexander Polyhistor, designates the name of Moses' God as Iao, and considers Moses to have ascribed his self-made laws to his God, in accordance with the general custom among ancient peoples. (3) Thirdly, Strabo interprets the Jewish God as 'the nature of all that exists', thereby probably alluding to the ontological meaning of his name. (4) Fourthly, like Diodorus Siculus, Philo of Byblos also mentions the name 'Iao', this time in the form of Ieuo, whose priest Hierombolus is named as the source of Sanchuniathon's history of the Jews, allegedly written before the Trojan War. (5) And fifthly, Numenius shows himself aware of the ontological meaning of Yahweh's name.

Other passages in pagan Greek writers which refer to the name of Moses' God can be added to the list. (6) The first-century medical author Dioscorides mentions Iao's name in a prayer in a work by the name of *On the Peony (Περὶ παιωνίας)*. Dioscorides, who studied under Areius of Tarsus, was known mainly for his extensive *De materia medica*, in which he lists the effects of drugs employed in medicine and alludes to products of Judaea (Stern, Nos. 179–184). In this context, he gives the characteristics of herbs, minerals, and animal products. Although *De materia medica* is characterized as 'relatively free of

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supernatural elements, reflecting keen, critical observation of how drugs react,'[44] it is clear that Dioscorides did not entirely reject the supernatural; in the passage in question in *On the Peony* (not mentioned in Stern), Dioscorides implores God as follows: 'Wherever I am in the cosmos, which is subject to me, be thou with me, lord God Iao, Iao' (edn. Zuretti 1934, 166: ὅπου ἄν εἰμι ἐν κόσμῳ ὅς ἐστιν ὑπήκοός μοι, ἔστω μετ' ἐμοῦ, κύριε Θεὲ Ἰάω Ἰάω). This passage shows the degree to which Iao's name was known among the Greeks, and was also invoked by them. This also happens frequently in (7) the Greek magical papyri in late antiquity.[45]

Another occurrence of Iao's name is found in (8) the remaining fragments of Varro, the great Roman scholar from the first-century BC. In a fragment which probably formed part of his *On Human and Divine Matters of Antiquities*, in which he studies the human construction of the divine, Varro says 'that among the Chaldaeans, in their mysteries, he (i.e. the God of the Jews) is called "Iao"' (Varro, edn. B. Cardauns, frg. 17; Stern, No. 75). This passage from Varro, preserved in the sixth-century Lydus from Constantinople, is directly followed in Lydus by a reference to (9) Philo of Byblos, according to whom—Lydus says—'Iao, in the Phoenician tongue, refers to the noetic light' (Lydus, *De mensibus* 4.53 = *FGrH* 790, frg. 7; Stern, No. 324). This addition shows that Philo of Byblos indeed appears to have known the Jewish God not only as 'Ieuo' (as we have seen above; Stern, No. 323), but also as 'Iao'. The actual fragment from Varro serves to underscore the fact that in the first century BC the

[44] Riddle 1996, 483–4.

[45] See the many occurrences in Preisendanz 1928–31, 2 vols, Nos. 1–8, 10, 12–13, 15, 19a, 22ab, 28b, 35–36, 61, 67, 71, 78. See also the *Anthologiae Graecae Appendix: Oracula*, epigram 135 (edn. Cougny 1890), and the *Hymni Anonymi e Papyris Magicis Collecti*, frg. 5 (edn. Heitsch 1963). On the Jewish elements in the magical papyri, see Smith 1996. It is important to notice Gager's observation in this respect: 'the distinction between Jewish and pagan in many cases presents a false alternative. The magical papyri and amulets reveal such a complex interpenetration of different religious vocabularies and ideas that traditional distinctions break down under the overwhelming weight of syncretism. From the perspective of descriptive analysis it is often more accurate to speak of the Jewish or Greek contribution to a syncretistic document than to limit one's assessment of the document as a whole to Jewish or Greek. (. . .) certain individual terms like Iao, Adonai, Sabaoth, and Moses were so embedded in the vocabulary of syncretistic magic that they became permanent elements of the environment and thus were no longer strictly Jewish' (Gager 1972, 136).

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information about the name of the Jewish God found its way into various encyclopaedic works: not only those by Alexander Polyhistor and Diodorus Siculus as discussed above, but also Varro himself.

Later in pagan sources, the name Iao is also attested in (10) the fifth-century AD author Macrobius (1.18.19), who claims to have derived this name from the third-century AD history of Romano-Etruscan religion by Cornelius Labeo (Stern, No. 445). In his work *On the Oracle of Apollo of Claros*, Cornelius Labeo discusses a remarkable oracle that called Iao the highest God and characterized him, in winter, as Hades, in spring as Zeus, in summer as Helios, and in autumn as the graceful Iao.[46] This is another instance of the general development in which the name Iao, while barely featuring in Jewish texts, becomes more and more widespread in non-Jewish texts, whether it be pagan accounts of Judaism, pagan theological texts based on theocrasy (such as the Clarian oracle in Cornelius Labeo), Gnostic Christian texts, Orthodox Christian writings, or magical papyri.[47]

From all these instances it becomes clear that the name Iao was fairly well-known in the Graeco-Roman world. Sometimes Iao was also explicitly coupled with the figure of Moses, as we can see from Alexander Polyhistor and Diodorus Siculus. For this reason Celsus even regards Moses as the actual name-giver of the Jewish God. Moses, he says, 'acquired a name for divine power': ὄνομα δαιμόνιον ἔσχε Μωϋσῆς (Origen, *Against Celsus* 1.21; Stern, No. 375). The high degree to which Moses was known is underlined by the fact that the Roman rhetorician Quintilian in *The Orator's Education*, written in the second half of the first century AD, can refer to Moses simply

[46] On this text, see Stern 1980, vol. 2, 411–412; and Schäfer 1997, 52–53, with notes 124–130 on p. 232.

[47] For Gnostic Christian writers, see (the references in) Irenaeus, Origen, the *Testamentum Salomonis*, and Epiphanius. Orthodox Christian writers include Eusebius, Didymus Caecus, Basilius Caesariensis, Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Theodoretus, Joannes Chrysostomus, and Hesychius. Stern also considers the possibility that the name Iao influenced the emergence of the fable that the Jews worshipped a golden ass's head in their sanctuary. This fable comes to the fore in Mnaseas of Patara (Josephus, *Against Apion* 2.114; Stern, No. 28), Diodorus Siculus (*Library of History* 34–35, 1.3: 'a marble statue of a heavily bearded man seated on an ass, with a book in his hands'; Stern, No. 63), Apion (Josephus, *Against Apion* 2.80; Stern, No. 170), and Damocritus (Stern, No. 247). According to Stern, 'the fact that the name Iao, known also to pagan circles as the name of the God of the Jews, is similar in sound to the Egyptian word for ass probably contributed something to the emergence of the fable' (Stern 1974, vol. 1, 98).

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as 'the founder of the Jewish superstition', without specifying his name, apparently assuming that this name would already be known to his public (3.7.21; Stern, No. 230). The same assumption is also made by Pseudo-Longinus, who refers to 'the lawgiver of the Jews', without mentioning him by name (*On the Sublime* 9.9; Stern, No. 148).[48]

That Moses was a well-known figure in pagan circles is an important observation which is, for instance, not always sufficiently taken into account in New Testament studies. It means, for example, that when Paul speaks about Moses in his *Letter to the Romans*, his predominantly pagan-Christian readership at the time[49] will have been familiar with Moses not only through the Roman churches, but already in their pagan past. As pagans too they could have entertained an interest in Moses. As we have seen, particularly in Rome they could have come across Moses' name in encyclopaedic works such as those by Alexander Polyhistor, Diodorus Siculus, and Varro. The same applies to Paul's Corinthian epistles, the only other place in his surviving works where he mentions Moses by name. This correspondence was also mainly addressed to a Christian public of pagan origin. The many references to Moses and/or the Jewish God in pagan literature show that knowledge about this topic, if limited, was not restricted to Jewish circles.

Nevertheless, although Moses was such a well-known figure that authors such as Quintilian and Pseudo-Longinus could presuppose their readers to be familiar with him, knowledge of the actual identity of Moses' God will have had its limitations. The most important

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[48] Cf. Feldman 1993, chap. 8.1, 233–42: 'The Portrayal of Moses by Pagan Writers', esp. 240: 'When Quintilian (3.7.21), at the end of the first century, refers to "the founder of the Jewish superstition," he, like Pseudo-Longinus, does not deem it necessary to name him, because Moses was apparently well-known.'

[49] Paul's Roman public was predominantly of pagan background, since the Jews, including the Christian Jews, had been expelled from Rome by Claudius in AD 49 (Suetonius, *Claudius* 25.4; Stern, No. 307); only after the death of Claudius in AD 54 were they able to return to Rome, but when Paul wrote his letter, in AD 56, the predominant ethnic identity of the Christian communities of Rome to which he wrote must still have been pagan rather than Jewish. Moses is mentioned in *Rom* 5.14, 9.15, 10.5, 10.19, and in the Corinthian epistles in *1 Cor* 9.9, 10.2 and *2 Cor* 3.7, 13, 15. In *2 Tim* 3.8 Moses is mentioned together with the two Egyptian magicians Jannes and Jambres, a tradition which also occurs in Graeco-Roman writers such as Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* 30.11; Stern, No. 221: Moses, Jannes, and Lotapes), Apuleius (*Apology* 90; Stern, No. 361: Iohannes [= Jannes], Moses, and others), and Numenius (frgs. 9, 1c, 10a; Stern, Nos. 365–366: Jannes, Jambres and Moses/Musaeus).

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reason for this seems to be the declining willingness of Jews to pronounce and invoke the name of Yahweh. It is very revealing to examine pagan reflections on the lack of readily available information about the Jewish God's identity. First of all, this ignorance was used to cast Judaism into disrepute, by highlighting its secretive, arcane character. According to Juvenal, those pagans who revere the Jewish Sabbath have contempt for the laws of Rome, but 'learn and practise and revere the Jewish law, and all that Moses handed down in his secret tome (*arcano volumine*), forbidding them to point out the way to anyone not worshipping by the same rites' (*Satires* 14.96–103; Stern, No. 301). As Stern observes, 'In labelling the Book of Moses a "secret" work, Juvenal is casting on Judaism the disrepute that attached to esoteric religious societies, while pointing out the danger inherent in its exercise'.[50] In this way, by implicitly comparing Judaism with mystery religions, Juvenal was able to make sense of the lack of knowledge about the Jewish religion, including, we may assume, the name of the god worshipped.

Secondly, a different, more sophisticated strategy used by pagan authors to account for their ignorance regarding the name of the Jewish god involves the concept of the anonymous and unknown God. The first to stress the anonymity of the Jewish God in the evidence still extant is Livy. His view on these matters has only come down to us in reports by later writers, but these show that, according to Livy, the Jews 'do not state to which deity the temple at Jerusalem pertains' (Stern, No. 133: *Hierosolimis fanum cuius deorum sit non nominant*), so that 'the god worshipped there is unknown (ἄγνωστος)' (Stern, No. 134). Interestingly, Livy virtually explicitly says that pagan ignorance of the identity of the Jewish God is due to the reluctance of the Jews themselves to state which deity they worship.

The first-century AD author Lucan is probably dependent on Livy, when he states (from the perspective of Pompey) in *The Civil War (Pharsalia)*: 'My standards overawe Cappadocia, and Judaea given over to the worship of an unknown god' (*incertus deus*; 2.592–593; Stern, No. 191). Or, as Lucan is paraphrased in Lydus: 'In conformity with Livy Lucan says that the temple of Jerusalem belongs to an uncertain god (Ὁ Λούκανος ἀδήλου θεοῦ τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ναὸν εἶναι λέγει)' (Stern, No. 367). The fact that the Jewish God is

[50] Stern 1980, vol. 2, 107: commentary on *Satires* 14.102.

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called an 'incertus deus' (ἄδηλος θεός) underlines, as Stern puts it, that 'there was no specific name for him in post-biblical times'.[51]

In a similar way, the fourth-century AD authors of the *Historia Augusta* refer to the Jewish God as an 'incertum numen', an uncertain divinity. The context is a discussion about the maximum of man's longevity:

> the most learned of the astrologers hold that 120 years have been allotted to man for living and assert that no one has ever been granted a longer span; they even tell us that Moses alone, the friend of God, as he is called in the books of the Jews, lived for 125 years, and that when he complained that he was dying in his prime, he received from an unknown god (*ab incerto numine*), so they say, the reply that no one should ever live longer (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae: Divus Claudius* 2.4; Stern, No. 526).

Livy, Lucan and the authors of the *Historia Augusta* talk about the Jewish God as an unknown, uncertain god. In Dio Cassius, this is cast in terms of the philosophical consideration that God is even unnameable (cf. Geljon, this vol., §1 on Philo, and at the end of §2 on Gregory of Nyssa). According to Dio Cassius, the Jews do not have a statue of their god in the temple of Jerusalem, but believe him to be 'unnameable and invisible': ἄρρητον δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀειδῆ αὐτὸν νομίζοντες εἶναι (*Roman History* 37.17.2; Stern, No. 406). It is probably this point that the sixth-century AD scholiast Lactantius Placidus wishes to emphasize, in his discussion of the nature of the Highest God. To support his view that the name of the Highest God cannot be known, he refers, inter alia, to the authority of 'Moses, the priest of the Highest God' (Stern, No. 553). In short, all these authors show that Graeco-Roman authors could interpret their lack of knowledge about the name of the Jewish God in terms of the well-established concept of the uncertain, unknown, unnameable God.[52]

Authors who did have knowledge about the name of the God of the Jews demonstrate, as we have seen, that this name was applied

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[51] Stern 1974, vol. 1, 439. Stern also points out that the 'concept of *di incerti* is found already in Varro's terminology, where he used it for those gods of whom he had no clear knowledge (. . .). Varro did not, however, include the Jewish God among the *incerti*.' Indeed, as we have seen above, Varro calls him 'Iao' (Varro, frg. 17 edn. Cardauns; Stern, No. 75).

[52] On the concept of the unknown God, which is also applied in Acts 17:23, see Norden 1913; Gärtner 1955, chap. 9, 242–247; Des Places 1959; Wycherley 1968; Van der Horst 1988 and 1989; Henrichs 1994; and Carabine 1995.

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in magic (see Alexander Polyhistor on the Name's magical influence and, explicitly, the Greek magical papyri),[53] prayers (Dioscorides), 'mysteries' (Varro: 'among the Chaldaeans, in their mysteries'), and oracles (Cornelius Labeo). The link between the name 'Iao' and magic seems to be an instance of the much wider association of Jews with magical practices in Antiquity. According to Pliny the Elder, there is a 'branch of magic, derived from Moses, Jannes, Lotapes and the Jews' (*Natural History* 30.11; Stern, No. 221; cf. Burnyeat, this vol., §2 note 20), and Apuleius mentions Moses by name among other prominent magicians (*Apology* 90; Stern, No. 361). Likewise, Celsus points out that the Jews 'are addicted to sorcery, of which Moses was their teacher' (Celsus apud Origen, *Against Celsus* 1.26 and cf. 5.41; Stern, No. 375), Lucian of Samosata talks about foolish people who 'fall for the spells of Jews' (*Tragodopodagra* 173; Stern, No. 374), and Damascius narrates the story of the wife of the Neoplatonist philosopher Hierocles, from whom a bad spirit was expelled by the invocation of 'the rays of the sun and the God of the Hebrews' (Stern, No. 547; cf. also Van den Berg, this vol., §§3–5 on Origen and the Neoplatonists on the power of divine names in magical spells). This kind of acknowledgement of the power which the Jewish God exerts over spirits seems also to be reflected in Porphyry's statement about the 'one true God, the creator and the king prior to all things, before whom tremble heaven and earth and the sea and the hidden places beneath, and the very divinities shudder; their law is the Father whom the holy Hebrews greatly honour' (Porphyry apud Augustine, *The City of God* 19.23; Stern, No. 451). As Augustine, who preserves this passage, remarks: 'In this oracle of his own god Apollo, Porphyry cites the God of the Hebrews as being so great that the very divinities shudder before him'. In all likelihood, this prominence of the Jewish God in magical applications, prayers, mysteries, and oracles has chiefly to do with the importance attributed to his name.

[53] Cf. Feldman 1993, chap. 8.4, 285–7: 'Moses the Magician', esp. 287: 'In particular, it is Moses' alleged knowledge of the Divine Name (*Papyri Magicae Graecae* 5.108–18) and of the Divine mysteries which made him so important. Thus, knowledge of the Divine name was thought to make possible the performance of miracles'.

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4. Sabaoth in Pagan Greek Writings

In Hebrew Jewish writings, as well as 'Yahweh', the God of the Jews was also often called 'Yahweh Sabaoth' in full. Although this name never occurs in pagan writings in its full, composite form as 'Iao Sabaoth', 'Sabaoth' does indeed occur by itself on several occasions. An examination of these passages will conclude our investigation into Greek familiarity with the revelation of God's name to Moses.

The first surviving evidence seems to be contained in the passage from Varro and Philo of Byblos in the sixth-century AD author Lydus, which has already been discussed (Stern, Nos 75 & 324). Lydus not only supplements his fragment from Varro on Iao with the explanatory remark that Philo of Byblos regards 'Iao' as a Phoenician name referring to the noetic light.[54] He also adds that Iao 'is also often called Sabaoth,' which stands for 'he who is above the seven celestial spheres, i.e. the creator': καὶ Σαβαὼθ δὲ πολλαχοῦ λέγεται, οἷον ὁ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑπτὰ πόλους, τουτέστιν ὁ δημιουργός (*FGrH* 790, frg. 7).

A very striking case, further, is offered by Plutarch in a discussion, in his *Table-Talk*, on the question: 'Who is the God of the Jews?' In this discussion, one proponent, the Athenian Moeragenes, argues that Dionysus and the God of the Jews have much in common, are in fact even identical, as is apparent when their rites and festivals are subjected to phenomenological comparison. Their similarities, Plutarch's proponent argues, relate also to the Jewish Sabbath: 'Even the feast of the Sabbath is not completely unrelated to Dionysus' (*Table Talk* IV.6, 671C–672C; Stern, No. 258). This identification between the Jewish God and Dionysus (or Liber Pater, the Italian god of fertility and wine, commonly identified with Dionysus) is also made in Tacitus (*Histories* 5.5; Stern, No. 281), and in Cornelius Labeo: 'the explanation of the deity and the name by which Iao is denoted Liber Pater and the sun [is] expounded by Cornelius Labeo in a book entitled *On the Oracle of Apollo of Claros*' (Cornelius Labeo apud Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.18.18, 21; Stern, No. 445).

The logic which underlies this identification of the Jewish God with Dionysus is apparently as follows, as Herbert Hoffleit explains:

[54] On this Platonist concept of the true, noetic light, see Van Kooten 2005a, 151–62, esp. 156–7 on the passage in Lydus under consideration.

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> When the Hebrews spoke of *Sabaoth* (. . .) they would seem to a Greek to be referring to *Sabazios* or *Sabos*, who was identified with Dionysus. The Romans in 139 BC put themselves on record officially as guilty of the same confusion by expelling the Jews for allegedly introducing Sabazios to Rome.[55]

The later observation is based on Valerius Maximus, according to whom praetor Cnaeus Cornelius Hispalus, who had 'ordered the astrologers by an edict to leave Rome and Italy', also 'compelled the Jews, who attempted to infect the Roman customs with the cult of Jupiter Sabazius, to return to their homes' (*Memorable Deeds and Sayings* 1.3.3; Stern, No. 147b).[56] Stern summarizes this explanation of the interchangeability of Sabaoth and Sabazios as follows: 'the similarity of the name Sabazius to that of the Jewish Sabaoth (. . .) induced an identification with the Jewish God'. Yet he also mentions the possibility of explaining 'the connection between the Jewish God and Sabazius by the conception of Sabazius as the God of the Sabbath'.[57] In any case, in Greek sources, not only could Moses be identified with Musaeus and Mochos, Yahweh himself was thought to share a common identity with Jupiter Sabazius and Dionysus.

That this is possible from the Greek perspective is confirmed by passages from Varro and Celsus. Varro, as Augustine reports, 'thought the God of the Jews to be the same as Jupiter, thinking that it makes no difference by which name he is called (*nihil interesse censens, quo nomine nuncupetur*), so long as the same thing is understood' (Varro apud Augustine, *On the Agreement of the Evangelists* 1.22.30; Stern, No. 72b). According to Celsus, 'The Goatherds and shepherds (the Jews, that is) thought that there was one God called the Most High, or Adonai, or the Heavenly One, or Sabaoth.' In Celsus' view, however, 'it makes no difference whether one calls the supreme God by the name used among the Greeks, or by that, for example, used among the Indians, or by that among the Egyptians' (Celsus apud Origen, *Against Celsus* 1.24; Stern, No. 375). Or as Origen reports Celsus' view elsewhere: 'it makes no difference whether we call Zeus the Most High, or Zen, or Adonai, or Sabaoth, or Amoun like the Egyptians, or Papaeus like the Scythians' (5.41; Stern, No. 375).

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[55] Hoffleit 1969, 364–5 note *a*.

[56] See also Williams 1998, 98 (transl.) and 192 note 61 (comments), with reference to Lane 1979.

[57] Stern 1974, vol. 1, 359.

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Origen's reaction and the background to Celsus' view is the topic of Robbert van den Berg's paper in this volume. It will suffice here to underline that identifications between Yahweh Sabaoth and Dionysus were considered possible on the general principle that, in the final instance, all (major) gods bear one and the same identity.[58] For the same reason, pagan Greeks also made abundant use of the names Iao, Sabaoth, and Adonai, as is shown by the Greek magical papyri.[59]

5. Conclusions

This paper has focused on the Graeco-Roman knowledge of Moses and the name of his God, Iao, Sabaoth, or Adonai. These names are specifically Jewish designations for God, yet they were apparently known to, and even taken over by Greeks.[60] Moses and the name of his God did not remain hidden in the Greek world. In pagan sources, this disclosure did not occur exclusively, or even predominantly, in an anti-Semitic context. The entire reception of Moses and the name of his God was greatly varied. Graeco-Roman authors were vague and inconsistent in such matters; they had no need for consistency. Apart from negative interpretations in primarily Egyptian sources, and ample applications in magic, Moses and his God also received a remarkably positive reception in authors who stressed

[58] On the various ways in which Iao was incorporated into the pagan Graeco-Roman pantheon, see also Bohak 2000, 4–11.

[59] For 'Sabaoth', see Preisendanz 1928–31, 2 vols, Nos. 2–10, 12–13, 13a, 15–16, 18a, 21, 22ab, 28ab, 32a, 35–36, 42–43, 47, 59, 67. Cf. also Zosimus of Panoplis (fl. *c.* AD 300), author of a book on the God of the Hebrews, the Lord of Powers Sabaoth (edn. Berthelot & Ruelle 1888), the *Hymni Anonymi e Papyris Magicis Collecti*, frg. 5 (edn. Heitsch 1963) and particular astrological writings accessible via TLG searches. For 'Adonai', see Celsus in Origen, *Against Celsus* 1.24 and 5.41; Preisendanz 1928–31, 2 vols, Nos. 1–5, 7–8, 10, 12–13, 22b, 28c, 32a, 35–36, 43, 57, 62, 68; the *Hymni Anonymi e Papyris Magicis Collecti*, frg. 5 (edn. Heitsch 1963); and several astrological writings in the TLG corpus.

[60] This study could be further extended to other designations for God which were frequent among the Jews: Pantokrator and Theos Hypsistos. Although these terms were not specifically Jewish, and even originated in Greek writings, Jews seem to have had a specific preference for them, and this intensity in itself became influential in the Greek world. On 'Theos Hypsistos', see Mitchell 1999, esp. §5, 110–15: 'Theos Hypsistos and the Jews'. See, e.g., 112: 'most "pagan" or "Jewish" examples of the term Theos Hypsistos are formally indistinguishable from one another', and 114: 'We are evidently dealing with an area of belief where Jews, judaizers, and pagans occupied very similar territory.'

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Moses' outstanding wisdom and philosophical, aniconic theology (Hecataeus; Diodorus Siculus; Strabo), identified him with no lesser than Musaeus (Alexander Polyhistor; Numenius), made Pythagoras dependent on the mysteries of Moses-Mochos (Iamblichus), and characterized Moses' God, in an ontological way, as 'He who is' (Numenius), as 'the noetic light' (Philo of Byblos), and 'the highest God' (Cornelius Labeo); they considered him unnameable and invisible (Dio Cassius), called him the 'one true God' (Porphyry), 'He who is above the seven celestial spheres, i.e. the creator' (Philo of Byblos), and named him not only 'Iao' and 'Sabaoth' but also 'Dionysus' (Plutarch) and 'Jupiter Sabazius' (Valerius Maximus). What is perhaps most remarkable about this positive reception is that we are surprised about it.[61]

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THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIALOGUES BETWEEN JEWISH SAGES AND ROMAN DIGNITARIES*

MOSHE DAVID HERR

I

The following incident is recorded in a Baraita preserved in midrashic literature:

> It was told that when Hadrian went up the ascent of Ḥamat גדר,[1] he found a little Jewish girl on the peak of Ḥamat גדר. He asked her: Who are you? She replied: I am a daughter of Israel. Immediately he descended from his carriage and bowed down to her. All the dignitaries of the kingdom became angry with him. They said: Why did you see fit to debase yourself and bow down to this despicable creature who is soiled and filthy? He said to them: Fools! Are not all nations destined to bow to them? — For so it is written: *So says the Lord, the Redeemer of Israel. . .*[2]

* An abridgement of a chapter from a dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Hebrew University, prepared under the direction of Professor E. E. Urbach, to whom the author extends his gratitude and appreciation. This version was read as a paper at the fifth world Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, 1969.

Quotations from rabbinic literature have been culled from the critical editions listed below (all page numbers referring to these editions):

Tosefta Zera'im; Mo'ed	— ed. Lieberman
Mekhilta (de R. Ishmael)	— ed. Horowitz–Rabin
Mekhilta de R. Simeon b. Yoḥai	— ed. Epstein–Melamed
Sifre, Zuta	— ed. Horowitz (Leipzig, 1917)
Sifre, Deut.	— ed. Finkelstein
Midrash Tanna'im (Deut.)	— ed. Hoffmann
Genesis Rabba	— ed. Theodor–Albeck
Leviticus Rabba	— ed. Margulies
Pesiqta de R. Kahana	— ed. Mandelbaum
Massekhet Derekh Ereẓ	— ed. Higger
Pesiqta Rabbati	— ed. Meir Ish-Shalom (Friedmann)
Seder Eliyahu Zuta	— ed. Meir Ish-Shalom (Friedmann)
Genesis Rabbati	— ed. Albeck

[1] Should read *Gader*, and so too below. This city with its natural hot springs (the present-day El Ḥamma) was located on the bank of the Yarmukh river, north of the city Gader.

[2] *Midrash Tanna'im* XXVI 19 (collected from *Midrash Ha-Gadol*), p. 262.

At first sight, the episode seems odd, even questionable. What would Hadrian, the "cosmocrator", the ruler of the world, have to do with a slovenly Jewish girl in Ḥamat Gader? Further reflection reveals, however, that the story is not at all as far-fetched and fantastic as it seemed at first. In the *Historia Augusta*,[3] Hadrian is described in these terms:

> In conloquiis etiam humillimorum civilissimus fuit, detestans eos qui sibi hanc voluptatem humanitatis quasi servantes fastigium principis inviderent.
>
> Most polite in his conversations even with the most humble, he detested those who, in the belief that they were thereby maintaining the imperial dignity, begrudged him the pleasure of such friendliness.

Furthermore, Hadrian did seemingly travel along the ascent of Ḥamat Gader, either on his way to southern Transjordan in the winter of 129/130 C.E., or else on his return from Egypt by way of Judaea to Syria in 131 C.E. Here is confirmation of almost the complete background of the episode. We may thus conclude that Hadrian acted kindly towards the child, not because she was Jewish, but precisely because she was despised. This assertion may well be challenged. We might be accused of drawing unwarranted conclusions from the material, since both sources are unreliable! To this contention, we reply that this is precisely our argument. Of itself, each source is, obviously, highly doubtful. But the two are totaly independent of each other. No one has ever had the temerity to suggest that any connection could exist between a fourth century Roman historian of Antioch and R. David b. 'Amram Al 'Adeni, the Yemenite compiler of Midrashim, who lived some 1,000 years later. *Volens nolens*, the one source tends to confirm the other.

Let us now take up our topic more systematically. It is reasonable and even inevitable for certain social relationships to arise between conqueror and conquered, between rulers and their subjects. Certainly the Rabbis of the Talmud and the "Roman dignitaries" of the times were no exception to this rule. Yet even where these relations do not develop into definite social ties, nevertheless contacts with one another by word of mouth do certainly exist. Sometimes these talks do not extend beyond the necessities imposed by prevailing circumstances, and do not arise from the free will of the parties involved. At other times, however, the two sides engage in discussions voluntarily.

Rabbinic literature has preserved many accounts of dialogues between the Talmudic Sages and eminent Romans. Especially famous are the numerous verbal encounters, scattered throughout the sources, between

[3] Spartianus, *Vita Hadriani* XX 1.

R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai and a certain prefect (hegemon), between R. Joshua b. Ḥananiah and Hadrian (or else "the Emperor", without any closer identification) and his daughter, R. Akiva and Tineius Rufus, R. Yose b. Ḥalafta and a Roman matron, Antoninus and R. Judah, the Patriarch. In the past, scholars have generally felt impelled in some such instances to take up mainly the question whether the accounts were *verbatim* reports of actual conversations. They also dealt with the problem of the identity of the interlocutor where he was not designated by name or else equivocally (Antoninus, Antigonos hegemon), or by title only.

It cannot be confidently asserted that satisfying answers to these two questions were generally forthcoming. Not only has scholarship failed to arrive at any definite solution to the problem of whether a specific conversation really took place, but even the efforts to indentify certain of the participants were unsuccessful, as the case of Rabbi Judah and Antoninus so clearly demonstrates.

Now, conversations of these types were not confined to the world of the Jewish Sages. Similar episodes are to be found amongst other peoples as well. Especially well known are the dialogues between philosophers (Stoics, Neo-Pythagoreans, and especially Cynics), Greek gymnasiarchs and gymnosophists, on the one hand, and Roman Emperors and officials on the other. Here, too, the question of the reality behind the accounts poses itself. Already at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, the phenomenon appears in the Greek world of a philosopher engaging in a dialogue with a ruler, and it reached its peak at the end of the first, and during the second, century C.E. Rabbinic literature, too, furnishes evidence that discussions between Sages and Roman leaders proliferated in the same period. Undoubtedly the two phenomena, the Graeco-Roman and the Jewish, are interrelated. Like their gentile counterparts, Jews, too, engaged in discussions with members of the Roman leadership.

In our opinion, the important question is not whether the event actually occurred, but whether it *could* actually occur (i.e. the *possibility* of the particular conversation having occurred). In other words, study should have been devoted to the subject matter of the conversations, and the inquiry should not be confined to the totality of the dialogues but to each pair of conversationists in turn. There is no justification for any *a priori* assumption that what interested one pair should also occupy the attention of two other persons speaking to each other.

To suggest, however, that such incidents never occurred in reality and were pure figments of the imagination is certainly out of the question. On the contrary, the historical existence of such conversations has been abundantly confirmed by the evidence of gentile historians, whose reliability is

unassailable. Nevertheless it is also undoubtedly true that, side by side with this historical phenomenon, a literary genre has also arisen.[3*]

As has already been stated above, literary accounts of dialogues between philosophers and rulers had made their appearance as early as at the beginning of the Hellenistic period.[4] That a similar literary genre made its appearance in Israel, too, at about the same time is proved by the account of the conversations conducted by the elders of Judaea with Ptolemy Philadelphos to be found in the *Pseudo Aristeas*.[5] It is highly questionable whether these conversations ever really took place. Yet, extant Jewish-Hellenistic literature contains evidence of certain conversations which actually occurred as recorded.[6] A full description of this type of dialogue is found in Philo's *Legatio ad Gaium*. Philo had headed a delegation of Alexandrian Jews which sailed to Rome to intercede with Gaius Caligula. The work recounts in detail how the Emperor received the members of the deputation, who were forced to rush after him from Rome to Puteoli and back again to Rome. The decisive talk occurred at the time of the Emperor's visit at the gardens of Maecenas,

[3*] On distinguishing between the two phenomena — the real and the literary — see now H.A. Fischel, "Story and History: Observations on Greco-Roman Rhetoric and Pharisaism", *American Oriental Society, Middle West Branch, Semi-Centennial Volume*, ed. D. Sinor, Bloomington 1969, p. 66.

[4] We refer to the famous dialogue between Alexander the Great and the sage Kalanos. See W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge 1938), pp. 414–436; cf. Breloer-Bremer, *Fontes Historiae Religionum Indicarum*. On the meeting between Alexander and Diogenes, see Plutarch, "Alexander" XIV 2; Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae Philos.* VI 38; cf. W.W. Tarn, "Alexander, Cynics and Stoics", in *American Journal of Philology* LX (1939), pp. 49–70. It is interesting that rabbinic literature, too, has preserved accounts of dialogues between Alexander and the Jewish Sages. Only a few of these reputed encounters have a real historical background (see J. Gutman, "Alexander of Macedon in Erez Israel", *Tarbiz* XI (1940), pp. 271–294, Hebrew). Most are legendary, connected with the general development of the "Alexander Romance"; see L. Wallach, "Alexander the Great and the Indian Gymnosophists in Hebrew Tradition", *PAAJR* XI (1941), pp. 47–83.

[5] *Letter of Aristeas*, 173–181, 187–294. See also J. Gutman, "The Origin and Principal Purpose of the Letter of Aristeas", *Ha-Goren* X (1928), p. 46 (Hebrew). Tarn (*op. cit.*, above n. 4) gave an enlightening evaluation of the connection between *Milindapañha* (the work recounting the conversation between Alexander and the Indian Gymnosophists) and the *Letter of Aristeas*.

[6] Clearly "as recorded" in ancient literature does not mean *verbatim*. A cursory comparison of Herod's speech before the battle with the Arabs, quoted in *The Wars of the Jews* (I 19,4), and the same speech as reported in the *Antiquities* (XV 5,3) is sufficient to prove how much the words actually uttered were subjected to literary editing even by one and the same historian. Other examples abound in classical literature. Perhaps the most instructive instance of all is the comparison of Claudius' speech on the granting of "Italian" rights to the inhabitants of southern Gaul as reported in Tacitus' *Annals* (XI 24) and the text of the inscription containing this granting discovered in Lugdunum. (My thanks are due to Professor M. Stern who drew my attention to this example.)

near Rome, while he was examining the state of the orchards and houses. There Caligula kept rushing back and forth, from one palace to another, from room to room, while the hapless Jews had to "follow him, running up and down". The conversation did not only deal with the relations between Jews and Greeks in Alexandria and the graven image Gaius intended to instal in the Temple in Jerusalem. Philo relates that Caligula, after he had issued instructions about the buildings, turned to the members of the delegation with the grave and momentous question: "Why do you refuse to eat pork?" This question was greeted by an "outburst of laughter" from the Greeks present, since the Jewish prohibition against the eating of pork had been given prominence in Alexandrian antisemitic literature.[7] The Jews answered as best they could, for which the Emperor mocked and reviled them in return. And so the conversation passed from one topic to another.[8]

Apart from his particular madness, Caligula was not much different from other Roman Emperors. They, as well as lesser government officials, both in the metropolis and the provinces, used to converse quite indiscriminately even with those accustomed to curse them.[9]

II

Our study will begin chronologically, with R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai. The sources provide us with information on his conversations with two outstanding Romans: Vespasian and a certain "hegemon" (prefect).

Rabbinic tradition relates that after R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai had escaped from Jerusalem and had fallen into the hands of the Romans, he came before Vespasian. It is not within the purview of this article to inquire into the rabbi's attitude to the Roman government and the rebellion as such. Nor is it in place here to analyse the variants in the four main accounts[10] of the conversation between R. Yoḥanan and Vespasian.[11] Suffice it to say that

[7] See Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaism*, Index, *s. v.* "porc".

[8] Philo, *Legation to Gaius*, Chs. XXVIII–XXIX, XLIV–XLV (180–186, 349–376).

[9] Suetonius' work is a veritable treasure house of gossip on the first twelve Emperors, regarding both this topic as well as others. See e. g. *Vita Vespasiani* XIII. As for the second and third centuries C. E., a similar source, though to be used more carefully and reservedly, is provided by the collection entitled *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (cf. n. 1 above, and n. 87 below); see, now, R. Syme's excellent work, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* (Oxford 1968).

[10] *Avot de R. Natan*, A, IV; B, VI; *Lam. Rabba* i:5; B.T. Gittin 56a–b.

[11] See G. Allon, "R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai's Journey to Jabneh" *Zion* III (1938), pp. 183–214 (Hebrew) = *Meḥqarim be-Toledot Israel*, Vol. I (1957), p. 219–252; E.E. Urbach, "The Jews in their own Land in the Tannaitic Period" *Beḥinot* IV (1953), pp. 63–64 (Hebrew). J. Neusner's *A Life of Rabban Yoḥanan b. Zakkai* (Leiden 1962), pp. 104–128 contains nothing really new.

there can be no doubt whatsoever that the confrontation could very well have taken place.[12] Furthermore, it is most probable that such a meeting did actually occur. Once R. Yoḥanan had left Jerusalem, he reached Vespasian's camp. There he prophesied that Vespasian would become Emperor and begged a favour of the Roman, apparently to ensure the survival of rabbinic Sages. All sources concur so far. The topics dealt with by the two are most characteristic. "Prophecies and predictions" that Vespasian was indeed destined to occupy the imperial throne had become quite rife in the East during the period immediately prior to his accession.[13] Hence the tradition that R. Yoḥanan, too, had foretold this event should not be lightly dismissed. It is told of Apollonius of Tyana that he, too, addressed Vespasian as *domine imperator* even before the latter had assumed royal office. The situation also requires the assumption that some petition for the rescue of the Sages should have been addressed to Vespasian. The only question that remains to be settled is the date of the conversation — when could it take place? Apparently R. Yoḥanan spent some time in the Roman camp[14] during June and early July of 69 C.E.[15]

At about the same time, there must have taken place the conversations between R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai and a certain "prefect" (hegemon), whose name appears in our sources as אגנטוס[16], אנטונינוס[17], אנטיגנס[18], אגנטם[19]

[12] These remarks are in refutation of the view of A. Kaminka, *Meḥqarim Ba-Talmud* (1951), pp. 99–100. He asserted that the meeting never took place. Cf. also G. Allon, in his study referred to above (n. 11), p. 188.

[13] See Suetonius, *Vespasianus* V–VI; Josephus, *Wars* III 8, 9; Tacitus, *Historiae* II 78; Philostratos, *Apolonius of Tyana*, V, 27 ff., especially 31; cf. Kenneth Scott, *The Imperial Cult under the Flavians* (Stuttgart-Berlin 1936); the author was apparently totally unaware of the incident involving R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai.

[14] On the question whether R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai met with Vespasian or Titus, see Allon's study mentioned above (n. 11), pp. 187–188, and the bibliography referred to there, n. 15. Those who believe that the rabbi spoke to Vespasian (and not to Titus) appear to be correct, even though other elements, pertaining to Titus and the siege of Jerusalem, were also incorporated in the story.

[15] It is possible to determine the time by referring to the tradition preserved in *Lam. Rabba* i:5, that Vespasian went to Gophna. This locality was conquered not earlier than the 5th of Sivan 69 C.E. (*Wars* IV 9,9), while the legions already proclaimed Vespasian Emperor on 1 July, 69. It is accordingly possible to amend the statements of Allon (in his above-mentioned study, *loc. cit.*, above n. 12); of Neusner, in his work mentioned in n. 11, p. 109 and of others, that R. Yoḥanan left Jerusalem as early as the spring of 68 C.E. In his same study, n. 51, Allon himself accepts the tradition concerning Gophna, yet seems completely unaware of the resulting discrepancy in the dates according to his ssytem.

[16] P.T. Sanhedrin I 19b. Cf. also the forms אגיטוס and אגיטים in the various versions in *Sifre*, Deut., mentioned below in n. 25.

[17] *Ibid.*, 19c. [18] *Ibid.*, 19d.

[19] *Ibid.* Genizah Ms. (see Louis Ginzberg, *Seridey Ha-Yerushalmi*, p. 256).

הרנגטים[20] and even קונטריקוס.[21] The sources record three discussions between this prefect and R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai — concerning the putting to death of the owner of the condemned, goring ox,[22] the census of the priests and Levites in the desert,[23] and the sum of the coins collected from the half-sheqel levy in the desert.[24] In addition, this same prefect is also reported to have held some discussion with R. Gamliel concerning the Written Law and the Oral Law.[25] It is doubtful, however, whether participation in other conversations with R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai can be attributed to him.[26] All three dialogues entered into by the hegemon with R. Yoḥanan contain sharp criticism of the Torah or of Moses. The questioner seeks to prove that the Torah perverts justice, and that Moses, by whose hand the Torah was transmitted to Israel, was either a thief or else could not do arithmetic. It is a well known fact that both matters — the nature of the Torah and the personality of Moses — were of intense interest to gentiles during the Hellenistic and Roman eras.[27] Still, it seems that here there was also another purpose in these accusations. Mockery of the Torah and Moses, i.e. the attempt to prove that Jews were deceitful and their religion and laws perverted, is well known from other sources as well. The choice of subjects, however: capital punishment, the census and the contributions towards the building of the Tabernacle, call for explanation.

[20] *Num. Rabba* iv:9.

[21] Bekhorot 5a.

[22] P.T. Sanhedrin I 19b.

[23] *Ibid.*, 19c; Bekhorot 5a; *Num. Rabba* iv:9.

[24] P.T. Sanhedrin I 19d; Bekhorot 5a.

[25] *Sifre*, Deut. 351 (p. 408).

[26] Since the conversation concerning the half-sheqel contributions in the desert begins with "And again he asked him. . .", some conjecture that the dialogue between the anonymous Sage and the anonymous "hegemon", which also commences with "And again he asked him. . .", and in which too the argument of the hegemon was brushed aside (Ḥullin 27b) was also an encounter between R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai and the same prefect (See Tosafot, Ḥullin 27b, *s.v.* "*ve'od she'alo*"). A more thorough investigation is, however, necessary to determine whether such an assumption is justified, for a similar question was indeed addressed to R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai (*Gen. Rabba* xvii:4, p. 155), but by an *anonymous* inquirer. We do not accept Bacher's opinion (see *Agada der Tannaiten*, Strassburg 1903[2], I, pp. 37–38) as conclusive, viz., that this hegemon is the same person as the "certain gentile" who questioned R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai on the red heifer and was also summarily brushed aside (*Pesiqta de R. Kahana*, Parah 7, p. 74).

[27] As for Moses, it is sufficient to refer to the sources enumerated by Reinach, *op. cit.* (n. 7), Index, *s.v.* "Moïse"; as far as the Torah is concerned, see the sources mentioned in my article, "Anti-Semitism in the Roman Empire viewed in the Light of Rabbinic Literature", in *Benjamin de Vries Memorial Volume* (Jerusalem 1969), pp. 153–155 (Hebrew).

As has been stated, no unaminity has been achieved by scholars in their attempts to identify this prefect.[28] The name which occurs in various forms, as we have seen above, affords us no decisive clue. There is no doubt that the word ἡγεμών signifies the governor of a province or the like. The most plausible of all conjectures is Schlatter's,[29] viz. that the person in question was Marcus Antonius Julianus, the procurator (ἐπίτροπος) of Judaea at the time of the destruction of the Temple, who served under the legate Sextus Cerealis. He had participated in the decisive meeting convened by Titus to determine the fate of the Temple when its capture seemed imminent.[30] Minucius Felix mentions a work by Julianus on the Jews, side by side with Josephus' writings.[31] Apparently, in preparing his work, Antonius Julianus evinced a keen interest in the laws and customs of the Jews about which he could have read in the Septuagint. Furthermore, as procurator, he was obliged to conduct a census of the inhabitants of conquered Judaea and their possessions — an ordinary and common procedure in every conquered territory or newly created province. In the course of this activity,[32] suspicions must have arisen of Jewish attempts to deceive the census-takers. Hence the conversations dealing with the census and contributions in Moses' time fit very well into the context of those times.[33] Undoubtedly, the legal status of the Jews and their courts must also have been brought up for reconsideration. For that reason, it appears, an investigation, though somewhat superficial, of Jewish criminal procedures, was instituted. Against this background the mention of the case of the owner of an ox which gored a human being to death becomes clearly understandable.[34] Nothing, then, prevents us from assuming

[28] E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes...* (1901), Vol. I, p. 649; Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, Vol. II, *s.v.* "אנטיטוס" pp. 10, 595; A. Büchler, *The Economic Conditions of Judaea after the Destruction of the Second Temple* (London 1912), p. 57; Neusner, *op. cit.* (n. 11 above), pp. 168 ff.; S. Safrai, "On the Problem of the Status of the Province of Judaea after the War of the Destruction", *Zion* XXVII (1962), p. 219, n. 21 (Hebrew). (All these studies list additional bibliographical material.)

[29] A. von Schlatter, *Zur Typographie und Geschichte Palästinas* (1893), p. 402. Antonius Julianus was not a ἡγεμών but an ἐπίτροπος, but it seems, that the title "hegemon" in rabbinic literature has a broader connotation than merely legatus, see Krauss, *Paras Ve-Romi Ba-Talmud U-Va-Midrashim* (Jerusalem 1948), pp. 137–138.

[30] *Wars* VI 4,3.

[31] See Reinach, *op. cit.* (n. 7 above), p. 294.

[32] The project in Judaea was completed, apparently, only after the legate Cerealis was replaced by Bassus, and the procurator, M. Antonius Julianus, by Liberius Maximus (See *Wars* VII 6,6). There is no doubt, however, that the work was begun by Antonius Julianus.

[33] J. Gutman has already set down the main points, *Encyclopaedia Ivrit*, Vol. VI, *s.v.* "*Ereẓ Israel*", pp. 393–394.

[34] G. Allon is correct in maintaining that the conversations "afford no proof of any official recognition having been granted to the Bet Din" of R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai

that conversations between R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai and Antonius actually did take place.[35] After his stay in Vespasian's camp in June and July 69 C.E., R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai apparently repaired to Jabneh, which was also in Roman hands, during the summer of that year. By that time, apparently, the Romans realized that, of all Jewish leaders who did not participate actively in the rebellion, R. Yoḥanan was the only one who might in time prove acceptable to a considerable segment of the population. (This would not have been true of people like Agrippa II and Berenice, or Josephus who were regarded by their people as traitors since they had given real positive aid to the Romans, unlike R. Yoḥanan who had apparently refused to take any part in the struggle on either side.)[36] Most probably, then, the conversations between R. Yoḥanan and Marcus Antonius Julianus could have been held between June 69 and the end of 70 C.E. The only challenge to this identification of the time and place is posed by the tradition that the same official also engaged in discussions with R. Gamliel.[37] Such an encounter could not possibly have occurred at the time of the destruction. Yet the difficulty is only apparent — since it seems that the man who spoke with R. Gamliel (or perhaps even with R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai himself) is none other than "Agrippa, the military commander".

This Agrippa was the one who asked R. Gamliel how it was possible for

(*Toledoth Ha-Yehudim Be-Ereẓ Israel Bi-Tequfat Ha-Mishnah Ve-Ha-Talmud* [1953] Vol. I, p. 60, n. 25).

[35] Allon, *ibid.*, denies all authenticity to the dialogues in question. Neusner (*op. cit.* above, n. 11, p. 168) notes that all that is known about Antonius Julianus' work on the Jews is a single sentence cited by Minucius Felix. He accordingly refuses to accept the "identification" with the hegemon on such scanty evidence, especially since the conversations contain no condemnation of the revolt of the Jews, but are in the main "the kind of exegetical debates common to the period". The identification of Antonius Julianus as the "hegemon", however, does not rest upon the single sentence in Minucius Felix' work at all, but on the *contents* of the conversations and expecially their particular charateristic features, all of which Neusner utterly failed to discern.

[36] This premise agrees with the opinion of Urbach, viz. that the evaluation of R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai is not to be reduced to the proportions delineated by G. Allon. See E. E. Urbach, "The Jews in their own Land in the Tannaitic Period", *Beḥinot* IV (1953), pp. 63 ff. (Hebrew). Cf. also idem, "Class Status and Leadership in the world of the Palestinian Sages", *Proceedings of The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, Vol. II, (Jerusalem 1968), pp. 54–55.

[37] *Sifre*, Deut. 351 (p. 408). There, the hegemon is stated to have asked him how many Torahs were given to Israel. However, in *Midrash Tanna'im* (collected from the *Midrash Ha-Gadol*) xxxiii : 10, p. 215, the reading is : "Agrippas, the hegemon, asked R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai." It seems that the reference then can only be to "Agrippa the general" (see following note).

God to be "jealous".[38] He was certainly no Jew,[39] and was probably a general serving in the army of King Agrippa[40] (I?!)[41] and, if so, he must have conversed with R. Gamliel the Elder.[42] He displayed an interest both in the essence of the Torah and the nature of the One and Only God, Who was nevertheless capable of jealousy.

III

Roman interest in Jews and Judaism, which had begun earlier, did not disappear with the Destruction. On the contrary, it still increased in intensity. In the period between that event and the Hadrianic persecutions proselytisation reached its peak. Seneca's jibe, *Victi victoribus leges dederunt*,[43] was more applicable to those, than to any other times. It is no wonder, then, that in certain Roman circles, interest in Judaism assumed such proportions that it sometimes bore official or semi-official character.[44] It seems that discussions about the granting of some partial official recognition to the status of R. Gamliel of Jabneh, or at all events to the judicial status of the

[38] Avodah Zarah 55a; Ms. Munich (see Rabinowicz, *Diqduqey Soferim*, Avodah Zarah, p. 118) reads: "Agrippa, the general of Agrippas (the same reading seems to have been before Rashi — *q.v.*, *s.v.* "Agrippas"). Cf. *Mekhilta de R. Simeon b. Yoḥai* (from *Midrash Ha-Gadol*), XX 5, p. 147: "Agrippas the Elder asked of R. Gamliel." According to one reading, this same Aggripa also asked R. Gamliel why God is jealous of idolaters rather than of idolatry itself (Avodah Zarah 54b, Ms. Vatican: "A certain Agrippa" [as against "a certain philosopher" in other manuscripts and the printed editions]). See S. Abramson, *Tractate Avodah Zarah*, Ms. Jewish Theological Seminary of New York (New York 1957), p. 209. Cf. however *Mekhilta de R. Ishmael*, Ba-Ḥodesh vi, p. 226: "philosophos" (In the *Mekhilta*, the two dialogues: (a) Avodah Zarah 55a, (b) *ibid.*, 54b, have been combined into one. See L. Wallach, "A Palestinian Polemic against Idolatry", *HUCA* XIX [1945–1946], pp. 389–404).

[39] So Rashi has already correctly noted, Avodah Zarah 55a, *s.v.* "Agrippas". Cf. L. Ginzberg, *Tosefet Arukh Ha-Shalem* (1936), *s.v.* "Agrippas", pp. 419–420 (as against E. E. Urbach's conjecture in his note on *Mekhilta de R. Simeon b. Yoḥai*, p. 147).

[40] See n. 38 above.

[41] There definitely were non-Jewish mercenaries in Agrippa's army — not as S. Klein has assumed in his "Zum jüdischen Heerwesen in der Mishnischen Zeit", *Jeschurun* (ed. Wohlgemuth), X (1923), p. 88. His view has already been refuted by V. Aptowitzer, *Parteipolitik der Hasmonäerzeit etc.* (1927), pp. 309 ff.

[42] Accordingly, the reference in *Sifre*, Deut. (see n. 37 above) is also to R. Gamliel the Elder, unless the reading of the *Midrash Ha-Gadol* is accepted *in toto* and we assume that the same conversation took place with R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai. This is definitely possible since R. Yoḥanan b. Zakkai, who received the oral tradition from Hillel and Shammai, was already famous, apparently, during the time of Agrippa I.

[43] See Reinach, *op. cit.* (n. 7 above), p. 263.

[44] See, lately, M. Stern, "Philo-Judaism in Roman Senatorial Circles during the period of the Ancient Empire", *Zion* XXIX (1964), pp. 156 ff. (Hebrew).

Jewish law courts led to the visit of military officials at his Academy[45] in order to determine the nature of Jewish Law. Apparently they knew Aramaic and pretended to be Jewish students. After they had given their approval of Jewish jurisprudence as a whole, they only objected to those laws discriminating against gentiles, e.g. stealing from a gentile, the delivery and nursing of a gentile infant, and the case of an ox owned by a Jew goring another owned by a gentile. Subsequently, R. Gamliel enacted an ordinance prohibiting the retention of property stolen from a gentile, so as to prevent a desecration of the Name of God.[46] Another tradition, that the Imperial government had sent two army officers to locate Moses' grave[47] (according to one mediaeval source, the mission was dispatched by Hadrian[48]) is also not surprising. Moses occupied a prominent position in the interest of those gentiles who had dealings with Jews and Judaism as has been shown above.[49] Opinions among the non-Jews were divided on whether Moses was a villain or a saint, a deceiver or a sublime leader, a wizard, a necromancer or a prophet.

To this area, too, belong the conversations between R. Akiva and Tineius Rufus. In one of them, Rufus questioned the particular character of the Sabbath. He wondered why God Himself caused rain to fall and performed other acts on Saturdays.[50] In another debate with R. Akiva, while discussing the question whether human or Divine acts were superior, Rufus demanded to know why, if God had desired man to be circumcized, He did not create him so.[51] He further demanded to know why circumcision had not been mentioned in the Ten Commandments.[52] Rufus also asked

[45] *Sifre*, Deut. 344 (p. 401) [There, however, the reading is "to Usha", and in Ms. Berlin even: "R. Simeon b. Gamliel" instead of "R. Gamliel" (Cf. Urbach, in his study mentioned above, n. 11, p. 67). Nevertheless, these variants cannot be accepted, and are certainly not to be preferred to the versions in the parallel passages listed below. The matter has already been dealt with by G. Allon, *op. cit.* (n. 34 above), Vol. I, p. 292]; P.T. Bava Qamma IV 3 (4b); B.T. Bava Qamma 38a. — The historical background of the visit has been described by G. Allon, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 72; S. Safrai, in his study referred to above (n. 28), p. 219. Also E.E. Urbach, who exercised much more caution in dealing with the episode (see his above mentioned article, pp. 66–67, and more recently his study, referred to above, n. 36, p. 56), agrees that there was an interest, although he did not arrive at any definite conclusion concerning its results.

[46] P.T. *loc. cit.*, above (n. 45).

[47] *Sifre*, Deut., § 357, p. 429; *Midrash Tanna'im* (from *Midrash Ha-Gadol*) XXXIV 6 (p. 226); Sotah 14a.

[48] *'Aqtan de Mar Yaakov*, 6.

[49] p. 129, and n. 27.

[50] *Gen. Rabba* xi:5, pp. 92–94; Sanhedrin 65b; *Tanḥuma* Ki Tissa 33; *Pesiqta Rabbati* 23 (119b–120a); *Midrash 'Aseret Ha-Dibberot*. Cf. Sheiltot 1.

[51] *Tanḥuma* Tazria' 5 = *Tanḥuma*, ed. Buber, Tazria' 7.

[52] *Gen. Rabbati*, pp. 72–73; cf. the source mentioned below in n. 127.

R. Akiva why, if God loved the poor, did He not sustain them?[53] (In that very conversation, Rufus also contended that Jews were slaves, since they did not obey the will of God.) Rufus further asked why God hated the gentiles, and R. Akiva's reply contains a clear reference to the Imperial cult.[54] Now all these discussions centered on themes that were of topical and current interest and that occupied the attention of cultured Romans in the period when conversions to Judaism had reached their peak. Two precepts held the centre of these discussions — precepts that, in the eyes of the Romans, were most typical of Jews and proselytes (as well as *metuentes* —

[53] Bava Batra 10a.

[54] *Tanḥuma* Terumah 3. There, however, R. Akiva's reply reads: "You take wood". In his generation, however, it was already common knowledge "that idolatry was of no real substance" (Avodah Zarah 55a). Hence it appears that what R. Akiva had in mind was mainly the Imperial cult, which became very popular in his time. In his article (cited in n. 38 above), L. Wallach connected this dialogue with the discussion of the philosopher with R. Gamliel concerning idolatry (*Mekhilta de R. Ishmael*, Ba-Ḥodesh vi, p. 226; Avodah Zarah 54b–55a), during the course of which R. Gamliel used the parable of a person (or prince) who had raised a dog to which he gave his father's name. Whenever the person took an oath, or vow, he exclaimed: "By the life of the dog". According to Wallach, direct use was made here of the humorous fallacy appearing in Plato, Euthydaemos 298. As Wallach would have it (in his above-mentioned article, p, 391): "There is no doubt that he must have known Plato's dialogue directly" (sic!). "He", here, is not R. Gamliel but his archetype, since, according to Wallach, the original element of the two stories is a single archetype about a controversy between a Jew and an idolater. R. Akiva, too, told Tineius Rufus of his dream about two dogs, hence both incidents are nothing but variations upon a single theme (*ibid.*, pp. 397ff.). First came the archetype; then, several variations developed; finally various literary miscellanies about polemics against idolatry were compiled in one of which the participants were Gamliel and a philosopher, and in another R. Akiva and Tineius Rufus. Wallach even asserts that neither I. Ziegler (*Die Königsgleichnisse des Midrasch* [Breslau 1903], p. 315) nor S. Lieberman (*Greek in Jewish Palestine* [New York 1942], pp. 125–127) both of whom discussed the dog-parable of R. Gamliel, recognized its true significance (*ibid.*, p. 394, n. 12: "Lieberman did not recognize the Plato quotation" [sic!]; see further *ibid.*, n. 13). Wallach's arguments, however, are altogether unconvincing. The two parables used by R. Gamliel and R. Akiva are similar but in respect of the reference to a dog and to idolatry. Their detailed stories are totally different. At all events, not only does R. Akiva's remark differ radically from the logical fallacy mantioned in Plato, but R. Gamliel's parable, too, bears no real resemblance whatever to the statement of Dionysodorus. In *Euthydaemos* the argument runs thus: If you own a wicked dog which begets puppies, the dog, being a father and being yours is *your father* and you are a brother to the puppies (not a single word being said about the name of the dog, or the real father of the owner). R. Gamliel's figure on the other hand does not assert that the dog was father to the man, but that whoever named his dog after his father and swore by the name of the dog and thus uttered the father's name, infuriated the father. Lieberman correctly identified the Greek source for taking an oath by the name of a dog. Furthermore, there are no grounds whatever for Wallach's assumption of the existence of literary collections or of the direct use of a Platonic quotation. On the contrary, it is quite definite that rabbinic literature contains no quotations from Greek literary

the gentiles who feared the Lord), viz. circumcision and the Sabbath.[55] Now Rufus raised some doubts whether the observance of such precepts actually constituted obeying the true will of God. Charity, too, occupied an important part in religious, social and political ideas both among gentiles and Jews.[56] It is also obvious that, to the cosmopolitan frame of mind prevailing in Rome during the second century C.E., Jewish isolation from gentiles was considered a very grave matter. These discussions with R. Akiva, which demonstrate the interest of Roman statesmen and enlightened citizens in the religion and people of Israel, must obviously have been conducted while he still enjoyed his freedom, before the Bar Kokhba rebellion (there being no evidence whatever that they took place during R. Akiva's imprisonment).[57]

IV

Not all the discussions between Sages and Romans were held in Judaea and its vicinity. Some took place in Rome and Italy. Jewish Sages happened to be in Rome for a variety of reasons. Some were carried there as captives, some came there for personal visits or on business of the local Jewish community and some travelled to Rome for political purposes, i.e. to conduct political talks with the heads of State. Whatever brought them there, once they came they met with members of the government with whom they engaged in conversation. It does not fall within our purview to deal here extensively with the phenomenon of the visits of the sages of the provinces to Rome, a practice that had become common in the first centuries C.E. not only amongst Jews. Our attention will be devoted only to the conversations as such.

sources. Wallach was correct in this respect, however, that the philosopher's description of the fire that broke out in a certain land and burnt down everything except the idolatrous temple is a clear allusion to the destruction of the Temple and its religious significance. It is Wallach himself, however, who failed to discern the basic meaning of the entire dialogue between R. Gamliel and the philosopher. The remarks are not, as he would have us believe, directed " against Idolatry", but against the Imperial cult, as the climax of the discussion, "they even worship human beings" (Avodah Zarah 55a,; *Mekhilta*, Ba-Ḥodesh vi: "And even to man. . . if so, they even worship man"), clearly indicates. These words reveal the true tenor of the remarks, so characteristic of R. Gamliel's days, the period (after 96 C.E.) when the Imperial cult occupied so prominent a position in political and religious thinking in Rome and the Hellenistic world.

[55] See the works of Roman authors contemporaneous with R. Akiva: Tacitus, *Historiae* V 4–5; Martialis, *Epigramm.* IV 4,7; VII 30,5; VII 35; VII 55,7; VII 82; IX 94; Juvenal, *Satires* VI 159–160; XIV 96–106. As for later Hellenistic and Roman literature, cf. Reinach, *op. cit.* (n. 7), Index, *s.v.* "circoncision, sabbat".

[56] As E.E. Urbach has proved in his article: "Political and Social Tendencies in Talmudic Concepts of Charity", *Zion* XVI 3–4 (1951), pp. 1–27 (Hebrew).

[57] As was already noted by S. Lieberman in "The Martyrs of Caesaria", *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* VII (1939–1944), p. 421, n. 29.

Both R. Ẓadoq, who was captured, apparently during the War of the Destruction and transported to Rome, and R. Akiva, who proceeded there on a mission (probably after 96 C.E.), were subjected to similar experiences, which aroused the astonishment of the gentiles. R. Ẓadoq was "a leading figure in his generation"; "when he was taken captive to Rome, a certain matron took him and sent a beautiful maidservant to him". R. Ẓadoq, however, "turned his eyes to the wall, so as not to behold her. All night long he sat studying". In the morning the maidservant went and complained to her mistress: "I would rather die than be given to this man". Upon being asked by the matron "Why did you not act with this woman as men generally do?", R. Ẓadoq replied: "What could I do: I am descended from the High Priesthood, from a distinguished family. I said: If I come to her I shall bring many bastards into Israel". After she had heard his words, the matron gave orders that he should be set free with great honours.[58] R. Akiva endured a similar ordeal. When he went to Rome, a certain prefect (hegemon) "sent two beautiful women to him. They were bathed, anointed and outfitted like brides". Each kept wooing him, but he sat between them and spat, and would not attend to them. In the morning, they said to the prefect: "We would rather die than be given to this man". R. Akiva was asked by the prefect: "Why did you not act with these women as men generally do with women? Are they not beautiful? Are they not human beings like you? Did not he who created you create them?" R. Akiva replied: "What should I do? Their odour overcame me, reeking of the meat of carrion and beasts torn by wild animals and creeping things".[59]

In both episodes the behaviour of the Sages and the reaction of the offered women were the same. Very similar, too, was the reaction of those who sent the women, in conformity with the view of universal, human brotherhood which had become strong in Rome after 96 C.E.[60] Such Roman views clashed with the Jewish tendency to separate themselves from gentiles in food and

[58] *Avot de R. Natan*, A, XVI; In B.T. Qiddushin 40a, R. Ẓadoq is the hero of another story in which a certain matron wished to seduce him, and he excused himself by saying that as he was too weak, he liked to eat first. When she offered him some forbidden food, he said: "What difference does it make? Whoever does that may eat this". When she heated the oven to cook the food, R. Ẓadoq seated himself in the oven, saying to the matron that whoever commits this transgression is punished with fire. Whereupon she answered that, had she known how grave such an act was, she would not have vexed him. This account in the Babylonian Talmud shows signs of late adaptation.

[59] *Avot de R. Natan*, A, XVI.

[60] Cf. my article, "Persecutions and Martyrology in Hadrian's Days", *Scripta Hierosolymitana* XXIII (in press).

marriage — as Tacitus put it: "*separati epulis, discreti cubilibus*",[61] or in the wording of the Midrash, "they do not take our daughters, nor do they give their daughters to us. . ."[62] It is quite easy to proceed from this standpoint to accusing the Jews of being misanthropists, haters of mankind.[63] Yet in contradistinction to the identical reactions of the women, and the similar reactions of the prefect and the matron, the excuses offered by the Sages differ radically from one another. R. Ẓadoq's excuse was his priestly descent. R. Akiva, on the other hand, defended his action by advancing a halakhic prohibiton. Scholars have experienced much difficulty in explaining R. Ẓadoq's reply. Is a gentile woman, then, permissible to a non-priest, an ordinary Jew?[64] However, there is no real difficulty. The differences in the answers are easily accounted for by the difference in their respective situations. R. Akiva had arrived in Rome as a free man on an official mission. The prefect wanted to treat him to beautiful, free women. R. Ẓadoq, by contrast, was a captive, a slave. Hence his mistress wanted to mate him a slave-woman with whom to beget slave children. R. Ẓadoq could hardly have disclosed the true reason for his conduct — a slave, after all, is subservient to the will of his master. He therefore accounted for his refusal to consort with the slave-woman by his ancient and noble descent.[65] Indeed, his tactics were eminently successful. Such was the spirit of the time that his reply struck a responsive chord in the heart of the matron, who thereupon liberated him "with great honours." R. Akiva's reply, however, only evoked even greater astonishment than before.

R. Akiva was not the only one to travel to Rome on a political mission. His friends and contemporaries also engaged in such undertakings, some-

[61] *Historiae* V 5.

[62] *Abba Gorion* 3 (ed. Buber, p. 31). Cf. also the other sources enumerated in my article referred to above (n. 27), pp. 151, notes 12–13.

[63] See my same articel, p. 156. Philostratus' striking formulation in his *Apolonius of Tyana* V, 33, should be compared as well.

[64] Cf. I. Heinemann, "Judaism in the Eyes of the Ancient World" *Zion* IV (1939), p. 284, n. 55 (Hebrew) (which contains reference to previous literature on the subject).

[65] This can easily be explained psychologically. The episode involving the son and daughter of R. Ishmael b. Elisha, who were taken into captivity and sold to two masters, is similar. The master sought to mate the two to produce offspring which the owners would share between them. "They put them into a room. The one sat in his corner, and the other sat in her corner. He said: Shall I, a priest, a son of High Priests, marry a slave-woman? And she said: Shall I, a priestess, a daughter of High Priests, be married to a slave?!" (Gittin 58a). The same is true of the parallel incident involving the son and daughter of R. Ẓadoq, the Priest, who were taken captive and confined in the same house. The daughter wept and said: "Woe to this daughter of the High Priest to go and be married to a slave" (*Lam. Rabba* i:16).

times going alone but mostly in a group.[66] Two sources relate the experiences of R. Gamliel and R. Eliezer (b. Hyrcanos) and R. Joshua (b. Ḥananiah) who stayed in Rome together.[67] Other sources tell only of R. Eliezer's and R. Joshua's staying in Rome,[68] or else of R. Joshua's and R. Gamliel's.[69] On the other hand, there are several accounts of a journey undertaken by four Sages: R. Gamliel, R. Joshua, R. Eleazar b. Azariah and R. Akiva.[70] Again, some sources relate the staying in Rome or the travel by boat of one of these Sages alone,[71] or of two of them together.[72] (Yet, not a single extant source gives any information of R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanos embarking on such a voyage together with R. Eleazar b. Azariah or together with R. Akiva).[73]

[66] Clearly Rome is not always the destination whenever a voyage of the Sages across the sea is mentioned; nor were they engaged in political missions each and every time they did journey to that city. Generally, however, in the days of R. Gamliel of Jabneh, the journeys to Rome and Italy were apparently of this nature, even though they served other incidental purposes as well, such as maintaining contact with diaspora Jewry and ransoming captives (cf. G. Allon, *op. cit.*, [n. 34 above], Vol. I, pp. 148, 354).

[67] P.T. Sanhedrin 7,19 (25d); *Deut. Rabba* II 24. Allon's view denying all authenticity to these traditions (*op. cit.* [n. 34 above], Vol. I, p. 77) has no foundation whatever.

[68] *Gen. Rabba* xiii:9 (p. 118) = *Eccl. Rabba* i:7; *Eccl. Rabba* xi:1. Cf. also Bava Batra 74b on the voyage of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua by boat.

[69] *Gen. Rabba* xx:4 (pp. 185–186) — also by the title, "The Elders in Rome" (Cf. also Mishnah Avodah Zarah 4.7 = Tosefta Avodah Zarah 6 [7].7 = B.T. Avodah Zarah 54b; cf., however, regarding this title, *Gen. Rabba* x:9, p. 85 and see n. 70 below). Cf. also Horayot 10a on R. Gamliel and R. Joshua on a boat.

[70] Mishnah Eruvin 4.1–2; *Sifre*, Deut. 43 (pp. 94–95) = *ibid.*, 318 (p. 361) = *Lam. Rabba* v:18 = B.T. Makkot 24a–b; *Exod. Rabba* xxx:9 = L. Ginzberg, *Genizah Studies in Memory of Dr. Schechter*, Vol. I, p. 219; *Midrash Agur*, also called *Mishnat R. Eliezer*, ed. Enelow, p. 103; *Derekh Ereẓ* Pirqey b. Azzai, 3,2 (pp. 183 ff.) — also by the appellation "Four Elders". — "R. Gamliel and the Elders", including R. Akiva, as reclining together in Rome, are mentioned in the Tosefta Yom Tov 2.12 (p. 289). Cf., on these four Sages on a boat, Mishnah Ma'aser Sheni V 9, here too with the designation, "R. Gamliel and the Elders"; *Sifra*, Emor Chapter XVI 2 (here too described similarly) = B.T. Sukkah 41b = Tosefta Sukkah 2.11 (p. 265) [here only the above mentioned general designation, without any specific naming of individuals, appears]; cf. further Tosefta Shabbat 13 (14).14 (p. 62) and Mishnah Sahbbat 16.8 on "Rabban Gamliel and the Elders" on a boat; *Midrash Tanna'im* (from *Midrash Ha-Gadol*) XXVI 3 (p. 172) on R. Gamliel and his disciples on a boat.

[71] R. Gamliel alone on a boat — Bava Meẓi'a 59b; R. Joshua in Rome — Tosefta Horayot 2.5–6 (Ms. Vienna and printed editions) = P.T. Horayot 3.7 (48b) = B.T. Gittin 58a; R. Eleazar b. Azariah in Rome — Yoma 86a (the parallel passages, however, make no mention of Rome, yet cf., too, Berakhot 27b); R. Akiva in Rome — *Avot de R. Natan*, A, XVI; *Ruth Rabba* vi:1; *Eccl. Rabba* x:7; cf. also Avodah Zarah 10b.

[72] P.T. Sukkah 2.4 (52d) [R. Eleazar b. Azariah and R. Akiva on board] = B.T. Sukkah 23a (R. Gamliel and R. Akiva on board). On R. Gamliel and R. Joshua see the sources mentioned in n. 69 above.

[73] R. Akiva is mentioned as going together with R. Eliezer and R. Joshua to the Sands

Here we shall make no attempt to discuss the total number of such journeys — a question which has been dealt with extensively by many scholars. We shall merely content ourselves with the assertion that the total cannot by any count be reduced to one, or even two. Inter alia, we have the evidence of the special halakhic dispensations granted to the house of R. Gamliel, as against the rest of the Jewish people, "because they maintain close relations with the government"[74] ("government" here denotes not merely the officialdom in Judaea or even the legate of Syria[75] exclusively[76]).

Such trips, normally for political purposes, were by no means unusual. It has been stated above that statesmen and sages of the various provinces, especially from Greece, Asia Minor and the Orient, used to flock to Rome during the first centuries of the Christian Era. Let it suffice to mention here Apollonius of Tyana and Aelius Aristides by way of example. Like them, the Jewish Sages, too, were able, while visiting Rome, to engage in discussion not only with Emperors (in R. Gamliel's time the reference would mainly be to Trajan, or Hadrian in the early years of his reign) and the members of their families. They also spoke with other government officials as well as with philosophers and sages and common people. Obviously it cannot always be determined with any accuracy whether a particular conversation occurred in Rome or in Erez Israel.[76*] What we can, and ought to do, however, is to direct our attention to the topics of the talks.

Among the participants, the *metuentes* and semi-proselytes occupy a position of special importance. A certain *metuens*, an outstanding statesman, apparently a Roman senator, who had happened to meet R. Gamliel, R. Eliezer and R. Joshua helped the Sages and gave away his life in order to save the Jewish people. Only after his death did it become known that he had even been circumcised.[77] A similar incident is related of Keti'a bar

of Antioch when they travelled abroad to obtain support for needy scholars—P. T. Horayot 3.7 (48a) = *Levit. Rabba* v:4 (pp. 110ff.) = *Deut. Rabba* iv:8.

[74] Tosefta Avodah Zarah 3.5.

[75] See Mishnah Eduyot 7.7.

[76] Cf. Berakhot 27b, on R. Eleazar b. Azariah.

[76*] Nevertheless, there are no grounds for Bacher's view, *op. cit.* (n. 26 above), Vol. I, p. 179 that all the dialogues between R. Joshua and Hadrian took place in Palestine or Alexandria only.

[77] *Deut. Rabba* ii:24. This is not the place to deal with the problem of the identity of the historical personality constituting the hero of the episode, and whether there is any connection between this incident and the affair of Flavius Clemens, Domitian's relative (cf. G. Allon, *op. cit.* [n. 34 above], pp. 74–77). The actual existence of such *metuentes*, who often even had themselves circumcised and fully converted to Judaism, is well known both from the remarks of Juvenal and Martialis as well as from the work of contemporaneous historians (especially Suetonius and Tacitus).

Shalom. He also gave away his life to save the Jewish people. Before he was executed, he circumcised himself and bequeathed his possessions to R. Akiva and his associates. The account mentions a certain matron as having encouraged him to circumcise himself before his death.[78] It is well known that there were many women (matrons) among the *metuentes* and proselytes. In their conversations with the Jewish Sages, these women displayed an especially keen interest in the doctrine of reward and punishment. To this group belongs the anonymous matron who asked R. Eliezer whether the single act of worshipping the golden calf justified the threefold punishment meted out in retribution,[79] as well as Veluria, the proselyte, who questioned R. Gamliel on the contradiction between the verses speaking of God's expressed favouritism on the one hand and His impartiality on the other.[80] Another matron inquired of R. Joshua b. Ḥananiah how God could have undertaken to commit robbery, as he had extracted one of Adam's ribs to create Eve.[81] At times, such comments implied personal attacks and also allusions to the miserable state of the Jews. A jibe of this kind was hurled at R. Akiva by a certain eunuch, "an important member of the government".[82] Generally, however, the questions were aimed at eliciting objective information. Philosophers inquired of the "elders in Rome" concerning the attitude of the Holy One, blessed be He, to idolatry.[83] "Romans" requested from R. Joshua Scriptural references "attesting that God would resurrect the dead and had knowledge of future events".[84] These two problems containing the wonder about Divine omnipresence, omniscience and omnipotence, especially engaged the attention of non-Jews. Similarly, a certain prefect asked R. Gamliel where "the Holi[ness]" was located.[84*] The four elders, R. Eliezer, R. Joshua, R. Eleazar b. Azariah and R. Akiva, came to Rome and preached there. A "heretic" taunted them with the question why God Himself failed to observe the Sabbath (a characteristic question which has

[78] Avodah Zarah 10b. On another, similar hero, Ben Kufia, see *Midrash Tehillim* 9.13. Cf. also the story about the philosopher, the friend of the four Sages, who went to the "inner Kingdom" (*Derekh Ereẓ*, Pirqey b. Azzai, 3.2, pp. 183ff.).

[79] P.T. Sotah 3.4, (19a); cf. B.T. Yoma 66b, "A certain woman. . ." (this is the correct reading, in Ms. Oxford and Ms. London, and not "a wise woman". See Rabbinowitz, *Diqduqey Soferim*, Yoma, p. 186).

[80] Rosh Ha-shanah 17b.; cf. Pesiqta Ḥadeta (Jellinek, *Bet Hamidrash*, Vol. VI, p. 61).

[81] *Avot de R. Natan*, B, VIII.

[82] *Eccl. Rabba* x:7 (but cf. also Shabbat 152a).

[83] Mishnah Avodah Zarah 4.7 = Tosefta Avodah Zarah, 6 (7).7 = B.T. Avodah Zarah 54b. This dialogue forms part of a longer discussion between R. Gamliel and a certain philosopher, referred to in n. 54 above.

[84] Sanhedrin 90b.

[84*] L. Ginzberg, *Genizah Studies in Memory of Dr. Schechter*, Vol. I, pp. 222–223.

already been mentioned above).[85] A philosopher addressed a question on the duration of the gestation of the snake to R. Gamliel and R. Joshua.[86]

The most interesting of all these confrontations were the debates between the Emperor and the Jewish Sages. *The* Emperor is, as has been stated above, Trajan or Hadrian (at the beginning of his reign).[87] In the discussions with R. Gamliel, the Emperor raised the problems of the creation of Eve from Adam's body ("your God is a thief"),[88] God's exact place and His acts, His omniscience and His unity,[89] as well as the problem of the physical resurrection of the dead.[90] To these are to be added two more questions that "the wicked Roman government"[90*] asked R. Gamliel — whether "upper or lower face is prettier" and whether there is a master of the universe. All these topics were again typical of their times. Most of them occur also in other contemporaneous conversations, and are all characteristic of the philosophical criticism of Jewish religion and its God. Here there is an attempt to cast doubts on God's ethics, and morals, as well as on His omnipotence, omniscience and omnipresence. There is also doubt of His providential power, and, finally, Scripture itself was cited as allegedly lending support to a dualistic conception. Undoubtedly the Emperor, whoever he might have been, was hardly sufficiently familiar with Scripture to quote passages in support of his arguments. He might even have had no direct knowledge at all

[85] *Exod. Rabba* xxx:9 = L. Ginzberg, *op. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 219–220. A similar question was put to R. Akiva by Tineius Rufus; cf. the sources mentioned above in n. 50.

[86] *Gen. Rabba* xx:4 (pp. 185–186); cf. n. 105 below.

[87] It is difficult to conceive that Domitian should have manifested such an interest in the Jewish Torah on his own. On the other hand, our sources, mainly the non-Jewish ones, note the benevolent attitude towards Jews on the part of Trajan, his wife Plotina, and Hadrian at the beginning of his reign. It should not be forgotten, in this connection, that Hadrian had made it his favorite hobby to engage in conversation with individuals of all types and descriptions. See the source mentioned in n. 3 above; cf., too, *Historia Augusta*, Vita Hadriani XX 2: "Apud Alexandriam in Museo multas quaestiones professoribus proposuit et propositas ipse dissolvit"; *ibid.*, XVI 8: "Licet eos quaestionibus semper agitaverit"; *ibid.*, XX 7: "Fuit memoriae ingentis . . . ad omnia respondit"; cf. *ibid.* XX 11.

[88] Cf. on this question, the conversation between the matron and R. Joshua in the source mentioned above (n. 81).

[89] All five discussions (two of them on the unity of God) are found in Sanhedrin 39a (see Rabbinowitz, *Diqduqey Soferim*, Sanhedrin, pp. 108–109). On the question of where God is located, cf. the source cited in n. 84* above.

[90] Sanhedrin 90b–91a (See Rabbinowitz, *Diqduqey Soferim*, Sanhedrin, p. 250). On this problem and on Divine omniscience, cf. the source mentioned above in n. 84 (the conversation between the Romans and R. Joshua).

[90*] L. Ginzberg, *Ha-Goren* IX (1923), pp. 62–64.

of the Bible (and this view seems almost certainly to be the correct one).[91] Nevertheless, he could have obtained some knowledge of certain biblical topics at second or third hand. It is interesting, too, that the Emperor's own daughter supplied the answers to her father's questions on two occasions.[91*] This fact furnishes striking evidence of the extent to which Jewish ideas had penetrated even within the royal family. That both Trajan and Hadrian were childless is of no consequence. The "daughter of the Emperor" could very well have designated his niece or the like.

Even more enlightening information emerges from Hadrian's (or merely the Emperor's) conversations with R. Joshua b. Ḥananiah. Here is an enumeration of the topics covered in these discussions:

(a) God's essence (the Emperor requesting to see Him, and expressing his desire to arrange a banquet in God's honour).[92]

(b) The Deity and the realm of the angels.[93]

(c) Divine justice (the question why some people are born cripples).[94]

(d) God as Creator and *creatio ex nihilo*;[95] the nature of the world.[96]

(e) With which bodily organ the resurrection of the dead would begin.[97]

(f) The permanent validity of the Law of Moses (the Sabbath).[98]

[91] True, it is said of Hadrian that "libros statim lectos et ignotos quidem plurim memoriter redidit" (*Historia Augusta*, Vita Hadriani XX 11), but that does not affect this case at all.

[91*] So it seems to us following Rashi, Sanhedrin 91a, *s. v.* "*amera*", not like the scholars who explain: the daugther of R. Gamliel.

[92] Ḥullin 59b–60a (the demand to see God occurs twice): *Midrash Avkir*, Devir I (1923), pp. 123–125. For a somewhat similar topic in the conversations of R. Gamliel with the Emperor and a hegemon, see the sources cited above in notes 84*, 89.

[93] *Gen. Rabba* LXXVIII:1 (pp. 916–917) = *Lam. Rabba* iii:23.

[94] *Seder Eliyahu Zuta* 23 (= Pirqey de R. Eliezer 5) [Supplements to *Seder Eliyahu Zuta*, pp. 41–42]—so the Ms. (in the printed editions, it is R. Joshua b. Qorḥa who debates with the Emperor); cf. also the stories in Jellinek, *Bet Hamidrash*, V, p. 132.

[95] *Gen. Rabba* x:3 (pp. 75–76); Ḥullin 60a — another conversation on a similar theme between the "Emperor's daughter" and R. Joshua.

[96] *Gen. Rabba* xiii:9 (p. 118) = *Eccl. Rabba* i:7 (Hadrian with R. Eliezer and R. Joshua); cf. also the dialogue between Aqilas and Hadrian on the existence of the world — P.T. Ḥagigah 2.1 (77a); *Tanḥuma Bereshit* 5; *Tanḥuma* Ms. Cambridge in E.E. Urbach, "Seridey Tanḥuma Yelamedenu", *Kovetz 'Al Yad* NS VI (XVI) [1961], p. 21. In Midrash Temurah, Wertheimer, *Batey Midrashot*, Vol. II, pp. 193–194 — "Royalty" posed a similar question to R. Akiva. On Hadrian's interest in the seas, and in the relation between water and God, see also *Midrash Tehillim*, 93.6; cf. L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, Vol. V, p. 18.

[97] *Gen. Rab ba*xxviii:3 (pp. 261–262) = *Lev. Rabba* xviii:1 (p. 394) = *Eccl. Rabba* xii:5.

[98] *Ruth Rabba* iii:2 = *Eccl. Rabba* ix:4 = *Eccl. Zuta* ix:4 (here the obedience to the precepts of the Torah is contrasted with the obedience to Hadrian's decrees — to the advantage of the former).

(g) The enjoyment of the Sabbath (the odour of the Sabbath dishes).[99]

(h) The election of Israel. "The Emperor Hadrian remarked to R. Joshua: Great is the lamb that can survive amongst seventy wolves. He replied: Great is the Shepherd who rescues it and scatters them before it".[100]

(i) The relation between the commandments given to all peoples and thoses reserved for Israel alone (the last five, as compared with the first five, of the Ten Commandments).[101]

(j) The praise of the Land of Israel (in respect of its agriculture).[102]

(k) Did not the disappearance of the royal house of David and the cessation of the Temple service constitute a breaking of the Divine promises?[103]

(l) Relation between Rome and Parthia.[104]

(m) The duration of the gestation of the snake.[105]

In addition, an account has also been preserved of a verbal exchange between the Emperor's daughter and R. Joshua b. Ḥananiah on his being a great scholar and yet physically ugly ("The glorious Torah in a repulsive vessel").[106] Here, too, an examination of the sources yields the information that the choice of subject was by no means an accident. The discussions possess a special importance, since through them is displayed Hadrian's (or the Emperor's)[106*] interest in the Jewish people, their Torah and their God. And here again the problem of conceiving God as utterly incorporeal reappears — a conception that shocked the entire ancient world.[107]

[99] Shabbat 119a (in a Midrash to Genesis, published by L. Ginzberg, *op. cit.* (n. 70 above), Vol. I, pp. 2–3, the same story is told of Agrippa and his slave). A similar motif, regarding the study of the Torah, appears in a talk between Hadrian and Aqilas — Exod. Rabba xxx:12.

[100] *Esther Rabba* x:11 = *Tanḥuma* Toledot 5 (Cf. also *Midrash Tehillim* 12.1: "Hadrian, may his bones rot, asked: By what merit has this people survived?"). A similar topic occurred between a *min* (heretic) and R. Joshua in the presence of the Emperor, see Ḥagigah 5b; cf. also the source cited in n. 2 above.

[101] *Pesiqta Rabbati* 21 (99a).

[102] *Eccl. Rabba* ii:8.

[103] L. Ginzberg, *op. cit.* (n. 70 above), Vol. I, p. 220 = *Yalqut Ha-Makhiri*, Malachi (ed. Grünhut), p. 17.

[104] Berakhot 56a (the Emperor's nightmare of a defeat by the Persians).

[105] Bekhorot 8b. The identical question was put to R. Gamliel and R. Joshua by a certain philosopher, according to the source cited in n. 86 above.

[106] Ta'anit 7a/b = Nedarim 50b.

[106*] In B.T. and Seder Eliyahu Zuta: "Caesar" (i.e. Emperor); the other sources always explicitly mention: "Hadrian".

[107] Cf., for instance, Tacitus, *Historiae* V 5: "Iudaei mente sola unumque numen intelligunt; profanos, que deum imagines mortalibus materiis in species hominum effingant; summum illud et aeternum neque imitabile." On the demand to see God, see also L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, Vol. V, p. 338; there he has listed all the previous literature on the subject.

Similarly the doctrine of reward and punishment, which preoccupied the attention of those who were at all interested in Judaism, was also widely discussed. Doubts on the possibility of *creatio ex nihilo* and of the resurrection of the dead are also understandable, since such concepts were totally alien to the Greek and Roman mind. It has already previously been stated that the Law of Moses, and especially the Sabbath injunctions, much engaged the thinking of that age. Even more were the Romans struck with astonishment by the fact that the laws promulgated by the Emperor ("cosmocrator") were less punciliously obeyed than the commandments of the Torah (the law of a conquered and subjugated people!). The election of Israel and all the problems and implications — theoretical and practical — entailed in this doctrine, puzzled the Romans, especially in the light of the destruction of the Temple. In this respect, the talks between the Emperor and R. Joshua and the dialogue between Israel and the gentile nations, as postulated by R. Akiva,[108] had no doubt the same background. Finally the terrifying nightmare of a possible Roman defeat at the hands of the Parthians constantly confronted the Romans, especially in the period between Nero and Hadrian.[109] Clearly, there are among the discussions some legendary elements which are not peculiar to Jews alone.[110] Yet there are some which especially befit the personality of Hadrian.[111]

[108] *Mekhilta de R. Ishmael*, Shirah iii, p. 127; cf. what we have written on this in "Persecutions and Martylogy in Hadrian's Days", *Scripta Hierosolymitana* (xxiii; in press), See also Pirqey de Rabbenu Haqadosh, ed. S. Schonblum (*Shelosha Sefarim Niftaḥim* [Lemberg] 1877, 25b–26a), Bava de Arba'a 47. Hadrian confided to his closest associates that the Romans ought to have adopted four Jewish customs (i) Worship of God, (ii) Observance of the Sabbath, (iii) Circumcision and (iv) that Women cover their faces.

[109] See A. Shalit, "The Eastern Policy of the Romans — from Nero to Trajan", *Tarbiz* VII (1936), pp. 159–180 (Hebrew). As for the nightmare of a possible defeat of Rome by Persia, this has been dealt with by J. Gutman in his enlightening article "The Jewish war in the Time of Trajan", in *Sefer Asaf* (Jerusalem, 1953), pp. 149–184 (Hebrew). However, his conclusion, that the Emperor mentioned in the Talmud as having had the dream was Trajan and no one else (*ibid.*, p. 175), need not necessarily be accepted. The defeat of Trajan combined with other disasters in the distant past (the fate of Crassus, for instance) and terrifying visions of future events could quite easily have arisen in Hadrian's imagination. It makes no difference to our study whether the Emperor in question was Trajan or Hadrian. It should, however, be noted, that we have no record of any conversation in which Trajan's name is explicitly mentioned.

[110] Perhaps, the discussion on the ocean and, it need hardly be said, on the duration of the gestation of the snake, especially as elaborated and developed in relationship to the Sages of Athens (Bekhorot 8b–9a).

[111] Cf. also the allusion to the close relationship between R. Joshua and the Emperor, Shabbat 152a. See the account of the incident that occurred in the vicinity of Tiberias involving a certain old man and Hadrian (*Lev. Rabba* xxv:5, pp. 576–579 and the parallel passages [enumerated by Margulies, p. 576]). It has a general folk motif. But the argument of

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Discussions between Sages and Romans did not cease even after the crushing of the Bar Kokhba rebellion. Conversations between the Sages who were apprehended for their participation in the rebellion or because they flouted the decrees of religious persecution and various Roman officials, constitute a separate distinct chapter.[112] After the end of the persecution, however, life once more resumed its normal course. According to one tradition, revocation of the decrees of persecution was obtained through the advice of a Roman matron, whose home was constantly visited by all Roman leaders. She advised R. Judah b. Shammu'a and his friends to organize a nocturnal demonstration.[113]

In the next generation, too, the visits to Rome continued unabated (e.g. the journey of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai).[114] Jews established close ties with Romans, and engaged in discussions with them. At first, however, one becomes conscious of a slight change in tone. Instead of the respect previously shown, the attitude of the Romans turned into one of contempt. So a certain prefect, for instance, exclaimed to R. Meir "You are a despicable people".[115] Personal taunting became more pronounced. A matron jeered at R. Judah b. 'Ilai that he was drunk, or else a usurer, or a pigbreeder.[116] Another matron poked fun at R. Eleazar b. Simeon's and R. Ishmael b. Yose's corpulence and at the behaviour of their wives.[117] Yet a more objective approach is also in evidence. R. Meir emerged the victor in his debates with Roman rulers,[118] and the conversations between a Roman matron and R. Yose b. Ḥalafta are marked by a highly serious interest.

Hadrian's servant is quite characteristic: "All this honour will accrue to this Jewish old man" (*ibid.*, p. 578) — a striking reminder of the observation in *Historia Augusta* XX 1, mentioned previously, in note 3.

[112] The conversations between Tineius Rufus and R. Akiva at the time the latter was questioned and tortured belong here (P.T. Berakhot 9.7 [14b] = P.T. Sotah 5.7 [20c]).

[113] Ta'anit 18a (ed. Malter [New York, 1930], p. 67) = Rosh Hashanah 19a = Scholion to Megillat Ta'anit, 28 Adar (ed. Lichtenstein, *HUCA* VIII–IX [1931–1932], p. 350). Cf. my remarks in my article (cited above [in n. 108]).

[114] See, for example, *Sifre Zuta* 8.2 (p. 255); Yoma 53b; *et al.* R. Eleazar B. R. Jose visited Rome too — Tosefta Kippurim 2(3). 16; Tosefta Niddah 7.1; *et al.*

[115] *Midrash Panim Aḥerim* (on Esther), Version B (ed. Buber, p. 81).

[116] P.T. Shabbat 8.1 (11a) = P.T. Pesaḥim 10.1 (37c) = B.T. Berakhot 55a; cf. Nedarim 49b = *Eccl. Rabba* viii:1.

[117] Bava Meẓi'a 84a.

[118] *Eccl. Rabba* i:9. Yet this account undoubtedly contains a lot of legendary embellishment, and even more so does the incident involving R. Eleazar b. Shammu'a, who aided the survivor of a sunken ship, the latter subsequently becoming Emperor; this account (*Eccl. Rabba* xi:1) also shows signs of later additions.

Her questions revolved round the following topics:

(a) The Jewish God as compared with the snake-god.[119]
(b) The creation.[120]
(c) Providence[121] and Divine justice.[122]
(d) The creation of woman (Eve) by robbing Adam.[123]
(e) Has Enoch never died?[124]
(f) Why did Esau emerge first?[125]
(g) The election of Israel.[126]
(h) Circumcision.[127]
(i) The histories of Jacob and Joseph.[128]

[119] *Exod. Rabba* iii:12. It is not precisely clear who the god of the matron was. The snake symbolised a variety of deities. See, e.g., W.C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods*, Index, *s.v.* "Snake"; J. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of the Greek Religion*, Index, *s.v.* "Snake"; G. Murray, *Five Stages of the Greek Religion* (New York 1955), pp. 17–18.

[120] *Tanḥuma*, ed. Buber, *Bereishit* 2.

[121] *Gen. Rabba* lxviii:4 (pp. 771–773) = *Lev. Rabba* viii:1 (pp. 164–167) = *Pesiqta de R. Kahana* 2 (Ki Tissa). 4 (pp. 18–19) = *Midrash Samuel* 5.13 = *Tanḥuma*, ed. Buber, Be-midbar 18 = *ibid.*, Mattot 9 = *Tanḥuma* Be-midbar 16 = *Tanḥuma* Mattot 6 = *Num. Rabba* iii:6 = *Num. Rabba* xxii:8 = *Tanḥuma* Vayishlaḥ 10 = *Tanḥuma* ki Tissa 5.

[122] *Gen. Rabba* iv:6 (p. 30) [discrimination against certain Days of Creation]; *Pesiqta Rabbati* 22 (110b) [discrimination against certain letters of the alphabet]; *Eccl. Rabba* i:7 = *Eccl. Zuta* i:7 = *Tanḥuma*, ed. Buber, Miqqetz 9 = *Tanḥuma* Vayaqhel 2 (the uneven distribution of wisdom); *Num. Rabba* iii:2 = *Midrash Samuel* 8.2 (favouritism towards certain of the tribes); *Eccl. Rabba* iii:21 (reward and punishment in the world to come); *Lev. Rabba* xxviii:6 (p. 662) = *Pesiqta de R. Kahana* 8.3 (p. 143) = *Pesiqta Rabbati* 18 (93a) [the suffering of Ezekiel as compared with his servants.]

[123] *Gen. Rabba* xvii:7 (p. 158) [See the sources mentioned above in notes 81, 89, for similar questions addressed to R. Joshua and R. Gamliel. R. Yose's answers more closely resemble those of R. Joshua.]

[124] *Gen. Rabba* xxv:1 (p. 239).

[125] *Gen. Rabba* lxiii:8 (p. 688).

[126] *Tanḥuma*, ed. Buber, Bereishit 20; *Midrash Tanna'im* (from *Midrash Ha-Gadol*) XXVI 19 (p. 262).

[127] *Pesiqta Rabbati* 23 (117a). On a similar question addressed to R. Akiva by Tineius Rufus, see the source cited in n. 52 above. A similar question was addressed by Aqilas, the proselyte, to R. Eliezer (*Pesiqta Rabbati*, *ibid.*, 11b–117a), as well as by King Agrippa to R. Eliezer (*Tanḥuma*, Lekh-lekha 20; *Aggadat Bereshit*, 17). [The reference here is obviously to Agrippa II]. Hence it is evident that this question also troubled Jews. Interestingly, however, R. Yose's answer to the Roman matron is altogether different from the answers given in all other instances. Possibly, he wished to indicate thereby that a Jewish-Christian who observed the Sabbath, and yet remained uncircumcised, was acting improperly.

[128] *Gen. Rabba* lxxxiv:21 (p. 1027) [Why was Judah comforted after the deaths of members of his family, while Jacob could not be comforted for the death of Joseph?]; *ibid.*, lxxxvii:6 (pp. 1070–1071). [Is it possible that Joseph really suppressed his desire for Potiphar's wife?]

Certainly, all these conversations could hardly have occurred within a single, short span of time. In one — the discussion of the snake-god — the matron adopted a conspicuously idolatrous standpoint. In others, a genuine interest is manifested in the Torah of the Jews, as well as in the Jewish people and God, yet Christian and Gnostic overtones are partially discernible as well. Dualistic, Gnostic influence could have evoked the questions on the gradual creation of the world over a period of six days, the relation between the election of Israel and the existence of the world, and also the various questions about the persisting discrimination, as it were, in God's creation. Even the doubting of the Biblical descriptions of the personalities of Jacob and Joseph are characteristic of "Bible criticism" of the Gnostic genre. Apparently, Esau's prior emergence also belongs in this category.[128*] Christian influence, however, is quite transparent in the question relating to Enoch,[129] since his never having died, as it were, furnished a prototype for Jesus. The same may be true of the question about circumcision (and this explains the specific answer given by R. Yose to the matron).[130] Nor is the Skeptic-Epicurean attitude altogether absent. This accounts for the matron's query: "And with what has He been occupying Himself since that hour?"[131] — i.e. what is the function of God in the world after the conclusion of the six days of creation? There can be no doubt that this question conveys disbelief in Divine providence and God's intervention in the conduct of the world, a typical Epicurean concept.

What is to be elicited from all these questions? Apparently, we have here a matron whose religious problems and doubts are characteristic of the second century C.E., the epoch, when, what Gilbert Murray has termed "the Failure of Nerve", reached its climax. This was the period when the world was pervaded by "superstition and foolish terror",[132] and when men

[128*] It is doubtful whether Esau here is a cognomen for Rome. The question requires further study.

[129] On the significance accorded to Enoch's personality since the emergence of Christianity, see L. Ginzberg, *Legends*, Vol. V, pp. 156–157; cf. E.E. Urbach, *Encyclopaedia Ivrit*, Vol. XVII, *s.v.* "*Ḥanokh*", pp. 694–695. Certain specific aspects of the problem are dealt with, *inter alia*, by V. Aptowitzer, *Kain und Abel in der Agada* (Vienna 1922); L. Jung, *Fallen Angels in Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan Literature* (Philadelphia 1926). The whole topic, however, still awaits a basic and comprehensive study.

[130] See n. 127 above.

[131] In the sources listed in n. 121 above.

[132] Gilbert Murray, *op. cit.* (n. 119 above), p. 162. A most enlightening description of the religious situation in the Roman Empire during the middle of the second century C.E. is provided by the last chapter of F. Cumont's *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*[2] (1909). Cf. also the fourth part of S. Dill's *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, and the chapter on oriental religions in J. Carcopino, *La vie quotidienne à Rome* (1939).

were at the mercy of diverse currents and winds streaming and blowing from all directions. It is not within the scope of our study to determine whether R. Yose's "matron" was always the same person. Nor is it important to discover whether such a woman really existed. For, even, if she were but the result of creative fiction, she would still be an authentic reflection of what was occurring in actuality. Nurtured apparently on Hellenistic and Roman paganism, this matron manifested doubt in her faith and went about seeking a new faith. Her searching steered her towards both philosophy (mainly Epicurean) and the oriental religions, including Gnosticism and Christianity, and even Judaism. Since it is difficult to arrange these discussions in chronological order, we cannot discover what fate finally overtook her. But in the light of the comparatively large number of these talks it might be possible to draw some lines of her spiritual image. Her interest in Judaism was certainly at first inspired by second or third-hand information. It is highly doubtful whether she ever studied Hebrew, or had read the Bible or even the Pentateuch by itself — even in one of the Greek translations (LXX, Aqilas).[133] She was familiar with the Bible narratives and their heroes, apparently, from the sermons preached in study houses and synagogues, and from discussions with Jews (as well as with Christians and Gnostics). At all events, in a certain period of her life, apparently, she was on the verge of converting to Judaism. It is told of her that

> . . . once R. Yose was sitting in the market place and a certain matron came and sat on his right hand and her husband came and sat on his left. She said to him: Master, happy are you that I will be your foster mother in the world to come and my husband your foster father. He said to her: My daughter, why did you see fit to say this? She said to him: because your Scripture says: *And kings will be your foster fathers.* R. Yose tried to silence her and steer the conversation to other channels. She said to him: Master, why are you silencing me? You have another verse: *Thus says the Lord, the Redeemer of Israel, his Holy One, to him who is despised of man . . . kings shall see and arise, princes and they shall prostrate themselves.* If this will be fulfilled for you now, happy are you; and if in the future to come, happy are you. Happy are you for what is said to you, amongst you, and about you. R. Yose prefaced his remarks by saying: *In the multitude of my thoughts. . .* Even though the peoples of the world oppress us and subjugate us, and enforce their dominion over us, we are reminded of the consolations You have written down for us and we delight in them. . .[134]

[133] Possible proof of her ignorance of the sources is the fact that when "she asked R. Yose: Is it possible that Joseph, beeing seventeen years old, in the midst of the flush of his youth, would act like he did?!; he took out the Book of Genesis and began to read to her the stories of Reuben and Judah" (*Gen. Rabba* LXXXVII:6; pp. 1070–1071.) It follows from here that these incidents were as yet unknown to her! Furthermore, R. Yose did not read the Bible "with" her but "to" her.

[134] *Midrash Tanna'im* (from *Midrash Ha-Gadol*) XXVI 19 (p. 262). R. Yose's attempt to

As we have stated, it is not clear whether this woman actually did convert to Judaism or not. There were individual Romans, however, even at that age, who did become Jews. Such a type was Arius, who also addressed detailed questions to R. Yose and the Sages both in the area of Aggadah[135] and of Halakhah.[136]

In the next generation, too, once relations between Jews and Romans had again improved, the discussions continued. Of the conversations of those days, the exchanges between Rabbi Judah the Patriarch and Antoninus achieved special prominence. This affair requires separate and detailed treatment. Here we shall content ourselves with noting that, even in this period, the overall picture that emerges from an analysis of the sources does not differ appreciably from that of previous generations. Not many years after the death of R. Judah, however, at the commencement of the Amoraic period, when anarchy predominated in the Roman Empire, conditions changed. During the long period in which Judaism was downtrodden, despised and degraded, the phenomenon of dialogues between Jewish Sages and Roman leaders almost ceased to exist.

VI

The investigation of the dialogues between the Jewish Sages and Roman dignitaries found in talmudic and midrashic literature leads us to the conclusion that Tarn's[137] appraisal of the nature of the dialogues in Hellenistic literature does not generally apply to the discussions recorded in rabbinic sources. True, even this literature contains dialogues, here and there, that are mere literary stereotypes and in which the names of the participants make hardly any difference.[138] Yet, in so far as the total phenomenon is concerned, the situation is altogether different. A scrupulous examination of each and every topic discussed reveals that its choise was by no means accidental. Nor do the subjects constitute part of a general

silence the matron is explained by the conditions prevailing at the time. The incident occurred in the market place, in public. The woman's remarks might well have been taken for anti-government incitement and even sedition. R. Yose's personal experience (cf., e.g., Shabbat 33b), and the general situation in Sepphoris and Galilee in the generation after the promulgation of the decrees of persecution impelled him to stop her for fear of being reported to the government (he might even have suspected her of deliberate provocation).

135 *Sifre*, Deut. 13 (p. 22).

136 Tosefta Bava Meẓi'a 3.11. This question, which manifests expert knowledge of the halakhah on the part of the inquirer proves, that he was a Jew.

137 See n. 4 above.

138 Such as parts of the dialogues between Alexander the Great and the Sages.

"Wisdom literature". If we exclude a few general subjects,[139] which are indeed a tiny minority, the topics of the discussions and debates are most appropriately suited to the participants, as we know them, and their times. Admittedly, the literary aspect of the problem should not be ignored. Yet it seems that the chief importance of the dialogues does not lie in the area of philological or literary research. The examination of the significance of the discussions between Sages and Roman dignitaries furnishes us with a chapter of prime importance and interest in the domain of social history and the history of ideas, of the period of the Mishnah.

[139] Such as the "duration of the gestation of the snake".

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PAUL ÅSTRÖMS FÖRLAG

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THE NATURE AND CONTROL OF MINOAN FOREIGN TRADE

Malcolm H. Wiener

For Sinclair and Rachel Hood

THE PREPALATIAL BACKGROUND

Trade (along with many other activities) has been called the world's second oldest profession, and indeed the eagerness with which five-year-olds trade objects might suggest that trade is the oldest. In archaeological time also, trade can claim great antiquity as suggested by the appearance of Melian obsidian at various places, including inland sites on the Greek mainland beginning with the Paleolithic period (Perlès 1989;*c.f.*Torrence 1986).

On Crete EMII witnesses a great expansion of trade horizons, with the appearance of imports including gold, a silver seal, faience, ivory, and Egyptian stone vases on the islands. The contemporaneous burials at Mochlos give evidence for the first time of significant social stratification (Soles 1988, 49-61). From a tomb at Mochlos with EMIIA to EMIII material comes a bronze dagger of Cretan type (Branigan 1967, 214-215, Note 44), with a tin content of 4.8% (Herakleion Museum, HM 1560), suggesting the importation of tin to supply Cretan metalsmiths at this period. The first ostrich egg known in Crete, from a tomb at Palaikastro, also comes from this horizon (Dawkins 1903-1904, 192-231). Trade links to the north at this time are indicated by the probable Kythnian origin of the copper from which Minoan figurines and daggers found in Mesara tholoi are made (Stos-Gale 1989, 279-292), and by sherds from EH/ECII sauceboats from good EMII contexts (Wilson, D. E. 1985, 358-359).

THE MINIMALIST VIEW OF TRADE AND THE PROBLEMS OF INFERENCE FROM EVIDENCE

Does the limited evidence of overseas contact from the prepalatial period provide support for the minimalist view of trade advocated at this Symposium by Snodgrass and Catling? Or does the evidence cited merely hint at the true extent of trade, given the accidents of recovery and the possibility of trade in perishables leaving no trace? Of course even occasional cross-cultural exchanges between rulers could have had major consequences, such as the acquisition of knowledge of metallurgy and writing (particularly if the exchange involved gifts of artisans, a practice well-attested in Near Eastern texts). But was Bronze Age long-distance trade as limited in extent and nature as the minimalists suggest?

Three contrary arguments in particular seem worth noting. First, trade would always have consisted in large part of goods which leave no trace. The tale of the mid-11th century B.C. voyage of Wenamun, who travelled from Egypt to Byblos to purchase timber in exchange for significant quantities of linen garments, papyrus, ox hides, ropes, lentils and fish, plus gold and silver, is an excellent example of trade without a trace (Pernigotti 1988, 267-268; Dothan 1981, 4-5; Van Seters 1979, 37; Lichtheim 1976, 224-230; Gardiner 1961, 306-313). When the nature of trade goods can be determined from their containers the result is sometimes a surprise, as in the early Chalcolithic period in the western Mediterranean where, in the first half of the third millennium, Malta imported significant quantities of ochre from Sicily for use in funerary and other rituals (Maniscalco 1989, 541).

Second, harbour sites are particularly subject to loss through change of shoreline or reoccupation. Much of our knowledge of

prepalatial Minoan contacts with Egypt or the Near East comes from the island of Mochlos, which in Minoan times is thought to have been part of a peninsula. Detachment as an island here acted as a partial deterrent to post-Roman reoccupation or cultivation, thus protecting the tombs from discovery and looting. (Our other major source of evidence for overseas contact in the prepalatial period is Knossos, where the levelling of the hill, first perhaps before the construction of the Old Palace and again after the MMIIA destruction, scattered much of the evidence of earlier occupation.)

Third, the archaeological record tends in particular to preserve a deceptively small proportion of the metal in use at any time, since metal is always subject to melting and reuse. An illustration of the phenomenon is the contrast between the evidence for the existence of armour in the 11th century A.D. provided by the Bayeux tapestry on the one hand, and by the archaeological record on the other. In the tapestry, senior ranks on both sides wear iron-link tunics, but no Norman and only one Anglo-Saxon piece of the period survives (Wilson, D. M. 1985, 221). In the 17th century A.D., a silver brazier, or *brasero*, was a frequent item of equipment in upper class houses in Spain and France, but due probably to the large amount of silver these objects contained practically none have survived (Gruber 1982, 232). Similarly, Egyptian New Kingdom tomb paintings and temple reliefs depict a great number of copper ingots, but only one has ever been found in Egypt. The Annals of Tuthmosis III carved on his temple at Karnak record as booty 52 silver jars of Canaanite shape (Wrezinski 1923, Plates 33A and B, Item 100), but who has ever seen a Canaanite jar in silver? Few of the gold vessels depicted in the annals or in Egyptian tombs survive either (Lilyquist 1988, 39). The Kas ship-wreck disclosed ingots of tin and glass, otherwise unknown (except for some tin ingots from another shipwreck off Haifa), and an enormous number of copper ingots (Bass 1986). Near Eastern archives from Ebla, Mari and the Assyrian trading colony at Kültepe list great amounts of metal, practically none of which was found in the excavations. The paucity of bronze in LH-LMIIIB habitation sites and tombs led some scholars to suspect a IIIB bronze shortage, but the Pylos tablets suggest a total of about 400 bronzesmiths (Chadwick 1976, 141). The existence of this number of bronzesmiths in the territory of Pylos is surely of some significance, even if most receive only a small allotment of bronze and some none on the tablets in question.[1]

On balance, it would appear that the risk of underestimation of the amount and societal impact of long-distance trade in the Bronze Age is at least as great as the risk of over-estimation.

Snodgrass in his paper argues that trade by one definition - "movement of goods without knowledge of a further purchaser" - did not exist to any extent in the Aegean Bronze Age. Markets, he believes, were marginal and the concept of profit absent. Snodgrass envisages, instead, a process of ceremonial gift exchange between rulers involving high value, low bulk prestige items, accompanied by negotiated exchange of high bulk necessities and the systematic redistribution of these within Aegean communities. To this view certain objections may be raised. First, as Snodgrass notes, trade by any definition clearly flourished in the Near East in the Bronze Age. The principal function of the Assyrian trading colonies in Anatolia was the generation of profits for state institutions and private investors in Assyria. (See, *e.g.*, the papers by Garelli, Larsen and Veenhof in Hawkins (ed.), **Trade in the Ancient Near East** 1977; Adams 1974; and Veenhof 1972.) And the injunction contained in one letter -

"Sell at any price" - surely speaks the language of markets (Veenhof 1972, 88).

In any event, it is the effect of long-distance, cross-cultural trade that matters, rather than the purported intent. If, pursuant to a carefully negotiated agreement the Pharaoh sends a gift of a thousand Egyptian stone vases filled with unguents to the King of Babylon in exchange for other goods (Moran 1987, 99-100; Knudtzon 1915, 118), and some of the vases are distributed within Babylon while others are exchanged elsewhere, then the result in fact is trade. Conversely, a ceremonial gift exchange relationship between rulers, even one maintained despite the availability of equivalent supplies at lower cost elsewhere, need not necessarily constitute "archaic" non-profit-maximizing behaviour, when viewed in the long run. A rational purchaser may elect to maintain a long-term relationship with a higher-cost supplier in order to insure access to a critical resource (such as metal in the Bronze Age) while satisfying any increase in demand from a lower-cost source. It is appropriate at this point to recall the adage: "Markets [*i.e.*, prices] are made at the margin". It would be surprising if Minoan trading ventures did not seek out the lowest cost source of metals and other goods from time to time. Moreover, royal emissaries/merchants throughout history have traded on their own account in the course of their missions, as in the case of the merchant ambassadors of Zimri-Lim of Mari in the 18th century B.C., some of whom used the occasion of royal journeys to make private purchases for future sales (Sasson 1984, 248). As Adams observes, "The analytical separation between 'administered' and 'market' trade may, in other words, lack a cognitive or behavioural equivalent" (Adams 1974, 239).

While distinctions between "market" and "administered" trade, or between "trade" and "exchange", do not seem particularly fruitful, the question of the role of the state in comparison with the role of other entities and of individuals in long-distance, cross-cultural trade appears of critical importance for our understanding of the governance and economy of Crete and the development of Minoan civilization.[2]

Minoan Overseas Trade in the Old Palace Period

What, then, was the nature and structure of Minoan overseas trade in the Old Palace period? In a 1984 symposium Alexiou (1987), Kopcke (1987) and Wiener (1987) argued for a strong palatial role in this trade, the last named emphasizing the need of the palaces to insure access to supplies of copper and tin, or bronze. This paper expands on that discussion, then considers the current state of the evidence regarding the control of Crete in general (including overseas trade) in the Old Palace period, and ends with a brief postscript on the control of foreign trade during the New Palace period.

Bronze, of course, was of critical importance for weapons, for tools to build palaces and ships, and for prestige objects - that is to say, bronze was of critical importance to the security, economy and prestige of the palaces. Above all, the palaces would have wished to insure and control the supply of weapons in troubled times. (A discussion of evidence for warfare in protopalatial Crete appears below.) Accordingly it seems inconceivable that Minoan rulers would simply have waited passively, hoping for a Near Eastern merchantman to arrive with copper and tin. Rather, it seems likely that copper and tin would have been the object of intensive search, planning and investment by the controlling elite.

Middle Bronze IB to II was a time of intensive trade, including trade in metals, in the Near East. From the approximately 5% of the Karum Kanesh tablets published to

date, we know already of 110 donkey loads carrying 13,500 kilos, or almost 15 tons, of tin into Anatolia, enough to produce (assuming a 5%-7% tin content) 200 to 300 tons of bronze. Adams in his analysis of Near Eastern trade observes that the amount involved seems considerably in excess of local needs, and accordingly suggests that the tin was alloyed with copper in Anatolia and the resulting bronze shipped elsewhere (Adams 1974, 239). One tablet from the palace at Mari on the Euphrates records over 500 kg of tin in the palace inventory, or enough for 8 to 10.5 tons of bronze. The tablet shows that the tin came to Mari from the direction of Iran and went to many places including Aleppo, Hazor and Ugarit, where two resident and probably Mariote tin merchants are mentioned. If "Kaptara" was indeed Crete, as is generally believed, then the connection of Crete to this tin route is established by a reference in the same text to tin destined for a man from Kaptara and an interpreter resident in Ugarit (who is to be paid in tin for his services). Other Mari tablets refer to a Kaptarite inlaid metal weapon, and to Zimri-Lim of Mari sending goods from Kaptara to Hammurabi of Babylon - an example, perhaps, of "down the line palatial gift exchange" (Villard 1984, 528-529, number 556; Kupper 1973, 8-22; Malamat 1971, 31; Dossin 1952, 3, 37 [Letter 20] and 1970, 97).

The existence of an interpreter suggests regular contact, trade beyond the scope of sign language or a tourist shopping vocabulary, and an increased likelihood of exchange of significant knowl-edge and stimuli between Crete and the Near East during the Old Palace period. Judith Weingarten has recently argued that the first complex administrative system of Crete for which we have evidence, that of the palace at Phaistos in MMII, shares certain specific characteristics with the system in use at Karahöyük in Anatolia, such as the use of multiple sealings and seals which are extremely similar but not identical, as well as a few specific design motifs previously noted by Levi. Weingarten notes that Near Eastern specialists have only recently begun to study sealings with respect to their function in administrative systems, but believes on present evidence that the Minoan system was imported in its entirety from somewhere abroad, probably coincident with the foundation of the first palaces in Crete (Weingarten 1990, 105-106).

Ports along the coasts of Anatolia and Syria were obvious destinations for Middle Minoan voyagers seeking tin or bronze. Accordingly it is not surprising that Middle Minoan pottery (including open shapes which could not have served as containers for Minoan exports), much of it said to be MMII in date, has been found along an island chain including Kasos, Karpathos, Rhodes, Kos, Chalki, Kalymnos, Telos, Nisyros, Asty-palaea and Samos, and that Middle Minoan stone bowls have been found on Samos and Rhodes, with the latter producing evidence of local manufacture of stone bowls of Minoan type as well. MMII sherds are also known from the Anatolian coastal sites of Miletus, Iasos and Knidos (Wiener 1984, 17-25 and forthcoming). Conversely, pieces of obsid-ian, linked through trace element analysis to the Çiftlik source in southern Anatolia (near mines identified by Yener as potential sources of silver and other metals in the Bronze Age), have been found at Knossos (Renfrew, Cann & Dixon 1965, 225-247; Yener, Özbal, Minzoni-Deroche & Aksoy 1989, 477-494; Yener, Sayer, Özbal, Joel, Barnes & Brill, forthcoming). Cypriöt sherds have been recovered from a MMIB context at Kommos (Watrous 1985, 12), and Minoan pottery from the beginning of the Old Palace period has been found at Lapithos and Karmi on the north coast of Cyprus.

In the foregoing discussion emphasis is

placed on the necessity of obtaining bronze because of the active Minoan maritime role which such a need implies. Minoan imports were of course not limited to bronze. Gold, silver, ivory and various types of stone arrived, the last in the form of Egyptian vases which were then reworked into Minoan forms (Platon 1971, 137-138) and in the form of raw material. Yule (1981, 199) catalogued 135 seals made from six different Near Eastern stones found in Crete and belonging to the MMII-III horizon; Branigan (forthcoming) calculates that at least 15% of all known Cretan Old Palace seals were made from Near Eastern stones. Lead, probably from Laurion, was imported for rivets and plugs and for linings such as those used to waterproof the cists in the West Magazines of the Palace of Knossos. It is reasonable to assume a palatial interest and role in such imports.

Minoan exports, in addition to Kamares ware pottery, may have included wood, oil (possibly perfumed), woollen cloth and agricultural products (including wine and medicinal herbs). The annals of Tuthmosis III speak of ships of the Keftiu in Levantine ports laden with poles, masts and great trees destined for Egypt (Breasted 1962, 206). An Akkadian type of wood (thought to be poplar or willow) is called "Kaptura", a term believed to mean "Crete" or "Cretan" (Astour 1973, 22). Both elm and willow are recorded later in the Linear B tablets from Knossos (assuming no shift in the names of various woods between Linear B and Classical Greek) with willow mentioned frequently as the material of which chariot wheels are made (Ventris & Chadwick 1973, 370-373; I am grateful to T. Palaima for this reference.). In the 5th century B.C. Crete exported cypress wood; in the 16th century A.D. travellers reported the Samaria Gorge in western Crete was the chief source of cypress in the Venetian Empire (Nixon, Moody & Rackham 1988, 168-169). The proximity to forests may account in part for the location and significance of the Old Palace site of Monastiraki, considered below, and the New Palace site of Zominthos. An Egyptian tomb of the 18th Dynasty depicts Keftiu bearing folded cloth (Kantor 1947, 58). Linear A tablets from Ayia Triadha indicate that it was a centre of wool production in LMIB (Palaima 1990, 94-95). From the Knossian Linear B tablets we know that wool production was a major element of the Minoan economy at that time (Killen 1964, 1-15). A Mari tablet (ARMT 21 342:4-12) records clothing and a pair of leather shoes from Kaptara (Sasson 1985, 451). Egyptian texts of the early 18th dynasty refer to the importation of medicinal herbs and of lichens for embalming fluid from Keftiu, the Egyptian term generally thought to mean Crete (Sakellarakis 1984, 197-203). Egypt was no doubt a ready market for wood, olive oil and wine, all of which it lacked. (In the 18th century A.D. Crete exported wood, olive oil, woollen cloth, wine, herbs and currants to Europe [Cadogan 1976, 16]).

Long-distance trade with the eastern Mediterranean and Egypt would have required the following: first, ships suitable for long voyages, which could have served as well for attacking pirate lairs, together with ships' crews and provisions, plus shipyards and shipwrights; second, goods for exchange, in some cases of a kind sufficient to interest foreign rulers; third, establishment of relations with foreign courts and ports; and fourth, a chain of safe harbours, such as those noted, on the route to the metal sources. While there may have been periods of maritime security and partial suppression of piracy in the eastern Mediterranean, stemming perhaps from *entente* among the great powers during which maritime rights were respected (Sasson 1966, 138; Revere 1957, 38-63), when a single private merchantman carrying goods of high value

could have embarked on a long voyage, numerous Late Bronze Age Near Eastern and Egyptian texts indicate that naval attacks and piracy were endemic at times (Portugali & Knapp 1985, 66 and sources cited therein). There are numerous references also to fleets of ships in Egyptian and Near Eastern records.[3] While there is no reason to assume that long-distance overseas trade was the exclusive prerogative and domain of the palaces in Middle Minoan Crete, it seems highly probable that the palaces provided the critical incentive, investment and infra-structure required.

This view, however, has been challenged by Branigan, who argues that the frequent appearance in Cretan non-palatial contexts of Egyptian scarabs, Near Eastern cylinder seals, Syrian daggers, Egyptian stone bowls, and objects made of bronze strongly suggests a limited palatial role in the overseas trade of the Old Palace period (Branigan 1989, 65-71 and forthcoming).[4] The argument appears unpersuasive for the following reasons. (1) The scarabs may simply have been the tourist trinkets and trading tokens of mariners; the scarabs from the Kas shipwreck off the coast of Anatolia of about 1300 B.C. seem to be mostly bric-a-brac or heirlooms covering a period of over 200 years, and Phoenician and Classical scarabs have been found as far afield as Britain and Scandinavia. (2) Cylinder seals travel in a similar manner; specimens of Collon's Green Jasper Group have been found in a MMIII-LMI tomb in Crete, in a much later context at Kition, and even at Carthage (1986, 62-63). Moreover, there is no evidence that Near Eastern cylinders were ever used as seals in Crete. In any event, only three of the seven cylinder seals cited by Branigan come from non-palatial contexts, and those three come from tholos tombs in the Mesara. While it is conceivable that some members of the palatial elite may have elected to be buried in long-established family or clan tholoi, these Mesara tombs are not generally thought to be the burial places of the palatial elite, unlike Tholos B at Arkhanes which may well have held the remains of a palatial elite. What may be a royal burial enclosure at Chryso-lakkos was thoroughly looted, so we have no palatial analogue to the Mesara tholoi to indicate how many seals a royal tomb contained. (3) Three of the five Syrian daggers with tangs also come from Mesara tholoi as does one Syrian dagger of another type (Koumasa tholos); the other two come from sacred caves in the Lasithi Plain, where the rich deposits may have included palatial offerings. Finally, the tang from what may be a Syrian dagger was found at Knossos (Branigan 1970, 182 and personal communication. I am most grateful to K. Branigan for his comments and assistance, given generously notwithstanding our differing views on the question at issue.). (4) As to the Egyptian stone vases, of the twelve prepalatial examples six come from palatial contexts and five of the remaining six, listed as non-palatial by Branigan, come (as he notes) from a deposit immediately adjacent to the NW corner of the Palace at Knossos, an area within the outer enceinte wall of the Old Palace. (5) Branigan also notes 92 bronze objects appearing outside the palaces versus 14 within during MMI-II, but observes that these figures are difficult to assess accurately because of incomplete publication, variation in quantity of raw material used for individual objects, and other reasons. In addition to these caveats, we should note that different parties may be responsible for importing metals on the one hand and production of implements on the other; a smith in a town, for example, may receive copper and tin from a palace and manufacture implements for his locality and local cult as well as status objects for the palace and palatial shrines. Such extra-palatial issuance of metal is documented at the end of the Bronze Age in the Pylos tablets. Moreover, the comparison once again is between non-

palatial tombs and palatial habitation sites; bronze from the latter was of course usually recovered and reused. The frequent disappearance of metal from the archae-ological record was noted above. Our fortuitous knowledge of the great amounts of bronze present in Crete in the neopalatial period comes from (1) the LMIB destructions and (in some cases) abandonments, (2) the bronze hoards buried in evident anticipation of them (Georgiou 1979), (3) the Arkalochori Cave deposit, discovered as it was being looted, and (4) the Minoan bronze swords and vases preserved in the Shaft Graves of Mycenae. Equivalent information is lacking for the Old Palace period. Thus we are at risk of underestimating the amount of bronze available then, although the total amount was obviously less than in the New Palace period when Crete appears to have been extremely rich in bronze.

If we examine items of trade or trade-related gift exchange likely to have been of great interest to the palatial elite, including objects dependent upon imports of metal, a pattern of distribution different from that suggested by Branigan may be observed. For example, the palace at Malia contained great swords of likely MMII date. Sandars has described the largest of the swords as "a weapon of unsurpassed size and considerable magnificence", and noted that "the armourers of Egypt and the Levant could produce nothing to compare with them" (Sandars 1961, 17-29 and 1963, 117). While these swords were of course ceremonial, surely their manufacture was based upon a tradition of functional sword production. Such swords constituted a major advance in military technology, at least in their *in terrorem* aspect, and hence would have been of vital interest to the palaces. Branigan observes that the luxurious and exotic nature of the gold pommel of one of the Malia swords, which depicts a backward-bending acrobat with what Branigan describes as African hair, is indicative of a strong palatial interest in foreign trade. From an area at the northwest fringe of the palace of Malia came carved steatite molds for casting axes and blades, associated with a redeposited fill of MMI to II material. A metallurgical installation of the Old Palace period was discovered in the same area, adjacent to the northern wall of the later palace (Pelon 1987a, 269-271).[5] A controlling palatial role in metallurgy, and in sword production in particular, seems likely in view of the foregoing considerations. Indeed, the number of destructions (discussed below) probably attributable to warfare in MMII-IIIA suggests the possibility that an "arms race" may have been partly responsible for an intensive effort to acquire copper and tin, or bronze.

In addition to ships, shipyards and armed men at times to battle pirates, long-distance trade voyages to obtain metal and luxury items required that goods desired abroad be provided for exchange. If one accepts the equation of Kaptara and Crete, then the Mari texts concerning inlaid metal objects from Kaptara, and the Kaptarite (as well as Egyptian) origin sometimes ascribed to the god of crafts at Mari, suggest the palatial nature of some of the goods exchanged. (That rulers may have exchanged luxurious cere-monial and prestige objects as gifts, and that such exchanges facilitated trade relationships between states, does not necessarily imply, however, that trade consisted solely or largely of such exchanges.)

The creation of the first palaces in Crete sees the concentration of craft production, with palatial workshops combining various crafts (MacGillivray 1987, 277). Other workshops located near the palaces but outside their walls may also have been under palatial control. The concentration of agricultural surpluses in the Old Palaces is indicated by the textual evidence (Palaima 1990, 91-92)

and by the significant storage capacity of the koulouras (underground storage silos). At Knossos the three koulouras in the West Court alone could hold sufficient grain to feed 800 people for a year, and at Phaistos the West Court koulouras could feed 300 people for a year.[6] The concentration of administration in the early palaces is shown by the more than 6,500 nodules or seal impressions, plus tablets and other inscribed items, from one room at the palace at Phaistos. The recording of goods in and out was obviously of great interest to the palace.[7] It would be surprising in this context if the palaces did not also play a predominant role in the organization of long-distance trading ventures.[8]

The non-textual archaeological evidence for Minoan exports in the Old Palace period consists principally of stone bowls and Kamares ware vessels. There is evidence for stoneworking in basement rooms LI-LV of the Old Palace at Phaistos (Branigan, forthcoming). Fine palatial Kamares in Crete is found almost exclusively in the palaces and in peak sanctuaries and caves connected with the palaces, and it is largely this Kamares ware which appears abroad. The exception to this rule is the east Cretan ware which appears occasionally in Egypt, and whose presence abroad may be due to the role of Palaikastro as a port (MacGillivray & Driessen, forthcoming), as well as one jug found at Aswan which, if not from Palaikastro, may come from Malia (Cadogan 1983, 516). Of course the total number of Kamares ware sherds now known from the Near East and Egypt may represent no more than 50 vases, but other such sherds may await publication, as in the case noted. More significant in terms of control of foreign trade is the fact that palatial Kamares ware has not been found or imitated in the hinterlands of the Minoan palaces (Walberg 1987, 284) but appears frequently and is sufficiently known to be imitated locally at ports in east Crete, sites along the coast of mainland Greece, the Cyclades, the Near East (where it is copied in Ugarit and appears as far inland as Qatna in Syria) and in Egypt as far up the Nile as Abydos (Schaeffer 1939, 22, 54-56 and 1949, 51, Figure 109A and Plate 38; Saltz 1977, 51-70; Kantor 1947, 19; Betancourt 1984, 90-92; Cadogan 1983, 512-518; Kemp & Merrillees 1980, 1-3, Plate 1, 200-201, Figures 59-60, Colour Plate opposite 176; Wiener 1984, 18 and 1987, 262, Note 9).

Perhaps the metal prototypes on which Kamares ware appears based (Evans 1921, 242-245; Walberg 1976, 34-39), and which may have been made in the same palatial workshops (MacGillivray 1987, 277), were prized in the East. Tablets from Mari refer to bronze vessels and pincers from Kaptaru. In Quartier Mu at Malia a clay mould which had been formed over a metal bowl generally similar to the silver bowls from the Tôd Treasure has been recovered (Detournay, Poursat & Vandenabeele 1980, 89; Poursat 1984, 87). Of course if the silver bowls in the Tôd Treasure with their affinities in decoration to Kamares ware (Bisson de la Roque 1950; Warren & Hankey 1989, 131-135, 170, Notes 9 & 10, Plates 5-11) come from Crete, they are likely to have come from a palace, and the bronze boxes bearing the cartouche of Amenemhet II in which they were found in a temple in Egypt suggest that they may have been a gift to the temple from the pharaoh, again suggesting that palatial gift exchange played a prominent role in Middle Minoan overseas trade. Some of the palatial Kamares ware, on the other hand, was found in workmen's houses at Kahun. Poursat and S. Immerwahr have concluded on the basis of examination of the Egyptianising motifs of moulded clay reliefs from Malia and fragments of the earliest Minoan wall painting that Minoan artists travelled to Egypt in the Old Palace period (Poursat 1984, 86-87; Immerwahr 1984, 87). If so, it seems likely that they would have

accompanied a Minoan ambassadorial voyage.

The discovery at the Palace of Knossos of part of a diorite statue of an Egyptian Middle Kingdom official named User may be relevant to the question of the palatial role in Minoan-Egyptian trade in the Middle Bronze Age. Found in an unstratified context 70 cm below the pre-excavation surface of the palace, the object could have arrived as a piece of black diorite raw material rather than as a statue. (The excavation of Myrtos-Pyrgos produced a piece of Egyptian stone possibly reworked as a foot amulet [V. Hankey 1976, 213, Note 9]). The User fragment could also have come, however, from an Egyptian statue of a type known from the Middle East and thought to have been deposited in local shrines by Egyptian emissaries while abroad (Uphill 1984, 213). Uphill notes that these statues, which in Egypt were deposited in temples to receive offerings, have been found in the Near East in cult places either in or near ports or in important towns on main trade routes. While the unstratified and incomplete User statue can hardly be considered persuasive evidence of the presence of an Egyptian ambassador or resident agent at Knossos, it would also be unwise to ignore this possibility.

Could persons not directly connected to the palaces have amassed enough capital to play a significant role in long-distance overseas trade, perhaps by following in the wake of palace-directed trade? The Old Palace period appears to lack the number of luxurious, extra-palatial dwellings near the palaces and the number of prosperous towns and villas that are so marked a feature of neopalatial Crete, but we cannot exclude the possibility of an independent merchant class. After all, gold, tin, ivory and ostrich eggs were brought to Crete, as we have noted, before there were any palaces, or at least before there were any palaces as we subsequently know them. In the absence of texts, we cannot hope to know the nature of the relationship between the Old Palaces and Minoan ship captains. The remuneration of captains and crews may have taken the form of authority and license to trade on their own, as long as the palatial mission, including in particular the procurement of metal, was accomplished. A specialist group of traders could have emerged as a result of such voyages. A class of at least semi-private merchants, often connected in some way to palace or temple, developed in the Near East[9] where, however, long-distance overland trade is likely to have been more extensive than the sea trade between Crete and the Near East, as shown by the data on Near Eastern metal trade cited earlier.

In Crete, however, it was surely the palaces which provided the basic infrastructure for long-distance trade, including (1) ships in strength, (2) relations with foreign courts and ports, and (3) capital, including luxury and other products used in exchange. For example, the manufacture of the inlaid metal weapon from Kaptara to which a Mari document refers would have required access to precious and other metals and experience with a sophisticated pyrotechnology gained over time, which strongly suggests that the object was fashioned in a palatial workshop.

A trading expedition carrying valuable goods would have required either protection by naval military strength (as in the case of Viking trading expeditions), respect for the power behind the venture, previously established friendly relations with both the arrival area and any way stations en route, or some combination of these elements. Kopcke has put the proposition as follows: "The farther the distance, the more organized the forces one expected to encounter, the greater the gains, [then] the more thoroughgoing the preparations. 'States' were better equipped to

meet these challenges than individuals" (1987, 257).[10]

CONTROL, CONFLICT, COMPETITION AND/OR COOPERATION BETWEEN THE OLD PALACES AND THE EFFECT ON FOREIGN TRADE

Kopcke's reference to "states" raises the question of the number of polities involved in sponsoring long-distance trade, and perhaps establishing relations with foreign courts, in the Old Palace period. In the absence of texts we must again admit to great uncertainty. It appears likely that a poll of Minoan prehistorians would show a majority favouring the existence of at least three independent palaces in the Old Palace period, but (perhaps by a smaller majority), Knossian domination in the New Palace period.

The dividing line between the periods is generally taken to be a great earthquake which at least at Knossos (and perhaps simultaneously at Phaistos) marks the end of the Old Palaces and the construction of the New Palaces (Warren & Hankey 1989, 61-65). A problem arises, however, in attempting to describe a process by which an earthquake might lead to dramatic change of this nature in the governance of Crete or the control of its foreign trade. One possibility of course is that the destruction at Phaistos and in the surrounding area (probably including Kommos, where there is also some evidence of earthquake damage at this time) was greater than that at Knossos and its surrounding area (including Archanes and Anemospelia, where there is also evidence for earthquake damage perhaps at this time). The amount of damage implied at Knossos, however, by the remains of the House of the Fallen Blocks (and the uplift visible on the slopes of Juktas and Ailias, together with the fault lines in the Kairatos Valley, if attributable to this earthquake) is certainly considerable. Of course it is possible to imagine a great earthquake causing (1) delegitimizing damage to the authority of a ruler and/or hierarchy, religious or other-wise, and its replacement by a different elite with different dynastic ties and more inclined to aggression; (2) shortages of foodstuffs leading to aggression, or (3) a period of weakness leading to attacks on Knossian dynastic affiliates or allies if not on Knossos itself, followed by counterattack and con-quest. On the other hand one can imagine, perhaps more easily, that as a result of a devastating earthquake attention would for a time turn inward toward repairing the damage.[11] Accordingly a further consideration of the horizon in which Knossos may have taken the initial steps toward Cretan dominance, perhaps including dominance of foreign trade, seems in order.

The position as regards the Old Palace period has been stated emphatically by Cadogan, who after noting the existence of considerable regional diversity in the Middle Minoan period, particularly as reflected in pottery, writes ". . . **in no way** may we see Knossos as capital of Crete in Old Palace times, even though it was even then considerably larger than Phaistos or Malia -- let alone the possibility of its having a commanding position in the whole south Aegean" (1987, 72). On the other hand, a number of reasons have been advanced for the view that Crete was united under Knossos in the New Palace period. These include the secure and peaceful appearance of Crete as shown by the existence of unprotected "country houses", the expansion of Crete abroad, the spread of Knossian-inspired pottery styles throughout the island in place of the regional diversity of the Old Palace period, the possible economic control by Knossos implied by the distribution of sealings made by Knossian seals, and the nature of the site of Kato Zakros and the objects found there which suggest it may have served as a port for Knossos (Wiener 1987, 266 and works cited).

The separate ceramic zones of central, east

central and eastern Crete in MMII noted by Cadogan and others (Cadogan 1983, 507-518 and 1988, 95-99; Walberg 1983; Poursat 1987, 75-76; Andreou 1987) and the ceramic differences between the northern (Knossian) and southern (Phaistian) sectors in the central zone (Betancourt 1986, 284-292) are reinforced by what appears to be a special east central style of carpenter's tools (Poursat 1984, 75). The palatial Kamares pottery of Knossos and Phaistos, on the other hand, is very similar, as are the palaces in general in overall design, characteristics of construction (e.g., ashlar with orthostates, masons' marks) and cult areas and equipment. With regard to the possible implications of pottery zones, it is worth noting that the east-central, Malia-Pyrgos style does not appear in east Crete or the Cyclades, whereas Knossian Kamares appears in some quantity both at Palaikastro and Zakros (where it is also imitated) and in the Cyclades; and that conversely much east Cretan and Cycladic pottery has been identified in the Middle Minoan deposits from Knossos (MacGillivray 1987, 249, 276 & 278). By MMIII the regional differences in pottery have largely disappeared (Walberg 1983, 151). Accordingly the argument based on pottery and other cultural artifact zones for independent polities throughout the Old Palace period does not appear compelling.

Moreover, there is no reason why a Knossian assertion of sovereignty over certain parts of Crete in the Old Palace period should necessarily result in the closure of local pottery and other workshops or in their prompt adoption of Knossian styles or techniques, nor is there any reason why Knossian sovereignty would necessarily result in the rapid diminution of local exchange networks. Recent work in contexts where political relationships are known has shown that the circumstances under which political boundaries find clear expression in material culture are "highly variable and very complex" (Cherry 1986, 24, citing Hodder 1977; 1978, 199-269; 1982; and DeAtley & Findlow 1984). (Conversely the subsequent marked reduction of regionalism in the pottery of the neopalatial period, standing alone, could result from an internal "Versailles effect" reflecting the cultural prestige of the Palace of Knossos and the consequent stimulus to importation and emulation of its products by the rest of Crete, rather than from the putative Knossian neopalatial hegemony in Crete.)

Another argument for politically independent regions centred on palaces in Minoan Crete has been proposed by Cherry (1986) on the basis of cross-cultural studies indicating that many societies have passed through a stage of "peer polity interaction" en route to larger federations, and on the basis of the presumption that a polity comprising a Cretan palace and its hinterland constitutes a natural unit for the Bronze Age from the standpoint of political geography, as indicated by the example of Mycenaean Greece. Considering, however, that large and imposing structures appear in Crete in EMIIB (Branigan 1970, 43), together with indications, in the burials of Mochlos (Soles 1988), of a highly stratified society with access to foreign luxury products, and that the Old Palaces are in existence by MMIB-MMIIA, there seems a sufficient span of centuries to encompass a peer polity interaction phase prior to the earliest possible assertion of Knossian dominance in the Old Palace period. The existence of a direct link between control and topography is also open to doubt, as the later history of Crete and of the Aegean indicates. In the 5th century B.C., for example, the era of independent city-states was followed by an Athenian Empire which exercised control of Aegean trade, particularly in that basic commodity known as corn in the United Kingdom and wheat in the United States (Thucydides 2.38.2, 1.120.2; cf. 3.86.4; Rhodes 1985, 38). Cross-cultural comp-

arisons with Middle and Late Bronze Age societies in the Near East and Egypt with which Minoan palatial rulers would have been familiar disclose that Zimri-Lim of Mari had five palaces and spent a great deal of his time travelling between them (Sasson 1990; see Bottèro 1957) and that Amenhotep III had major palaces at Malkata and at Medinet Gurab at the entrance to the Fayum, and built a lake (presumably with an accompanying palace) at a site thought to be Akhmim, the home of his wife Ty, in middle Egypt (Wiener 1987, 266, Note 47).

Accordingly, it seems appropriate to ask whether there is evidence to suggest that Knossos may have taken the initial steps towards hegemony, at least as regards north-central and east Crete, in the Old Palace period.

The first body of evidence to consider is the chain of hilltop watchtowers or caravanserai, and perhaps in some cases forts, arranged in line of sight along roadways, perhaps most noticeable in east Crete but recognizable elsewhere as well. In east Crete alone over 40 have been identified, many of a seemingly canonical size of about 14 by 11 meters, and extending along roads leading inland out of sight of the sea in some cases, suggesting that the provision of internal rather than external security was their primary function.[12] Moreover, it is difficult to identify a foreign threat against which the road and watchtower system could have been directed, although the possibility of Anatolian or Syrian pirates cannot be totally discounted.

Chryssoulaki has now completed the excavation of Zakros Choiromandres, the largest and best preserved of the known east Cretan watchtowers, and has confirmed an MMII date for its construction (Tzedakis, Chryssoulaki, Boutsaki & Venieri 1989, 43-75). Chryssoulaki believes the visible remains of the road system watchtowers or caravanserai remaining to be excavated show signs of the employment of MMII building techniques, a judgement shared by MacGillivray (personal communications, for which I am most grateful). A viaduct near the watchtower/caravanserai at Zakros Choiromandres appears to be part of the road and tower system, and thus of the same general horizon as the viaduct constructed at Knossos in MMIIA; future excavation will test this hypothesis. (I am grateful to J. A. MacGillivray for informing me of the viaduct at Choiromandres.) Some of these structures and the associated road system were noted long ago by Evans, who referred to the structures as Minoan guard stations or "phrouria" (1928, 76). With J. L. Myres he was able to trace along a route through the Lasithi district to Siteia "the repeated occurrence of such guard- or watch-stations along the course of a Minoan built way, similar in all respects to that which traverses the central sector of the island" [footnote omitted]. Evans continues, "In view of these consistent phenomena it seems impossible not to admit the conclusion that the great Minoan road-system that radiated from Knossos over the whole of the central and eastern districts was also planned with a certain strategic control by the Minoan Priest-King" (1928, 78-79; Pendlebury, Eccles & Money-Coutts 1932-1933, 99). Evans collected MMII sherds from several of the watchtowers (Evans 1928, 78) and from the one at Ziros a signet with a hierographic inscription dated by Yule to MMII (1981, 85-88; Evans 1921, 275, Figure 204H; see also Pendlebury 1965, 147. Evans refers to the site as Sto Dhaso). Evans describes the road system and guard towers in numerous early publications (collected in Tzedakis, Chryssoulaki, Boutsaki & Venieri 1989); subsequent investigations have concluded that some of Evans' examples of Minoan roads were probably sections of medieval or Turkish kalderimi (W. McDonald, personal communication, for which I am most grateful). Pendlebury noted many

of these watchtowers/caravanserai in his travels (1965, 10, Note 1).[13] Pendlebury also noted that many of the remains observed by earlier travellers, such as the walls of Kisamos noted by Buondelmonte in 1422, had disappeared (1965, 16). The process continues today; Chryssoulaki reports that the remains of three of the 40 watchtowers noted by her team in the first season have been removed by local farmers (personal communication). Accordingly the number throughout Crete in the Bronze Age may have been far greater than is apparent today.

If the watchtowers/caravanserai and road system is in fact largely of MMII date, then on present evidence the system existed prior to significant habitation in the valleys behind the east Cretan coastline, a circumstance which suggests central, or at least regional, planning and administration rather than local defense to protect women and livestock against brigands; the farmsteads which later occupy these valleys seem to be neopalatial (MacGillivray and Chryssoulaki, personal communication). A large, imposing building surrounded by a wall with projecting towers excavated by Dr. Tsipopoulou at Ayia Photia on the eastern coast of MMI-II date may provide upon final publication important new information concerning the control and defense of east Crete.

Whether these roadways and the accompanying watchtowers, fairly uniform in appearance and ambitious in geographic scope, were built at the direction of various regional centres or centrally inspired from Knossos, and whether they were constructed cooperatively or competitively, will be difficult to determine. "Peer polity" competition (Renfrew and Cherry 1986) may exist with regard to roadworks as with other matters, particularly when the spur of military competition or necessity is added. Indeed, it is possible that in parts of Crete the roadway and watchtower system was directed against Knossos. Elsewhere in the Aegean, Phylakopi on Melos is rebuilt during MMIIA, to judge from the fine MMIIA jars and cups from Knossos which appear, and a fortification wall at the site may have its origin in this period, although the evidence as to date is unclear (Barber 1987, 67-68). Ayia Irini on Kea is also rebuilt and reoccupied, receives Knossian pottery, and sees a fortification wall built in this period (Barber 1987, 68; MacGillivray, forthcoming A). Again, these fortification walls may have been intended to encourage Minoan contacts through trade instead of raid.

It is worth noting in connection with the suggested construction of a roadway and watchtower network covering much of central and east Crete at this time that the MMIIA horizon sees a marked increase in level of ambition and deployment of labour at Knossos and Phaistos, as indicated, *inter alia,* by the erection of monumental buildings with complex pre-planned drainage systems, by the quarrying and transportation of large ashlar blocks for building and by the construction of the koulouras, Royal Road and viaduct at Knossos. (MacGillivray [1989 and forthcoming B] and Momigliano [1989] have advocated a MMIIA horizon for various developments which Evans placed in MMIB.) It is possible that the same general horizon saw monumental construction at Malia, as suggested by the results of recent excavation under the northwest quarter of the Late Minoan palace (Pelon 1987a, 271; 1987b, 189, 195).

We have already noted the appearance of great swords in MMII, and the developed tradition of metallurgy and weapon manufacture on which they depended. Moreover Minoan prowess in metal weapon production was not limited to the long sword, but included the short sword, the solid long dagger and the shoe-socketed and tube-socketed spearhead and arrowhead, all of which may

have made their first Aegean appearance in Crete (Hiller 1984, 27, 31).

Fire destructions of large areas of major sites occur in MMII, but it is of course always difficult to say whether such destructions are the result of warfare, earthquakes or even accidents setting off widespread conflagrations. Any of these could have caused the fire destructions around the end of MMIIA at Knossos and Phaistos. Some of the destr-uctions of major sites toward or at the end of MMIIB (or the beginning of MMIIIA -- MacGillivray, forthcoming B) may well have been caused by warfare. Phaistos at this time suffers a major destruction by fire sealed by a layer of *calcestruzzo* (cement rubble) after which large parts of the Old Palace are rebuilt. Nearby Kommos may have suffered a destruction also, but further excavation is required to determine its extent and precise horizon. What may have been an early palace at Monastiraki, lying midway on the natural route from Phaistos and the Mesara to Rethymnon on the north coast, and with sealings and pottery resembling those of Vano 25 at Phaistos (Ferioli & Fiandra 1990, 222, Note 4 and 224; Kanta 1988, 313), is completely destroyed and (perhaps more significantly) abandoned at the end of MMIIB. There is no way at present of determining whether the destruction and abandonment of Monastiraki was due to warfare involving Knossos, Phaistos or both, or to natural causes.

In the east central zone, at Malia a major administrative, storage and cult area, Quartier Mu, is also destroyed at the end of MMIIB (as defined at Malia) and never reoccupied; the excavators believe that the most likely cause of the destruction was deliberate human agency.[14] (Poursat believes this destruction may occur at the same general time as the destructions at Knossos and Phaistos at the end of the Old Palace period [1982, 677]). A major destruction of Pyrgos on the south coast to the east of Phaistos may be assignable to this general period as well. A tower, walls and a cistern had been built at Pyrgos prior to the destruction, possibly as a defensive measure (Cadogan 1977, 70-84; Walberg 1983, 151).

Of course hegemony need not result from warfare, warfare need not necessarily result in widespread destruction of sites, and destruction caused by fighting may be repaired and hence difficult to detect in the archaeological record. However, given the number of destructions of major sites, at least some in all likelihood resulting from warfare in MMII, it seems appropriate to note the possibility that MMII witnessed the initial steps towards the assertion of Knossian hegemony, at least as regards north-central and east Crete, together with some degree of control over long-distance trade.

Other areas of evidence bearing on the possibility of a single administration over major parts of Crete during parts of MMII-III may be noted. Olivier believes that the degree of uniformity in hieroglyphic inscr-iptions on seals and documents and in their use at the various sites where they appear probably denotes the existence "of a large power which extended over the whole of Crete for *at least* the last part of the protopalatial period" (1990, 18). The similarity at various sites of hieroglyphic and Linear A scripts, of seals, of religious depictions and cultic equipment, of finds at peak sanctuaries, and of the general design of at least the palaces at Knossos and Phaistos after MMIIA at the latest, together with the appearance of such specific architectural practices as the use of ashlar masonry, orthostates and masons' marks, indicate at least the existence of very close contact (Cherry 1986, 33-35), if not common direction.

Is there any direct evidence for Knossian dominance or primacy with respect to foreign trade? MacGillivray (while acknowledging the difficulty of distinguishing Knossian from Phaistian Kamares ware) believes that most of the Kamares sherds found abroad appear from illustrations to be Knossian, as in the case of the MMIIA type bridge-spouted jars and straight-sided cups found in Egypt, with their closest parallels from the Loomweight Basement/Early Olive Press and the north-west pit at Knossos, the MMII material from Ayia Irini, Phyla-kopi and Akrotiri (where the holes dug for the emplacement of the roof supports rev-ealed Kamares sherds of finest Knossian quality) and the MMIIB to IIIA wavy-line cups from Ugarit (1987, 273-279 and personal communication).[15] The black angular tempered wares so common at Phaistos, on the other hand, are seldom found abroad.[16] The occasional appearance abroad of the east Cretan variety of provincial Kam-ares ware, discussed above, may reflect the role of east Cretan ports in overseas trade.

There are also, however, some indications of contact during MMII between Malia and Egypt. The clay of a jug from Aswan resembles that of Malia Town group (though the decoration finds its closest parallel at Palaikastro) and the Minoanising pottery of Haregeh and Kahun resembles the crinkled-rimmed or lobed kantharoi from the same group (Cadogan 1983, 516), although such vessels are also found at Knossos and in the south of Crete, and all the kantharoi imitate metal prototypes with probable Anatolian origins (Davis, E.N. 1977, 89-90). The general similarity of the clay mould from Malia to the Tôd Treasure has already been noted. Lastly and more significantly, Egyptianising motifs (falcons, cats, palm trees, sphinx) appear on moulded-clay relief appliques for vases from Quartier Mu at Malia, which also produced an Egyptian stone vase (Poursat 1982, 677; 1984, 86-87). The questions of course remain whether the inspiration for the Egyptianising motifs came from the movement of Egyptian objects or Minoan artisans, and whether the contacts between Malia and Egypt indicated by the appliques and other material were direct or indirect, such as via Knossos-led gift exchange/trading ventures.

Of course the establishment of Knossian hegemony, whenever it occurred (if ever), need not have involved the direct use of force; some combination of manoeuvre and marriage, for example, might have been sufficient. Moreover, hegemony if achieved is unlikely to have been permanently maintained; rather the differing effects of war, drought, plague and malaria, the accidents of individual longevity affecting rule and succession, and the varying influence of dynastic intermarriage would probably have resulted (if the history of other civilizations is any guide) in shifting alliances and political boundaries and differing degrees of central authority over time. Complex societies throughout history have tended, in the words of Adams, to "dominate weaker neighbours, coalesce, suffer from varying forms and degrees of predation, develop and break off patterns of symbiosis -- all in dizzyingly abrupt shifts" (Adams 1974, 249).

Adams continues: "A concern for trade highlights these inter-reactions -- partly aggressive, partly symbiotic, at best only partly intelligible to the societies involved, at most times dangerously competitive" (Adams 1974, 249). While these observations were made in the context of Adams' work on trade in the ancient Near East, they appear relevant to Middle and Late Bronze Age Crete as well. Of course it is also possible that two or more palaces cooperated in major foreign ventures; the Old Testament describes a joint sea venture through the Red Sea by Solomon and Hiram, the Phoenician ruler of Tyre, to acquire luxury items such as gold, ivory,

spices and rare animals (I Kings 9, 26-28). Moreover, a Knossian hegemony need not have affected the trading relationships or activities of other palaces, any more than the creation of a Macedonian Empire in Hellenistic Greece affected the trading activities of the individual Greek poleis. But whether one, two or several palaces were primarily responsible for Minoan long-distance trade by the end of the Old Palace period, the case for a decisive palatial role in Minoan trade with the Near East and Egypt seems compelling.

A Postscript on Foreign Trade in the New Palace Period

The creation of the New Palaces has sometimes been seen as marking a change in the control of Cretan trade (for example by Branigan, who while doubting a significant palatial role in long-distance trade in the Old Palace period, accepts a directing palatial role for such trade in the neopalatial period [1982, 209; 1987, 245-249 and 333; 1989, 68; and forthcoming]).

It would appear, however, that the case for an independent maritime or merchant class with a significant role in long-distance trade actually becomes somewhat more plausible, if quite unproven, in the New Palace period. For it is with the new palaces that we find a large increase in population, particularly in settlements along the coasts, the growth of towns which in some cases surround mini-palaces, luxurious separate town houses at palatial and other sites, and fine country villas. Palaikastro, for example, with its main street running "straight and true, broad and well-surfaced, and flanked by impressive facades" (Branigan 1972, 754), could have provided homes for such merchant-mariners. The villa at Nirou Chani, a harbour on the north coast, was stacked with ritual equipment including 40-50 plastered stucco offering tables possibly destined for export, although religious use at the site or the existence there of a workshop are possible alternative explanations for so large a supply of offering tables and other ritual equipment.

Lead and stone weights are found, as Michailidou (forthcoming A and B) has observed, not only in the palaces and in houses around the palaces, but also in houses in non-palatial settlements, villas and tombs. Villas and houses at Ayia Triadha and Tylissos contained not only weights and loomweights, but also copper oxhide ingots and Linear A tablets, and both are rich in luxury products and bronze objects. It is possible, however, that by LMIB Ayia Triadha had become the administrative centre of the Mesara while Phaistos remained the religious centre, in which case the buildings in which most of the tablets and ingots were found would have been part of the palatial rather than the private sector.[17]

At Akrotiri on Thera, where the eruption preserved in one precise horizon so many of the materials of daily life, almost every house contained lead weights, but with a greater concentration in houses containing large numbers of loomweights, suggesting to Michailidou that the lead weights were used in weighing wool (Michailidou, forthcoming A and B). Seal impressions as well as weights appear in houses. The West House contained loomweights in a number to rival the Loomweight Basement at the Palace of Knossos, at least raising the question of possible private production of woollens for export. Whether the West House was indeed private is of course open to question, given the non-domestic nature of its pottery assemblage with its numbers of particular types of specialized vessels, such as incense burners on stands, together with numbers of specialized vessels from the Cyclades and mainland Greece;[18] the religious aspects of the building and its contents (N. Marinatos 1984, 34-51) and the "official" appearance of the fleet depicted on one of its walls. (A

green jasper seal found by Soles at Mochlos on the north coast of Crete in 1989 shows a ship closely resembling those in the Theran West House fresco [Soles and Davaras, forthcoming]. The case for regarding Thera at the time of the eruption in LMIA as part of a "Greater Minoa" is set forth in Wiener, forthcoming.)

Accordingly the possibility of a significant private role in long-distance trade may in fact be greater in the New Palace period than the Old, although hardly compelling in either. Indeed, it is far from clear whether the evidence for trade noted in houses at Akrotiri, Nirou Chani, Tylissos, Ayia Triadha and other places represents private ventures, or whether this activity was centrally controlled, either by regional centres or (directly or indirectly) by Knossos. At Zakros, for example, "palace" and "town" appear to function as an economic unit, with the palace shrine, storerooms and workshops containing all the luxury products and imports, including reworked Egyptian vases, ivory elephant tusks and oxhide ingots, and the town responsible for preparing and storing essential foodstuffs as indicated by the frequent appearance there of wine and olive presses (Chryssoulaki & Platon 1987, 77-84). Indeed, the town blocks on the flanking hills seem to tower over and encroach upon the palace. At the corner of the hill to the north, 50 meters from the palace and 300 meters from the sea at what may have been the landward entrance to the town, stood House A with its 525 nodules bearing 1,005 seal impressions stamped by 214 seal types, some showing contact with parchment or hides (Weingarten 1983, 38-42. Subsequent research by Weingarten may provide additions to these figures). It seems likely that House A was a control point for goods coming in and out of Zakros. It would be difficult to find at Zakros any demarcation between the domains of palace and town, public and private.[19]

While it may be true in general that "Aegean life was essentially and always concerned with agriculture and stockraising" (Warren & Hankey 1989, 4), surely the wealth of sites like Zakros and Akrotiri can only be the result of their role in a Minoan trade network, zealously maintained by the palatial rulers. The West House at Akrotiri provides, in addition to the lead weights and loomweights cited earlier, a dramatic depiction in the Miniature Fresco of fleets, armed warriors and fighting, a useful reminder that the palaces must have played a critical role in providing the infrastructure for long-distance trade in the New Palace period as in the Old. Neopalatial Crete is extremely rich in bronze, but very poor in sources of copper and of course totally lacking in sources of tin. Obtaining bronze or its constituents through long-distance trade must have been of vital interest to the New as well as the Old Palaces. In the Late as well as the Middle Minoan period, it was surely the palaces which determined, and provided, the basic structure and infrastructure of Minoan long-distance trade.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The number of bronzesmiths is surely much in excess of that required by the internal needs of the palace, and implies that the palace controlled the

distribution of bronze throughout its realm. (The role of the Cretan palaces in controlling the distribution of bronze, at least as regards weapons, is considered below and in Wiener 1987.)

2. Indeed this seems the main thrust and point of Snodgrass' argument, with which I am in full agreement.

3. For example, an Egyptian text from the time of Snefru, the first ruler of the 4th Dynasty, refers to 40 ships bringing cedars from the Levant (Schafer 1902, 30); a Hittite text speaks of 100 ships bringing grain (Heltzer 1977, 210; Klengel 1974, 171-174); a tablet found at Ugarit asked the ruler to equip an additional 150 ships (Sasson 1966, 133 cites *UT*:2062:4-5; Fensham 1967, 221 citing C. Virolleaud, *PRU*, Volume 5, 88 ff and especially lines 3-4) and Egyptian temples and tombs depict flotillas of ships, such as the Punt fleet of Hapshepsut at Deir el Bahari (Sãve-Sõderbergh 1946, 14) and the numbers of Syrian merchantmen shown on the walls of the tomb of Kenamun (Davies & Faulkner 1947, 40-46). (I am grateful to Dr. Dieter Arnold for providing the Egyptian references.)

4. Branigan 1989, 66-67 writes: "It seems unlikely therefore that Minoan commercial relations with the Aegean in the Old Palace period were controlled by the Palaces, and for the most part trading relations appear to be undirected free-lance activity"; and "There is therefore no reason to think that the palaces played any significant role in the promotion and control of trade relations with the Near East in the Old Palace period."

5. Whether there was a palace at Malia in MMII similar to those at Knossos and Phaistos is uncertain but there was at least a major MMII structure, at the site of the Late Minoan palace, as indicated by the walls obsevable under Quartier III and IV. In addition there were major administrative and cult buildings at Quartier Mu nearby (Pelon 1987b, 187-201).

6. Branigan 1987, 248, speaks of four koulouras at Knossos holding grain for 1,000 people, but the earliest of the four was probably covered over by the construction of the Theatral Area at the time the others were built in MMIIA (Evans 1935, 53 and Figure 30). I am grateful to S. Hood and J. A. MacGillivray for drawing my attention to the sequence of use of the koulouras.

7. A lead weight from Quartier Mu at Malia weighing 14.4 grams suggests the possibility that the metrological system of neopalatial Crete and the Cyclades, probably based on a unit of about 60 grams, may already have been in existence in MMII (Poursat, forthcoming), but of course not much weight should be placed on a single example.

8. This view was at one point shared by Branigan. "[T]he building of the palaces coincides with a remarkable impetus in the commercial activities of the Minoans overseas... and it is unlikely that the palatial monarches failed to foster and control this new activity. The organization and building of a fleet of ships sufficient to carry out the venture was itself a task of such magnitude that only an administration of palatial proportions could have undertaken it" (1969, 4).

9. See generally the papers in the volume, **Trade in the Ancient Near East**, edited by J. D. Hawkins, and especially the papers of P. Garelli, K. R. Veenhof, M. T. Larsen, S. Dalley, C. Zaggacnini, M. Heltzer and E. Lipinski. See also Sasson 1966.

10. Kopcke's formulation reflects the existence of highly organized states in the Near East and Egypt in the Middle and Late Bronze Age. Greek merchant mariners in the Archaic and Classical periods faced a somewhat different environment, particularly in the West.

11. Worth noting, however, is the possibility of major damage at other sites in the same general time horizon, for which there is no evidence of earthquake (Moody & Lukermann 1985, 65, 71).

12. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Stella Chryssoulaki, who has investigated these buildings, and to Prof. J. A. MacGillivray for showing me some of these structures and discussing them with me.

13. Pendlebury referred to them as forts, but preferred to think of the structures as caravanserai, noting of one, at a site called locally *stas Tavernaes*,that "it would be more in keeping with the peaceful character of Minoan civilization and with convivial Cretan habits if we could take a clue from this name and call them 'taverns' rather than 'forts'".

14. Evans believed that Knossos itself suffered a great MMIIB destruction by earthquake, but MacGillivray, who has recently restudied the pottery, would place this destruction in MMIIIA (forthcoming B).

15. At Ayia Irini on Kea in Period IV (which is largely contemporary with MMIIA, though it may begin earlier and end a little later) Minoan pottery including Knossian Kamares appears in limited quantity at first, but then increases rapidly so that by the end of Period IV Minoan pottery constitutes a

substantial proportion of the ceramic inventory. The quantity of fragments from different vases suggests that "the number of vases brought in was immense" (J. Overbeck 1989, 12).

16. An early export, the MMIB-MMIIA cup from Karmi on the northwest coast of Cyprus (Grace 1940, 10-52), is of a kind well known both from Knossos and from Phaistos and other sites in the south and a fragment of a MMIIA globular rhyton from Phylakopi has its best parallel at Phaistos (Koehl, personal communication). Scientific studies now underway may provide a means of distinguishing more readily between Knossian and Phaistian Kamares.

17. Warren's excavation on the Acropolis hill of Knossos revealed numerous fragments of Egyptian alabaster vases outside the architectural limits of the palace (this volume, above), but the significance of this material with respect to the question of private participation in neopalatial trade is unclear given the following considerations:

(1) the possible special nature of the area excavated, with its "dancing floors", (three circular structures, unique in Crete, built from reused ashlar blocks), and its North House containing children's bones which in the judgement of the excavator bear marks indicating human sacrifice and cannibalism (Wall, Musgrave & Warren 1986, 333-388).

(2) the possibility of palatial involvement with other areas where alabaster vases or vase fragments have been recovered such as the Royal Road, the Little Palace/Unexplored Mansion complex (Warren, this volume), the Warrior Graves north of the palace and Evans' "Isopata Royal Tomb" which contained 12 complete Egyptian alabaster vases, as well as two lapis lazuli Egyptian ape amulets and an Egyptian faience frog amulet (Evans 1906, 141-161; Warren 1969, 105, 112-113; Cline, forthcoming).

(3) the possibility that nearly all of the fragments are LMII and hence not indicative of the structure of Minoan neopalatial trade since, as Warren notes, the North House produced a single fragment from the LMIB destruction level, while the fragments from the area of the dancing floors came from an LMII-LMIIIA1 context, as did those from the Little Palace/Unexplored Mansion and the twelve whole vases from the Isopata Tomb.

(4) the problem inherent in estimating by extrapolation the total number of Egyptian vases reaching a site from the number of fragments found in a given area, a task which requires at the least the inclusion of data concerning areas which did not produce vase fragments as well as areas which did.

As to whether the vases arrived as a consequence of state or private activity, it is worth noting that a later Amarna tablet (EA 14 lines 34-46) reports the Pharaoh making a gift to the ruler of Babylon of over a thousand stone vases filled with five kinds of oil (Moran 1987, 99-100; Knudtzon 1915, 118). (I thank P. Warren who, with typical generosity, brought the existence of this tablet, which runs contra to his thesis, to my attention; and also D. Collon and C. Lilyquist, who provided information regarding the specific tablet.) The "Admonitions of Ipuwer" (Papyrus Leiden 344, Recto), an Egyptian text of uncertain date, contains a phrase which has been translated "nobles are embalmed with their oil as far as Crete" (Lichtheim 1976, 152).

18. I thank P. Betancourt for bringing the nature of the pottery assemblage to my attention.

19. Textual evidence listing large quantities of foodstuffs found together with agricultural implements and large pithoi (Palaima 1990, 95 and Notes 42-43) may require a reconsideration of the doubts expressed in Warren 1985, 101, and Wiener 1987, 265, concerning the adequacy of the hinterland at Zakros to provide a sufficient agricultural surplus to support a major independent palace.

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CHAPTER 1

Tyre before Tyre: The Early Bronze Age Foundation

María Eugenia Aubet

I would like to express herewith my friendship as well as my personal and scientific admiration for Michal Artzy.

1 The Origins of the Settlement in the Archaeological Record

1.1 *Introduction*

Until 2010 the Tyre Project had focused exclusively on the excavation of the Iron Age Phoenician necropolis at al-Bass (Aubet 2010; Aubet, Núñez, and Trellisó 2014, 2016). In 2014, the Direction Générale des Antiquités du Liban (DGA) charged us with opening a new excavation area in the central part of the ancient island (Fig. 1.1a), with the goal of exposing a significant segment of the Phoenician city.[1]

Within the boundaries of Tyre's archaeological park, located in the middle of the ancient island, the density of monumental remains from Ottoman,

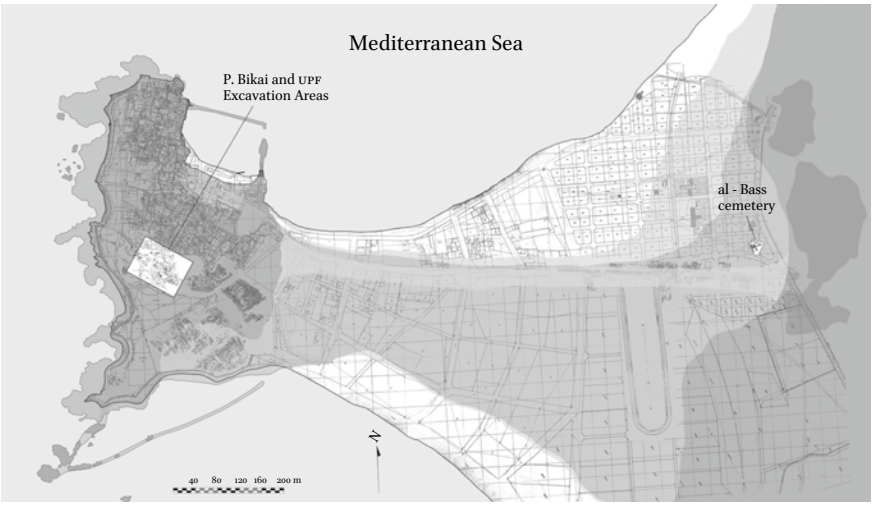

FIGURE 1.1A Map of Tyre with location of the excavation areas

1 The excavations were directed by Francisco J. Núñez, Ali Badawi, and the present author.

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medieval, Byzantine, Roman, and Hellenistic times make it extraordinarily difficult to access the pre-Roman occupational strata. For this reason, in 2014 we decided to open a large excavation area of 30 × 10 m (Area A) (Figs. 1.1b and 1.2) in the vicinity of the deep sounding that Patricia Bikai made in 1973–1974, adjacent to a modern road that rings the island. Area A was situated in one of the few places where the archaeological remains uncovered by Bikai all but guaranteed the presence of Iron Age occupational levels close to the surface. We followed the same north–south oriented grid used during the 1973–1974 excavations and, although the density of structures from various periods made it difficult to identify the exact location of the earlier excavations, the area we selected turned out to be close to the mark. During the 2016 campaign, upon enlarging Area A to the north into Areas 1–4, we encountered an area briefly excavated by Maurice Chéhab, in which the original 4 × 4 m squares grid system was still visible (Figs. 1.1b and 1.2).

The 2014 excavations in Area A were located in one of the central and most elevated parts of the ancient island—at 5.92 m above sea level—which we called the Acropolis. Area A is also about 100 m to the west of the medieval enclosure of the Crusader Cathedral. Among the structures identified in 2014, of particular interest were the remains of an Ottoman house (still inhabited in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) and a partly-preserved monumental ashlar structure of Persian or Hellenistic date.

1.2 *Chéhab's Sounding* (*Area 1*)

During the months of May and June in 2014, the limits of Area A were expanded to the north of the Ottoman structure mentioned above, in keeping with the goal of obtaining wide exposure. Upon clearing away the brush from the area, however, we found the remains of a large stratigraphic sounding measuring 8 × 8 m, which is not mentioned in the literature (Fig. 1.2: Chéhab's sounding). Signs of it can be seen in aerial photographs taken in the 1960s by Emir Maurice Chéhab (Jidejian 1969; Chéhab 1972), indicating that the sounding was carried out before Bikai's excavations. Some witnesses suggest the possibility

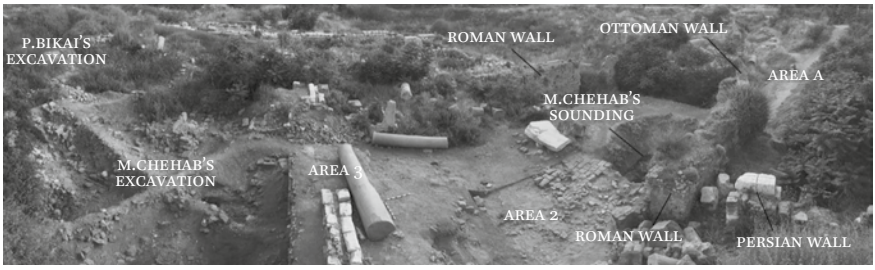

FIGURE 1.1B The excavation areas in 2014–2016

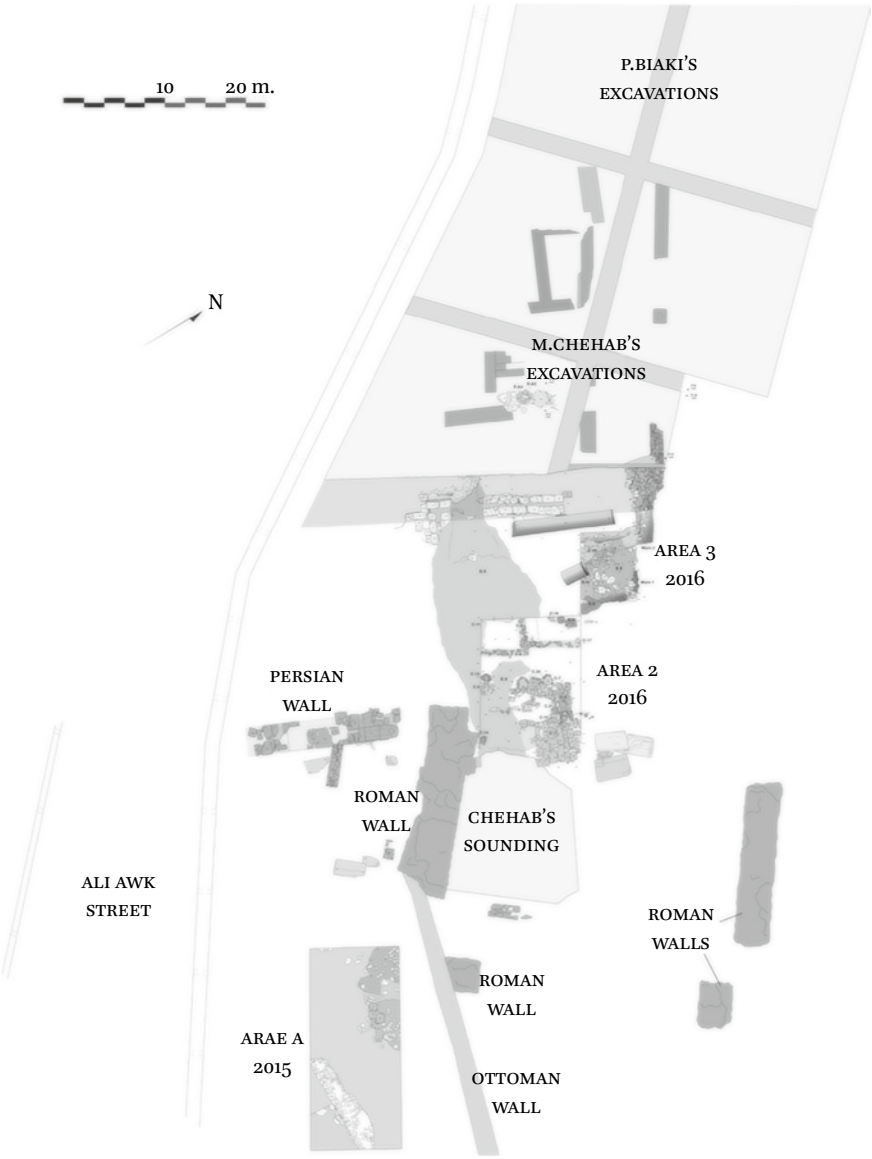

FIGURE 1.2 Plan of the excavation areas in 2014–2016

that this sounding was made in 1967–68 by Chéhab himself or by Michel Chami, Chéhab's assistant at the DGA. Either way, it is clear that the findings from this sounding served as a reference when, in 1972, Chéhab entrusted Bikai with the nearby excavations.

Despite the fact that the sounding was very poorly preserved and obstructed by collapses and recent disturbances—it had served as a dump and weapons cache during the civil war (1975–1990)—it was possible to reconstruct its outer limits and original north–south orientation. Given the sounding's characteristics, which clearly indicate the supervision of a professional archaeologist, it seemed judicious, in the context of our first campaign of excavations on the island, to obtain a partial record of the sounding's stratigraphic sequence from the surface (4.98 m above sea level), taking advantage of the window opened by a preceding excavation.[2]

A careful cleaning of the sounding's western section revealed interesting vertical stratigraphy, some 3.23 m high, which spans occupational layers dating from the origins of the city all the way to the late Iron Age (Fig. 1.3). In other words, the western section of the Chéhab sounding reveals the complete stratigraphy for pre-classical Tyre. A small quantity of ceramic and organic

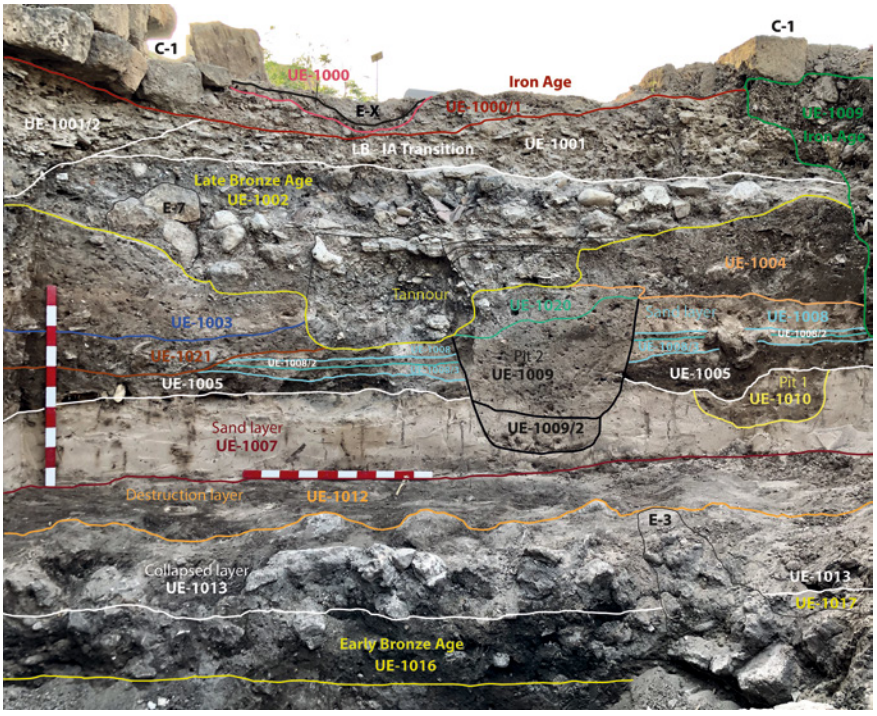

FIGURE 1.3 Chéhab's sounding, 2014; western section

2 The team members in the 2014 season were Antonio Esteban, Michal Krueger, Isabel Muntalt, Mohamed El Mhassani, Barbara Mura, and Ida Oggiano.

samples was collected from each stratum during cleaning, revealing a very complex occupational sequence. The following comments focus exclusively on the deepest levels of the old sounding from the 1960s and on a preliminary interpretation of the finds mentioned above. These observations are limited, of course, by the fact that they are based on a small archaeological sample that was not obtained through systematic excavation.

Overall, the structure and features of Chéhab's sounding provide yet another confirmation of the rigor and clarity of Bikai's assessment of Tyre's stratigraphy.

1.3 *The First Tyre*

Given the limitations of space and the risk of collapse, the cleaning of the sounding's section did not proceed all the way to bedrock, although it did reach a depth of 1.75 m above sea level. The deepest stratum exposed, about half a meter in thickness, contained abundant ashes, charcoal bits, and large, loose stones, in addition to a fine layer of sand. These features suggest an identification as Bikai's Stratum XX (1978: 6–7), which is a destruction horizon following the important occupational horizon of Stratum XXI. Over this lay a thicker layer (0.5–0.7 m) consisting of a collapse of large stones, wall fragments, ashes, and charcoal, which yielded comb-incised ware as well as abundant stone tools (Fig. 1.4). Given the morphology of the artifacts and the features of the layer itself, this level can be confidently identified as Bikai's Stratum XIX.

Immediately above these alternating unequal early layers attesting human frequentation, destruction, and abandonment, there is a substantial accumulation of sterile sand of eolic origin nearly 1 m thick—spanning 3.39 to 2.63 m above sea level (= Bikai's Stratum XVIII). It corresponds to an extended period of abandonment of the island, which appears to span the totality of the Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2000–1600 BCE). Over this we find the first Late Bronze Age levels (Strata XVII–XVI), which represent the first permanent settlement of the island (Bikai 1978: 64–65).

The lowest levels identified in the western section of Chéhab's sounding thus correspond to Strata XX and XIX in the 1973–1974 sequence, dated to the Early Bronze Age IV (ca. 2500–2000 BCE) (Bikai 1978: 6–7). These deposits are significant because the same levels were discovered also in the 1970s excavations, lying over a considerable ash destruction layer (Strata XXII–XXI), some 0.15 m thick, which sealed the remains of a large rectangular structure, of which one corner was exposed (Fig. 1.4). This structure was built very close to bedrock on the highest point of the reef, and was found to have thick stone walls nearly 1 m wide, a plaster floor, and, as in Byblos, stone pillar bases presumably meant to support wooden columns. Bikai estimated that this exceptional building,

FIGURE 1.4 Early Bronze Age building, 1973–1974
PHOTO COURTESY OF P.M. BIKAI

which she dated to the end of the Early Bronze Age III, a little before the mid-third millennium BCE, might have reached a length of 15 m (Bikai 1978: 5; 1992: 67; Bikai and Bikai 1987: 74–75).

Based on stratigraphic and architectural evidence, Bikai subdivided the Early Bronze Age strata in Tyre into three subphases: (a) a first occupational phase just above bedrock (Strata XXVII–XXIII); (b) the aforementioned structure (Strata XXII–XXI); and (c) a period following the abandonment of the structure (Strata XX–XIX). Following this, the second major period at the site is the occupational break attested by the sterile sand layer of Stratum XVIII (Middle Bronze Age) (Bikai 1978: 14).

Clearly, our section in Chéhab's sounding only reaches the third subphase of the Early Bronze Age, in which the large Strata XXII–XXI building was abandoned, as well as the upper part of the levels associated with the structure's construction.

As expected from a superficial section cleaning, the archaeological materials collected were not abundant, although they are significant. Among the finds, the lithic finds stand out—including a number of very fine blanks and a flint core (Fig. 1.5e)—as do bowls (Fig. 1.5d), juglets and a stone vessel of Egyptian origin (Fig. 1.5c). Of chronological relevance are large two-handled jars with combed incised decoration (Fig. 1.5a, b), typical of Tyre's Strata

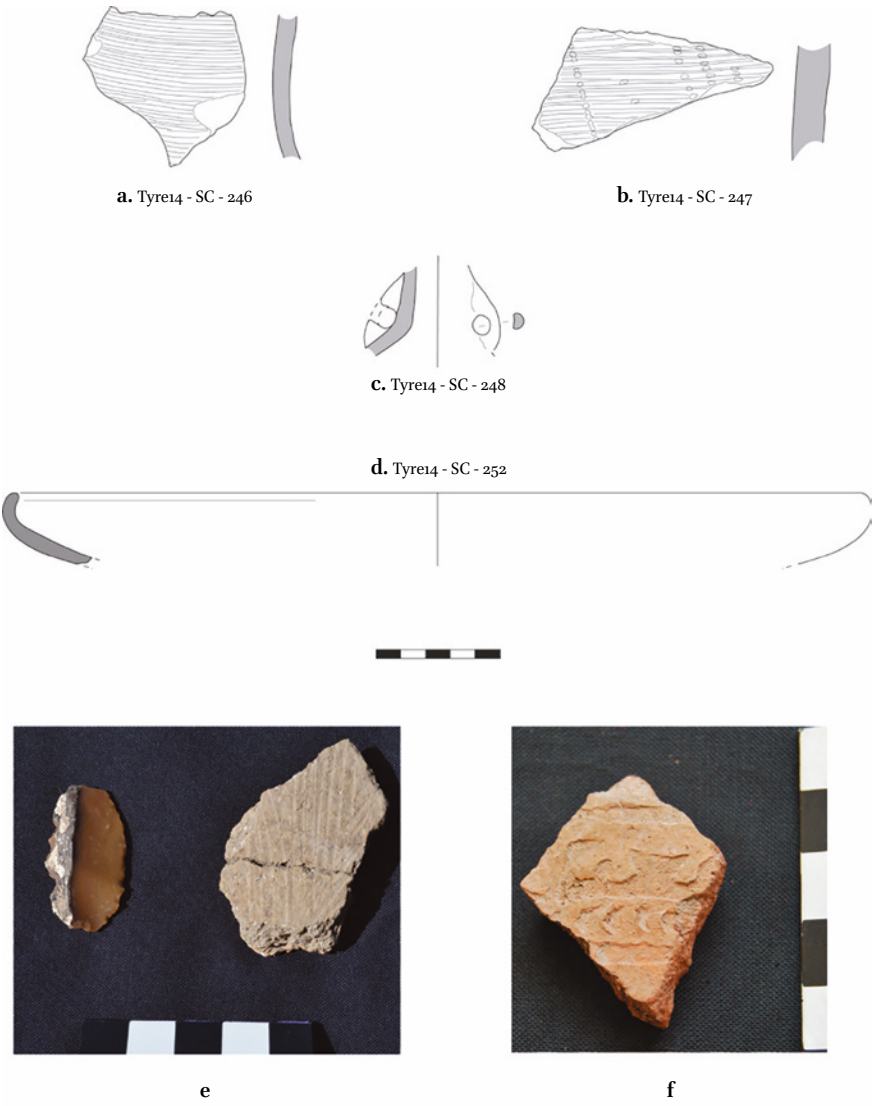

FIGURE 1.5 Early Bronze Age pottery and flint from the 2014 excavations

XXVII–XXI (Bikai 1978: 69, pls. LVI.22, LVII.69), and also attested at Sidon (Doumet-Serhal 2006a: 40–41; 2006b: 10, pl. 14) and in Levels 17–16 at Tell Arqa ("céramique peignée"), belonging to the late EB III (Phase R) and EB IV (Phase P), c. 2700–2000 BCE (Thalmann 2006: 17–28, pl. 46, 50–53). At Tell Arqa this pottery style is found in association with a lithic assemblage very similar to ours. In general, the combed wares at Tyre are slightly later than those at

Byblos or Tell Arqa, where they are especially abundant in the earliest Level 17 (2700–2500/2450 cal BCE).

One exceptional find associated with these materials is a sherd with a partially preserved impressed frieze featuring an animal, probably a lion (Fig. 1.5f). The piece belongs to a category of vessels characteristic of the EB III and IV, called cylinder-seal-impressed ware and represented, for example, by large jars in the Early Bronze levels at Ebla (Palace G), Hama, Tell Fadous-Kfarabida, and Sidon (Genz 2014: 300, fig. 21.4; 2015: 102, fig. 9; 2017: 77, fig. 4.3; Doumet-Serhal 2006a: 259–270). In large urban centers of this period, this ware appears associated with public structures or administrative activities, like commercial transactions and record keeping.

The first human occupation on the island of Tyre occurred during a period in which urban centers with public structures and fortifications were thriving on the northern Lebanese coast at Tell Arqa, Byblos, and Tell Fadous-Kfarabida (Dunand 1952; Saghieh 1983; Thalmann 2006; Genz 2014). In contrast to these centers on the northern coast, however, the Early Bronze Age has usually been understood to be a period of marked decline on the southern coast, a process reaching its peak with the occupational break at Tyre during the Middle Bronze Age. Compared with the great northern centers, understood to be incipient territorial states, the only EB IV site known in the south—the island of Tyre—would constitute little more than an "ephemeral campsite" (Genz 2015: 105; 2017: 76).

The great building of Strata XXII–XXI, dating to the mid-third millennium at Tyre, however, suggests a deliberate choice toward permanence on a small rocky islet, probably related to the construction of a temple—what we might understand as a symbolic appropriation of coastal reefs to serve as an outpost for a nearby center on the mainland. The discovery of cylinder-seal-impressed pottery implies that a range of commercial and administrative activities was taking place in the vicinity of the Tyre stone structure, since this ceramic style is associated with similar activities and notably with the use of weight systems in the northern urban centers. The discovery in 1973–1974 of an Early Dynastic Egyptian inscribed quartz cylinder seal in Stratum XIX (Ward 1978: 84) carries with it the additional implication of incipient interregional trade. The number of combed sherds—some handmade—related to large storage jars also suggests transport and trade activities in this period.

It is reasonable to assume that the population that first occupied the Tyre reef came from the nearby mainland. In my opinion, there is only one possible candidate: given its characteristics, the amplitude of its stratified deposits, and its location in a fertile plain, all signs point to the tell at Al Rashidiyeh, located on the coast just 4 km southeast of the island of Tyre, close to the important

freshwater springs at Ras el-ʿAyn. It has not yet been possible to carry out excavations on Tell Al Rashidiya, due to the presence of a dense Palestinian refugee camp at the site; however, future research at this site may well yield surprises, especially as concerns the periodization of the Bronze Age on the southern Lebanese coast.

Without more details concerning this coastal tell, situated in an area bearing evidence of human occupation stretching back to the Neolithic, it is premature to speak of periods of decline, occupation, and abandonment on the southern Lebanese coast, based exclusively on the stratigraphy at Tyre, which was a settlement of little relevance before the Late Bronze and Iron Ages. We are informed about this by a reference to a "ruler (king) of Tyre" in an Egyptian Execration Text (ca. 1880 BCE), during the Middle Bronze Age, when the island of Tyre was deserted (Katzenstein 1973: 19; cf. Bikai 1978: 72). It seems clear that the Egyptian text is referring to a different Tyre, the "continental" one.

Later documentary sources also refer to this continental Tyre, calling it *Ushu*. In the Amarna period (fourteenth century BCE), Ushu supplied water to the island, was a faithful ally to Egypt, and was the capital of a monarchy. Much later, the Assyrian Annals mention that Ushu was the bridgehead for the assault on the island, and in the time of Alexander the Great, it was still the site of an old temple to the god Melqart (Katzenstein 1973: 14, 29). The classical geographers knew Ushu by the names *Palaityros* or *Palaetyros* (Old Tyre)—a late appellation that is first attested in Strabo (16.224)—as well as *Tirus vetus* (Just. *Epit.* 11.10–11).

1.4 *Tyre, "The Rock"*

As a whole, the remains discovered in 2014 and especially those from 1973–1974 reveal that the island of Tyre was occupied for the first time around 2700 BCE by small groups from the mainland, perhaps fishermen. Rather than "occupation," perhaps it would be more accurate to speak of the occasional or seasonal presence on the reef of a community otherwise residing at a nearby mainland center.

The reef could not have been very attractive for its first occupants. It was probably made up of two parallel sandstone islets, the largest of which did not rise much higher than 1 m above sea level (Fig. 1.6), offering only minimal space poorly suited to the establishment of a long-term settlement.[3] The original name of the islet was *Ṣur*, meaning "rock" or "outcrop"—a name that the city

3 Recent geophysical research suggests that from 6000 to 4000 BCE, that is, during the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods, sea level was lower than it is currently, such that the exposed

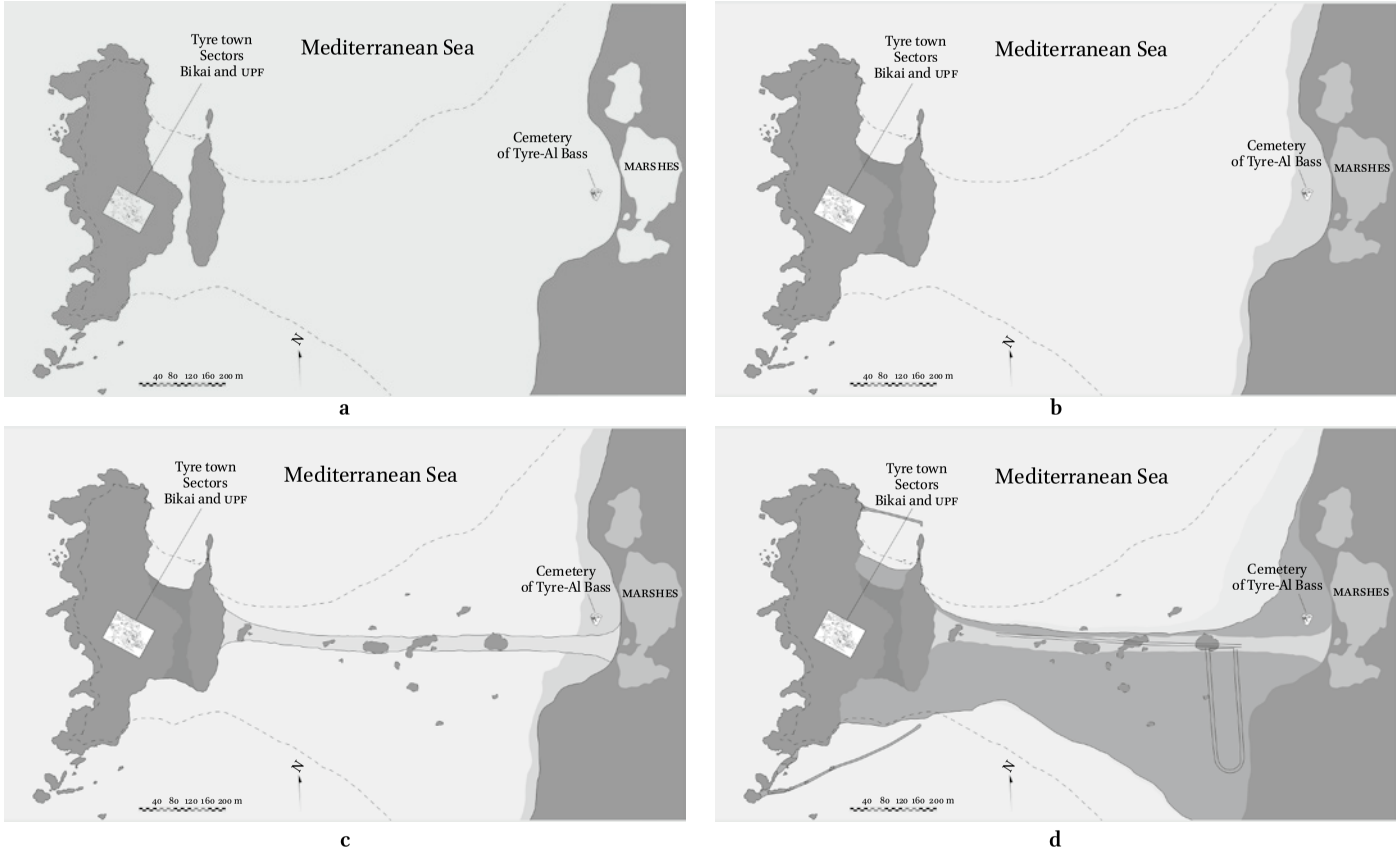

FIGURE 1.6 Reconstruction of the evolution of Tyre
BASED ON P.M. BIKAI 1992

has kept to this day, and from which the Greek transcription *Tyros* derives (Katzenstein 1973: 9).

The first evidence for deliberate, permanent occupation on the islet—a proper "foundation"—is the construction of the large structure of Strata XXII–XXI, ca. 2700/2500 BCE, which was set on one of the highest points of the reef, at a short distance to the west of the Crusader Cathedral (Bikai 1992: 74–75, pl. 13).

It is nevertheless surprising to read Herodotus's famous passage (Hdt. 2.44) describing his visit to insular Tyre in the mid-fifth century BCE in order to learn more about its famous sanctuary to Herakles (= Melqart). Herodotus describes the sanctuary and its famous stelae and, speaking with the temple's priests, the Greek historian asks them how much time has passed since the temple's foundation. The priests tell their visitor that the god's sanctuary was founded at the same time as Tyre itself, 2300 years ago (Katzenstein 1973: 18; Bikai 1978: 72; Bondì 1990: 258). Herodotus's reckoning, which was probably based on the temple's archives, yields a date of roughly 2750 BCE for Tyre's first "foundation." This reckoning is in broad agreement with the chronology attributed to the Early Bronze Age materials described above.

There are hardly any descriptions of "The Rock" before the Iron Age. The most famous account refers to Hiram I of Tyre, who, according to a local tradition reported by Flavius Josephus (*Ap.* 1.113), united the two reef islands in the tenth century BCE in order to found a new capital. In the tenth and ninth centuries, the city is already represented with impressive walls in the bronze gates of Balawat, and referred to as "the fortress" (2 Samuel 24:6–7). In the early sixth century BCE, Tyre is described as being "in the midst of the sea" (Ezekiel 27:32). But that is a later Tyre, the capital of a powerful kingdom and the metropolis of a colonial-commercial diaspora that sent its citizens and merchants across the Mediterranean and to the Atlantic. As has happened many times with other great metropoleis, like Rome, there is a temptation to judge Tyre's early days and prehistory in light of its future greatness. Before the Iron Age, the island of Tyre would have been a mere extension of the continental Tyre, Ushu. In the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, when the contemporary written sources do mention Tyre, they are referring above all to the city of Ushu, not to the island.

Thus, while the Early Bronze Age marks the foundation of Tyre's first insular settlement, the second and more definitive foundation belongs to King Hiram I in the tenth century BCE, this time the result of an explicitly political decision marking the creation of a great capital.

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area of the Tyrian reef may have been considerably greater (Marriner 2008: 68–99; Marriner, Morhange, and Carayon 2008).

2 The Legends about Tyre's Origins

A discussion of the earliest Tyre attested archeologically is also an opportunity to review the textual data at hand regarding the site's beginnings. In the absence of direct written sources relating to Tyre's history, which are now lost, we are left with the translations of Phoenician works—for example, those of Menander of Ephesus (via Flavius Josephus) and Sanchuniathon (via Philo of Byblos)—as well as with various, often quite late, pseudo-historical sources that tend to conflate myth and real history.

As a starting point, a noteworthy source is the work of Flavius Josephus (37–100 CE), who states in *Contra Apionem* (1.107) and *Antiquitates Judaicae* (8.55) that he transcribed entire passages from the Hellenistic writers Menander of Ephesus (*The History of Tyre*, third–second centuries BCE) and Dius (*The History of the Phoenicians*), a Hellenistic historian cited by Josephus (*Ap*. 1.116). These, in turn, claimed to have translated into Greek the *Annals of Tyre* that were kept among the city's archives and official records (Katzenstein 1973: 77–79).

Josephus says (*Ap.* 1.113) that Tyre was originally formed from two islands, one larger than the other, and that in the tenth century BCE, King Hiram I united them in order to increase the city's size and erect the capital's primary public and religious structures.

Another description of Tyre's origins is related by Philo of Byblos, a grammarian from the time of Nero and the author of an eight-volume *Phoenician History*, part of which was transcribed in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Praeparatio evangelica* (1.10.9–11) in the third–fourth centuries CE. Philo's work was, in turn, a translation into Greek of the writings of a certain Sanchuniathon, who claimed to have lived at the time of the Trojan War. Philo prided himself in recovering ancient Phoenician traditions, and interpreted myths as memories of ancient events that actually occurred (Attridge and Oden 1981: 43; Baumgarten 1981: 159–165; Ribichini 1985: 20–22). According to this legend, Tyre's origins are connected with two rival, founding brothers: Samemrumos, also called Hypsuranios, and Ousoos. Hypsuranios lived in Tyre and clashed with his brother Ousoos, the first human sailor. One day, as a storm hit the coast and started forest fires near Tyre, Ousoos, a great hunter who wore animal skins, built a canoe and set out to sea. Then he consecrated two stelae to the fire and the wind—the divine forces that had helped him—founded the city, and offered sacrifices to these stelae in the form of blood libations from the animals he had hunted. For the first time the symbol of the two stelae or columns appears connected to a foundation myth, an allegory of the "twin cities"—the insular and continental Tyre (Ousoos, Usoos = Ushu?)—which is also communicated

through the two eponymous heroes or mythical ancestors (Grotanelli 1972: 52–53).

Classical mythology preserves another foundation myth, although this time we are dealing with very late sources. In this one, Tyre was founded on two rocks connected by the roots of a sacred olive tree (Nonnus, *Dion.* 40.468). The *Dionysiaca* is a text in verse by Nonnus of Panopolis, written in the fifth century CE, which describes the visit of Dionysus or Bacchus to the city of Tyre (*Dion.* 40.300–500). Fascinated as he beholds the temple of Herakles Astrochiton, he pays homage to the Tyrian god, who then invites Dionysus to his table, where they share a banquet of ambrosia—the elixir of immortality and drink of the gods—nectar, and wine (line 420). Later Dionysus asks Herakles about the origin of the city and who set the "rocks" in the sea. Herakles tells him that he himself did, using an oracle of dreams to instruct the first inhabitants of the region—the first men on earth or "sons of the earth"—in the art of navigation, of shipbuilding, and to set out at sea until they reached the appointed location. There they found two rocks drifting in the sea—the floating islands—that were named "Ambrosians" or immortals (lines 467–469). Herakles proceeds with the description: On one of these rocks a sacred olive tree was growing, as old as the islands themselves, permanently enveloped in flames without burning up. On the tree were a bird and a cup, and a snake was wrapped around its trunk. The men who were sent to the island had to capture the eagle and sacrifice it to Zeus, making a libation of its blood, which they were to pour over the Ambrosian Rocks in order to cement them together, fix them to the ocean floor, and found the two islands (lines 499–505). The eagle offered itself as a sacrifice, and, through this self-immolation and the blood sacrifice, the islands stopped wandering. Then the god ordered the construction of the city "by the sea of Tyre." "The place of the eagle sacrifice indicates where Tyre should be founded and the image of the island that emerges from the sea from two wandering rocks will remain as a metaphor for creation, the sacred birth, and the etymology of the original Phoenician name of the city" (Katzenstein 1973: 9; see Naster 1986: 361–363). Throughout this story, the protagonist is clearly Herakles-Melqart, the principal god of Tyre—the *Baal Ṣur*, "Lord of Tyre"—who, in turn, would also immolate himself in fire in order to achieve immortality.[4]

It is difficult to date the origin of these legends, which seem to have been set down in writing quite late, since they do not appear before the fourth or fifth

4 The bibliography on Melqart and his Greek and Latin equivalents (Herakles and Hercules) is infinite, particularly regarding foundation myths and the well-known sanctuaries in Tyre and Gadir.

century CE.[5] The two versions of the myth, the one of Philo of Byblos and the one of Nonnus, contain early features that are clearly oriental and probably emerged from the same original tradition. Indeed, despite their differences, the myths encapsulate a number of common elements: the flaming olive tree, the blood sacrifice, the two rocks, the close relationship between the fire and the olive tree, etc.[6]

Earlier, in the third century CE, the legends passed on by Nonnus and Philo of Byblos had enjoyed tremendous popularity in the city of Tyre. Indeed, the motif of the Ambrosian Rocks and the flaming olive tree appear on bronze coins from the Tyrian mint even before they show up in Nonnus's erudite writings. Between the reigns of Elagabalus (218–222) and Gallienus (253–268) the Ambrosian Rocks appear on Tyrian coins accompanied by the Greek or Latin legend AMBROSIE PETRE or PETRAI (Cook 1940: 975–1015; Naster 1986: 364–368; Bijovsky 2005). The rocks are depicted as round objects on a joint pedestal, flanking a flaming olive tree (Fig. 1.7) and are sometimes accompanied by other motifs connected to Tyrian legends, such as the dog and the murex. Indeed, alongside the symbols explicitly related to the foundation myths, other legendary Tyrian figures are common on Roman coins from Tyre—the hero Cadmus, the bull representing Zeus in the myth of the abduction of

FIGURE 1.7
Bronze coin of Elagabalus (218–222 CE)
PHOTO COURTESY OF G. BIJOVSKY

5 Another author from this period, Achilles Tatius (fourth century CE), alludes to the same symbols: in his *Leucippe and Clitophon* (2.14), Tatius mentions the sacred precinct of Herakles in Tyre, where there was a burning olive tree.

6 Evidence dating to the beginning of the Roman Empire gives us an even earlier attestation of the myth. A small limestone relief, found in Tyre and now housed at the Museum of the American University of Beirut, depicts a strange scene, featuring a large tree with burning branches, an eagle sitting on it, a serpent wrapped around its trunk, and a deer (Will 1950–1951; Zanovello 1981). The Beirut relief is presently the earliest known representation of the legend about Tyre's origins.

Europa, the eagle, the murex, dolphins, Herakles-Melqart, Pygmalion, the two stelae, the palm tree, and a flaming altar. On the coins of Gordian III (238–244) there also appear two brief legends in Phoenician script (*lṣr*, "of Tyre") (Naster 1986: 364; Bijovsky 2000: 326).

Of course, there is some confusion surrounding the symbolic significance of these Tyrian coinages and regarding the possibility that the Ambrosian Rocks depicted on them represent the two islands, mountains, stelae, betyls, or even the famous Pillars of Herakles (Bijovsky 2005: 831; Butcher 2016: 236).

Whatever the case, in my opinion, the crucial question is not whether the iconography of the coins or the late texts of Philo of Byblos, Nonnus, or Achilles Tatius demonstrate the persistence into Roman times of a remote and ancient myth—one whose origin cannot even be dated today. Rather, the question is why such a remote past is being invoked—and with it the ancient Tyrian heritage, its foundation myths, and its heroes—in coinages and erudite texts within the heavily Hellenized context of the Eastern Roman Empire, in a sort of "renaissance" of early Tyrian heritage, a glorification of the past, with the goal of underscoring the unique nature of the cults and traditions of Roman Tyre (Bijovsky 2000: 326; Butcher 2016: 236, 252). The idea of using the remote, albeit reinvented, past as a means of promoting present greatness would seem to be typical of the elite culture of the second–third-centuries Eastern Roman Empire, which would have found in the supposed, or probable, antiquity of its foundational myths a measure of legitimacy for its political ambitions.

Thus, there were several versions of a legend surrounding the origins of Tyre, which was deformed and adapted to suit to present interests and circumstances. Poets and thinkers told myths designed to create a unifying referent that would cement the community around the idea that the foundation of a city is always a unique event, auspiciously ordained by the gods. Out of all these legends, collective memory latched onto the image of two islands, the flaming olive tree, and the "king of the city" in the divine origins of Tyre.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Patricia Bikai for her goodwill and collaboration throughout all our years working in Tyre, since the late 1990s. Likewise, I am grateful to her for the authorization to reproduce images from her excavations. Moreover, I would like to express my thanks to the various colleagues who have contributed their advice and assistance to the production of this article: Manuel Alvarez, Ali Badawi, Amelie Beyhum, Gabriela Bijovsky, Philip Johnston, Francisco Núñez and José M. López-Garí.

CHAPTER 14

Lévi-Strauss and the Royal Ancestor Cult in the Bronze Age Levant

Marisa Ruiz-Gálvez

Michal Artzy is, for me, one of most admired Ladies of Mediterranean Archaeology. I am in wonderment of her brilliant ideas, her ability to join the pieces of the archeological record, to offer an appealing, well-formed interpretation, and her gift of captivating her audience and readers; but especially enviable are her energy and vibrant character. I hope that my contribution does justice to her merits.

1 Introduction

In one of the two essays comprising his book *The Way of the Masks*, C. Lévi-Strauss developed a model of a cognatic, bilateral kinship that he called *société á Maison*, "House society," following a formula adopted from medieval Europe. Lévi-Strauss considered the "House" a general kinship category, defining it as follows:

> "A moral person, holder of a property, made at the same time of material and immaterial goods, which is perpetuated by the transmission of its name, its fortune and titles through a lineage, either real or fictional, considered legitimate, on condition that such continuity could be" expressed either in the language of kinship or of the alliance, or in both.
>
> LÉVI-STRAUSS 1981: 150

The House society model was first applied in the 1990s to the Maya social organization to explain the evolution from weak to strong states (Gillespie 2000; Joyce 2000). Since then, the model has been used to define seemingly very different societies as the Kwakiult and Yurok (Lévi-Strauss 1981), the Early Bronze Age Levantine societies (Chesson 2003), the Minoans (Driessen 2010, 2012), and the late Iron Age Gallaecians (González-Ruibal 2006). More recently, this model was also employed for defining societies of the Bronze and Iron Age

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Levant, as well as Mycenaean, Villanovan, Etruscans, and Nuragic societies (González and Ruiz-Gálvez 2016).

The application of the House society model to seemingly diverse social groups is possible due to the flexibility of the "House," as it uses many different strategies to recruit its members, and because these strategies can be deployed as much by the common people as by the elite (Gillespie 2007: 38). Also, as the House is a highly competitive system, the model helps to explain dynamics of emergence and collapse of sociopolitical entities, as it is the House, and not its members, that has rights and duties (Lévi-Strauss 1981). Thus, we recently defined House societies as heterarchical systems, more complex than chiefdoms, but where power is still performed in a corporate way, where the ruler is only a *primus inter pares* as the assemblies of elders or high-ranking families constrain his power (González-Ruibal and Ruiz-Gálvez 2016).

As Lévi-Strauss (1981) pointed out when examining the Kwakiult and Yurok kinship systems, House societies are neither patrilineal nor matrilineal, but cognatic or bilateral, as both the father's and the mother's patrilineages are equally relevant, since rights to the House's name and property could be transferred through both lineages.

House societies emerge in complex agricultural systems (i.e., irrigation, plow agriculture, or specialized herding), where available soil is scarce and/or population densities, high, so that land control and land ownership become critical. In that sense, House societies comply with Goody's (1976) model of complex agrarian systems connected with the dowry institution and with monogamous and endogamous marriage. As Goody explains, complex agricultural systems allow the concentration of the best soils in few hands. Since irrigation, plow agriculture, and specialized herding all relied on male labor, estate and property are transmitted through the patrilineage, while women from wealthy families are dowered and used as pawns in a strategy of homogamous or hypergamous marriages geared toward the preservation and enlargement of the House's patrimony. This is due to the fact that, although women did not inherit property, they did transmit property rights to their offspring in the absence of a male heir in the family. In this way, Ávalos (1995: 619, 626) cites Numbers 27:1–11, where Yahweh orders Moses to allow females to inherit in absence of males and, though infrequent, there are references in the Bible to the *bet 'em*, "House of the mother" (Genesis 24:28). Institutions as the dowry, levirate, sororate, birthright, and forced bachelorhood of the junior sons as well as of those daughters who cannot be dowered, so that the inheritance is not split up, are all characteristics of these systems (Goody 1976). As these institutions are intended to enlarge and improve the patrimony and prestige of the House,

rather to than to enrich the head of the household (or less so), the system described by Goody corresponds to Lévi-Strauss's house society.

Following Lévi-Strauss, many scholars outlined the physical features that define a kinship group as a House society (Macdonald 1987; Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995; Joyce and Gillespie 2000; Beck 2007).

The Houses are economic and social entities within which there is unequal access to property and prestige, and whose wealth and perdurability is conveyed through their elaborate architecture, as much as in the use of emblems, or through the song or recitation of their myths and exploits (Lévi-Strauss 1981: 152; González-Ruibal 2006: 163).

The agglomerated pattern of urbanism, shaping whole neighborhoods, has also been pointed out as the expression of corporate structures, where lesser members and affines group around the main House (Schloen 2001: 150–151, 302; Chesson 2003: 90–94; Driessen 2010: 50–57), as seen in the third-millennium Middle Euphrates towns and cities, where the Sumerian term KÁ referred to both the city gate and the people who lived in its vicinity (Ristvet 2011: 5; 2015: 57).

The ancestor cult was expressed in elaborate rituals performed by the head of the House, by the construction of an intramural pantheon, or by both, and also by the use of heirlooms and exotics as objects with biography (Kopytoff 1986; Whitley 2002), which help to preserve the memory of the family's heroic past.

González-Ruibal and I (2016) have recently demonstrated that the Levantine societies of the late third to the first millennium BCE all possess these characteristics. But how and when did all these features appear?

2 From Collective to Individual Rule

Based on the settlement pattern analysis of different Early Bronze Age Levantine sites, Chesson (2003: 86) suggested that the emergence of competitive Houses was governed by a corporate civic council. Notwithstanding, many scholars, including Chesson herself (2003: 94), Peltenburg (2007–2008), and Morandi Bonacossi (2014: 426ff.), perceived significant social changes that occurred during the Early–Middle Bronze Age transition. The mortuary record of Bab edh-Dhra' shows the emergence of a House identity from Early Bronze (EB) II–III onward (Chesson 2003: 95–97; de Miroschedji 2009: 105). Other authors (Porter 2002; Peltenburg 2007–2008: 224ff.; Schwartz 2012, 2013: 505–517) demonstrate how mortuary patterns in the Middle Euphrates Valley reflect

ideological changes that occurred in the area, with burial plots devoted to restricted kinship.

It seems that the corporate structures of authority, typical of tribal institutions (Fig. 14.1), began to evolve into other structures, based on a more restricted kinship affiliation. Nevertheless, some collective structures survived when the state arose, and the early second-millennium Mesopotamian city-states enjoyed a heterarchical system of government. The existence of assemblies of elders as well as other institutions that shared governing responsibilities with the king, to some extent, is well known (Blanton and Fargher 2007; Ristvet 2011: 7). According to Sanders (2012: 198), the West Semitic lexicography of the second millennium reveals the strong weight of the tribe still underlying the state institutions. Thus, in Mari, as well as in Emar, the component *lim* (people/tribe) appears in names of kings or divinized individuals. On

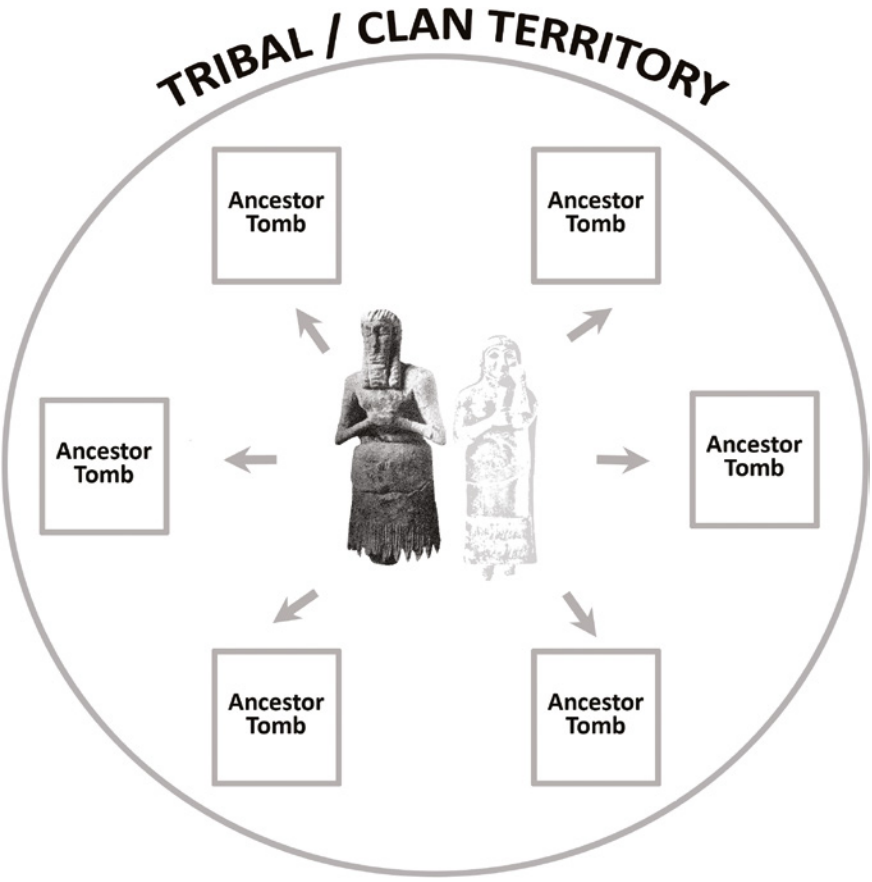

FIGURE 14.1 Collective source of rule; the king shares power with his clan representatives

the other hand, the coastal city-states as Ugarit, evolved into typical Syrian detribalized monarchies, albeit preserving a terminology associated with people as political actors and council institutions (Ávalos 1995: 622; Sanders 2012: 206). Assemblies of elders pervaded also the first-millennium kingdoms of Phoenicia and Israel (Ávalos 1995: 622).

Sites as extensively investigated as Ebla may provide textual and archaeological clues about the appearance of individual lineages emerging from the collective ethics.

The Ebla marriage and coronation texts offer us an insight into the roots of power and authority in Ebla (Biga 1998, 2007–2008: 256; Biga and Capomacchia 2012; Servadio 2009: 36ff.; Ristvet 2011: 8ff.; 2015: 40ff.; Archi 2013: 223; Matthiae 2015: 112ff.). The ARET 11 series includes two texts referring to the wedding and coronation ceremonies of the last two kings of Early Bronze Ebla (2400–2350 BCE). One of these texts includes the rite of incorporation of the bride, King Išar-Damu's cousin, whose father was a brother of the late King Irkab-Damu. On the night before the ritual begins, the bride-to-be camps outside the city; at dawn she crosses Kura's Gate, named for the protector god of the city, and ascends to Kura's Temple, where she takes off her clothes and dresses as a bride. She then brings offerings to Kura and the other gods of Ebla from her father's house, and proceeds to the palace where the wedding ceremonies are performed. The gestures of crossing Kura's Gate, undressing, and putting on new clothes are part of a rite of incorporation (van Gennep 1986).

Even more interesting is the pilgrimage from Ebla to Binaš that the royal couple embarks on after their wedding, visiting the royal pantheon accompanied by their retinue and the statues of the city gods, Kura and Barama. This four-day pilgrimage includes six sojourns in different cities in which the couple makes offerings and performs ceremonies in the tombs of other heroic ancestors. During these ceremonies, the royal couple is transformed into a divine couple.

ARET 7.150 describes another pilgrimage to a more distant city called Darib, with the offering of ten rams to the gods and to the last ten deified kings of Ebla (Biga 2007–2008: 267; Ristvet 2011: 12; 2015: 68–69; Matthiae 2015: 112ff.). As several scholars have suggested (Ristvet 2011: 9; Archi 2013: 232; Matthiae 2015: 116), the towns included in the pilgrimage are all close to Ebla and could have demarcated the ancestral territory of the dynasty. Thus, as the reading of another text, Tablet 74.120, suggests, some of the ancient rulers of third-millennium BCE Ebla were seminomads of the Syrian steppe (Bonechi 2001: 62).

Several aspects of these rituals are meaningful for my argument:

1) At least in one case, ARET 11.2, the bride, Tabur-Damu, and the groom, Išar-Damu, are cousins (Biga 1998: 84), and as part of her rite of incorporation, Tabur-Damu brings offerings to the city's god from her father's

House. Archi (2013: 228) emphasizes that the ceremony was perceived as the wedding of the queen. These aspects recall Goody's (1976) dowry marriage system and Schloen's (2001: 258) patrimonial kingdoms, where every household emulates the structure of the kingdom. Both, as explained above, are specific features of a House society.

2) The pilgrimage to the royal couple's ancestral territory was a mnemonic device to maintain the memory of the dynastic origins, but it also suggests that the power of the ruler was still deeply entangled in extensive kinship or clan ties.

Nevertheless, things seem to have changed at the time of Išar-Damu, the last king of Ebla recorded in the archives, if Matthiae (2015: 114ff.) is correct in identifying him as the king for whom the hypogeum excavated under Royal Palace G was built. The tomb was found empty and, although it may have been plundered, Matthiae thinks that it was meant to be the dynastic pantheon of Išar-Damu and his descendants, but was never used because the city of Ebla was abruptly destroyed. As the aforementioned author points out (ibid.: 116), this fact marks a profound change from extended to restricted affiliation, which Peltenburg (2007–2008: 237) describes as a "privatization of the ancestors."

Other important changes conducive to the deification of Ebla's queens seem to have been undertaken by Išar-Damu (Pinnock 2015: 140). Matthiae (2015: 116) interpreted the standard with two female figures that was discovered in a store of Palace G, as Queen Tabur-Damu mourning in front of a deified queen's statue, identified as Dusigu. Dusigu was Išar-Damu's mother and one of King Irkab-Damu's harem ladies, who, after the king's death, managed to set her son on the throne and become a regent when he was young (Biga 2003: 355–358; Matthiae 2015: 116). Pinnock (2015: 139–140) notes that the Ebla archives of the EB IV allude to kings who were deified in the past but not to queens, and that it was only during Išar-Damu's reign that queens were first deified too.

It was at the very beginning of the Middle Bronze Age that the tendency toward an intramural location of the royal pantheon seems to have become prevalent. This is the case for Palace G in Ebla (Matthiae 2015), for Qatna (Pälzner 2007, 2015), Tuttul, the small palace of Mari (Peltenburg 2007–2008: 232), and possibly for other palaces such as Alalakh—although the chamber tomb there was already plundered when Woolley found it (Woolley 1953: 75–76)—Jericho, and Byblos (Nigro 2009a, 2009b).

These changes into a restricted affiliation of the ruling dynasty could also explain the placing of almost life-size king and queen statues at the entrance of the administrative area of Palace G in Ebla. According to Pinnock (2015: 135), more than they were royal portraits, they may have represented archetypes of the monarchy. Thus, and following my point, it is from that point on that the

palace complex emerged as a seat of the administrative and cultic functions of the dynasty represented by the hypogeum under Palace G. This is the kind of entity that we could more accurately call a house, or better yet, a royal House.

Burials within the urban area are not infrequent in many Syrian cities from the late third millennium BCE, the time of the Ebla archives (Biga 2007–2008: 254–255). Nevertheless, they became even more frequent during the Middle Bronze Age. It was then that subterranean tombs were built beneath the main palaces at Megiddo, Jericho, Tel Ta'anach, Kamid el-Loz, Alalakh, and Byblos (Nigro 2009a: 368–374, n. 12). It is also then that three interconnected royal hypogea were dug beneath the throne room of the Western Palace at Ebla. At least one of them could be identified as the tomb of Immeya, King of Ebla. Among its lavish grave goods, a bone talisman stands out, thanks to the scene carved on it and interpreted as the deification banquet of a deceased king (Matthiae 2015: 117). Interestingly, the character is portrayed holding a shepherd's crook,[1] a symbol connected to the House ideology in the ancient Near East from the end of the third millennium BCE on (González-Ruibal and Ruiz-Gálvez 2016: 401). But, especially significant is the fact that the hypogea were located in the Western Palace, for several reasons: This cardinal point is symbolically connected with the sunset and the underworld and was therefore the seat of the crown Prince, who was in charge of the royal funerals; it was also located next to the temple of Rashap, Lord of the Underworld, where the deified kings were worshipped (Matthiae 2015: 144ff.) A central room with a continuous bench running along three of its four walls and two rooms at the rear of the complex, for food processing, suggest its use for Kispû/Marzeâh meals. The location of royal tombs under the palace's floor connects the palace with the Mesopotamian concept of a cosmic center, the seat of the gods and of the deified monarchs and, therefore, a meeting point between the heavenly world, the world of the living, and the underworld. In a similar way, Schwartz (2013: 505) interprets the Middle Bronze elite burial area at Umm el-Marra—a circular enclosure on the top of the site—as a cosmic center (Fig. 14.2)

The Mari palace is an example of such a cosmic center, with the cultic areas devoted to Ištar and other gods and goddesses, and kispû rituals regularly performed in the throne room. In Pfälzner's words, "the palace of Mari was a place of the gods as well as that of the kings" (Pfälzner 2015: 421; see, also, Charpin 2012).

In Mari as much as in Ugarit, Qatna, and other second-millennium Syrian kingdoms, the Amorite kings made use of the divinization of deceased kings to support claims for rule, based on the divine source of kingship. And, as the

1 I thank Isabel Muntalt (Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona) for calling my attention to this detail.

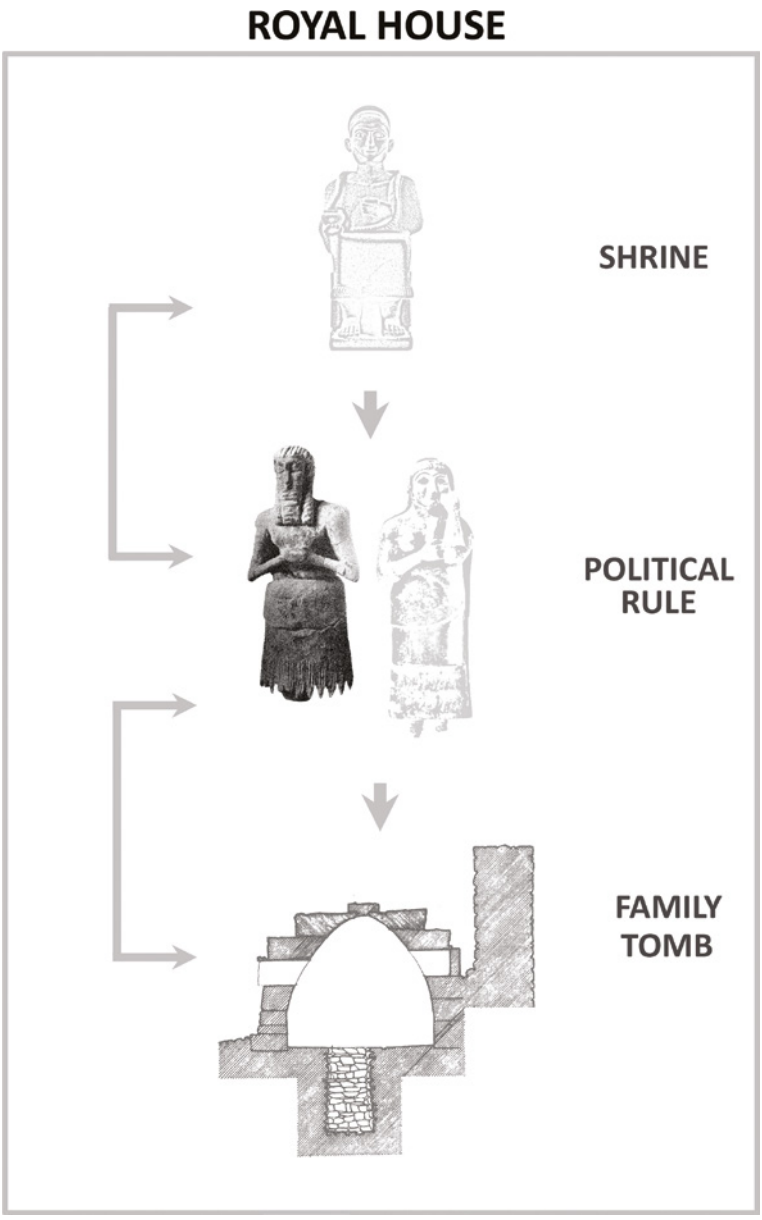

FIGURE 14.2 Individual source of rule based on the royal house as a cosmic center

divine royal ancestors also resided in the palace, the palace itself became a sacred building from which the king's ancestors continued to rule and provide prosperity for their people (del Olmo 2006, 2012; Pfälzner 2015).

The following features may be considered criteria to identify palaces and royal dynasties as House societies:

- Bilaterality: This explains the divinization not only of dead kings but, in some cases, also of dead queens, as in the case of Dusigu (González-Ruibal and Ruiz-Gálvez 2016: 387).
- Houses functioning as shrines or temples and the investment in the material wealth of the house.
- A concern with the past: The Middle Bronze palace of Qatna was built above a previous Early Bronze burial area, and some of the burials were integrated into its foundations (Pfälzner 2015: 433); the Old Babylonian palace of Mari rested on a cultic area (Charpin 2012), and the MB I royal tombs lay below the MB II Royal Palace (Nigro 2009b); Jericho, Ugarit, Qatna, Megiddo, and Kamid el-Loz, among other Middle Bronze palaces, accommodated royal hypogea beneath them (Nigro 2009a; Pfälzner 2015).

Moreover, the House society model is mimicked by the affluent families of the kingdom. A well-preserved MB II neighborhood in the southwestern sector of the Lower Town of Ebla provides us with a good insight of the kinship structure of the time (Ascalone, Peyronel, and Spreafico 2014). Houses are agglomerated; though they share dividing walls, they differ in size and plan and only some of them have a first floor apart from a ground floor. Houses were constantly refitted, enlarged, or partitioned, according to the family growth and other social or hierarchical changes within it. Many of the houses, such as the northeastern house in the central insula, stored a great amount of food, which suggests that the families that lived in them owned agricultural plots close to the city. This could be confirmed by finds recovered in three houses: a tablet, a cylinder seal, and three scale weights connected, perhaps, to the administration of the landed patrimony.

All these features also correspond with the definition of Houses as economic and social entities, with the agglomerated pattern of urbanism as a blueprint of a system of extended kinship, with lesser members and affines occupying small buildings around the main House, as described in Schloen's "House of the father" model (2001: 105–107, 336–337; see, also, Ur 2010: 412).

A further clue for the emergence of a House society system in northern Mesopotamia and the Levant is provided by the erection of family pantheons belonging to aristocratic families inside the urban precinct, below or next to their houses. This is the case of a chamber tomb discovered under Street L in Ebla, used for several generations and dated to MB II, the time of the Royal Pantheon of the Western Palace. Some evidence suggests that funerary banquets were held during the burials, emulating, perhaps, the royal rituals (Moglianzza and Polcaro 2010). Familial tombs with an entrance from the street are also known in

Middle Bronze Ugarit (Marchegay 2008:107), and van der Toorn (1996: Chapter 3) describes an ancestor cult practiced by families and burials under the house floor beginning in the Old Babylonian period.

3 Epilogue: Why Did House Societies Emerge in the Early–Middle Bronze Age Transition?

There is probably not a single answer for this question as many factors must have contributed to this development. One of them may have been instability resulting from the 4.2 ka BP climatic event with its ensuing draught and soil degradation. These, in turn, probably brought about changes in resources management, resulting in a higher concern for the control of landed property and growing contacts between urban populations and seminomadic groups. The latter may have contributed to the formation of what Porter (2007) and Burke (2014, 2017) call the Amorite koine or the Amorite identity.

Among the cultural features described above, the patrimonial model and the concept of the ruler as a shepherd of his people (Schloen 2001: 120–121) could certainly have a relevant role. From the days of Sargon I onward, the Akkadian kings were given the epithet of shepherd, and the Ugaritic god Hilal was also called "Lord of the shepherd crook." This epithet seems to be connected to the idea that the gods were the real owners of the kingdom and the kings were the shepherds appointed to watch over the gods' patrimony (Schloen 2001: 120–121; González-Ruibal and Ruiz-Gálvez 2016: 400–401).

The harsh climatic conditions, including a drastic decline in rainfall regime caused by the 4.2 ka BP climatic event, impacted dry farming systems that were practiced together with pastoralism and trade by the Amorites, who, according to the texts, were settled in northern Mesopotamia and the Levant at the end of the third millennium BCE (Porter 2007: 108; Burke 2017: 267–270). Paleoclimatic records show increased human control of aquifers in both regions in the Early–Middle Bronze Age transition as a result of the interplay of climate- and man-induced environmental changes (Pustovoytov and Riehl 2016). Although in Burke's view (2014: 358) the formation process of the Amorite cultural and social koine had begun earlier, many of its features—strategies aimed to avoid splitting the landed patrimony; the ancestor cult; and the stress on endogamous, bilateral, patriarchal, and patrilocal kinship systems—might have been fueled or strengthened by the need to control critical resources, resulting in deep structural changes.[2]

2 My deep gratitude goes to my colleague Eduardo Galán for helping me with the illustrations.

4 Summary

In the present paper I contend that the Kingdom of Ebla, as many other kingdoms in the Levant and northern Mesopotamia, had evolved from a tribal to a more restricted system of affiliation, compatible with Schloen's (2001) model of patrimonial kingdom or Lévi-Strauss's (1981) House society system. Key facts can be summarized as follows:

- House societies are heterarchical systems, more complex than chiefdoms but less complex than states, which are hierarchical and class-based systems. This is due to the fact that House societies, as relics of their tribal roots, are corporate systems in which an elders or city assembly shares and counterbalances the king's power.
- House societies emerge where resources are scarce or critical for subsistence and controlling them becomes a power-wielding strategy, such as rights on salmon fishing in Yurok and Kwakiult societies, or rights on good arable land, in semiarid regions as those of the Mediterranean and the Near East.
- Although there is no unique reason that explains the emergence of a House society system during the Early–Middle Bronze Age transition in northern Mesopotamia and the Levant, it seems reasonable to assume that stress put on dry farming systems by severe droughts and reduced rainfall that were a consequence of the 4.2 ka. BP climatic event, may have triggered underlying processes of profound social and affiliation changes.
- Marriage in EB IV, as typical in societies with complex agricultural systems, was already based on a dowry system (Goody 1976) and endogamous alliances among close relatives, to reinforce allegiances of the kin group. This is demonstrated in the marriage and coronation texts from Ebla. Nevertheless, the pilgrimage to the royal couple's ancestral territory proves that kingship was still rooted in broad tribal ties.
- From the Early–Middle Bronze Age transition on, the northern Mesopotamian and Levantine kingdoms can be called Houses. The house of the king becomes an archetype of kingship, a kind of axis mundi, or meeting point between heaven, earth, and the underworld, in the sense that it was the seat of political rule (the throne room), cult (ancestor cult) and dynastic rights to govern (mausoleum of deified kings).

Affluent Houses emulate the "House of the king" model (Schloen 2001: 120–121, 331). In this way, agglomerated houses with a common dividing wall in MB II Ebla suggest that extended families lived together in a neighborhood. The fact that only one of the houses seems to have been larger and equipped with a second floor, suggests a model similar to Schloen's (2001: 336–337) for Ugarit or Late Bronze Canaan/Iron Age Israel, among many others (Brody 2009; Faust 2012;

Gilboa, Sharon, and Zorn 2014). The erection of family tombs inside the Ebla precinct, next to or below the houses, can be understood in the same way, because House societies are competitive and unstable systems, within which affluent Houses compete with each other and with the royal House to seize prestige and power.

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CHAPTER 15

Phoenicians and Corinth

Susan Sherratt

This paper is written for Michal Artzy, whom I first met almost 30 years ago, and who has been the kindest of friends and a constant source of inspiration ever since. As I (and others) are well aware, and as many of her publications make clear, Michal knows far more about ancient maritime matters and ships and their representations than I am ever likely to (see, e.g., Artzy 2003), but I hope she will like the Phoenician trading ship that I venture to identify at Corinth in this tribute.

1 Introduction

I have been thinking recently about the relationship between Phoenician mariners and Corinth because, although it seems clear that Phoenician ships were using the long open sea route via southern Crete (particularly Kommos) to the far west of the Mediterranean from the end of the tenth century BCE onward, it seems inconceivable to me that they did not also make use of the route via the Isthmus of Corinth, probably already from the ninth century, but certainly in the eighth and subsequent centuries. Here I find myself fighting against a long-standing prejudice on the part of much classical scholarship, which, for much of the twentieth century, denied the possibility of Phoenician activity in the Aegean until at least the end of the eighth century, and, until relatively recently, of Phoenician precedence over Greek activity in the central and western Mediterranean. Things, however, have gradually been changing, and, as Martin Frederiksen noted as many as 40 years ago, "the Phoenicians are on the way back" (Frederiksen 1976–1977: 43; cf. Ridgway 1994: 38–40). While this observation was made specifically in relation to the evidence for physical Phoenician presence on Pithecusae (Ischia) and in Etruria, it also referred more generally to a resurgent interest in Phoenicians, particularly in the central and western Mediterranean. Since then, Phoenicians have continued to make their way back to southwestern Spain from the beginning of the ninth century onward (González de Canales, Serrano, and Llompart 2006; Nijboer and van der Plicht 2006; and various papers in Celestino, Rafel, and Armada 2008), to Sardinia (Oggiano 2000; Ridgway 2006: 244–249), to Euboea in the later eleventh

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to ninth centuries (Papadopoulos 1997, 2011; Theurillat 2007), to Crete from at least the tenth century (Shaw 1989; Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2006) and even, if perhaps not much before the eighth century, to the northern Aegean (Kasseri 2012; though, see, also, Papadopoulos 2005: 588–592). Moreover, the idea that Greeks, particularly "enterprising Euboeans," were solely responsible for bringing oriental objects into the Aegean and for distributing their own pottery around the Mediterranean in the early Iron Age (e.g., Popham 1994; Boardman 1996) now begins to seem increasingly implausible (González de Canales, Serrano, and Llompart 2006: 25–26 ; Ridgway 2006: 247; Kourou 2012).

2 Phoenicians, Corinth, and Pottery

My interest in the Phoenicians and Corinth has been sparked by a number of stimuli over the years. In the first place, there is the well-known association between Phoenician and Corinthian ceramic and other material in the central Mediterranean, not least at eighth-century Pithecusae (Ridgway 1992: 111–118), so far seemingly the earliest Greek settlement in the central Mediterranean (Buchner 1966) and, according to Strabo (5.4.9), founded by Chalcidians and Eretrians from Euboea; and it occurred to me to wonder about the routes by which these different types of pottery got there. A breakdown of imported pottery from the Valle di San Montano cemetery (Ridgway 1992: 72–82, figs. 18–20, tables 3–5)—although the absolute numbers are small—suggests that, while its majority (63.8% of a total of 285 pots) came from Corinth,[1] the remainder (some 36%) came from beyond the isthmus—from Rhodes, the Levant, and Euboea, in that order.[2] Given that pottery is a commodity that is typically

1 The "Argive monochrome" lekythoi found in the cemetery have been counted as coming from Corinth, since it seems possible that at least some of these may have been made in or around Corinth (Stillwell and Benson 1984: 14; Kourou 1987). For these pots and their possible contents, see Kourou 1988.

2 If these numbers are broken down into two consecutive periods (Late Geometric I [ca. 750–725 BCE] and Late Geometric II [ca .725–700 BCE]; see Ridgway 1992: 69), it can be seen that in the earlier period, although the overall number of imported pots (27) is much smaller and the dominance of Corinthian pottery (17) continues, a somewhat larger number proportionally (7) starts its journey in the Levant and outnumbers Euboean imports (3). In the later period (a total of 258 imported pots) aryballoi from Rhodes are second in frequency to Corinthian pots, followed by Euboean and Levantine products (see Ridgway 1992: figs. 12, 18, 30, tables 4, 5, pl. 5). It is perhaps worth noting that the imported pots from the Valle di San Montano cemetery that had traveled furthest were often ones that traveled for the sake of their contents, rather than simply as pots: for example, the Rhodian "Kreis-und-Wellenband" aryballoi and Levantine flasks, both of which can be assumed to have contained perfumed

subject to seaborne tramping trade, picked up where it is available and disposed of as soon as a ready market is reached, it seems likely that at least a number of the ships that brought pottery to Pithecusae started in the southeastern Aegean, or even further east, and arrived in Pithecusae via the Isthmus of Corinth. In pre-Diolkos days this could well have involved ships of up to 16 m or so in length being hauled over the isthmus with the help of rollers,[3] but, in any case, it seems quite clear that the isthmus route was quite extensively used in even earlier periods, including the later thirteenth–eleventh centuries, when increases in settlement activity around the Corinthian and Saronic Gulfs and in the Ionian Islands, together with the distribution of amber and "Urnfield" and Cypriot bronze types suggest this (Harding and Hughes-Brock 1974: fig. 3; Mederos and Harrison 1996: fig. 5; Sherratt 2001: 235–236; 2000, fig. 5.1). The growth of Corinth, which can be traced from at least the late tenth century (Salmon 1996: 390) and of the Isthmian sanctuary from the eleventh century (Morgan 1999: 373) seem, at any rate, unthinkable without the isthmus.

Once we get rid of the idea, quite common until recently in classical circles, that only traders from a particular center could transport that center's pottery (see on this, e.g., Papadopoulos 1997: 193–194; Morris and Papadopoulos 1998: 254–258), it seems reasonable to suppose that eastern ships traveling via the Isthmus of Corinth may have conveyed at least some of the Corinthian pottery that pervades the central and western Mediterranean in the eighth and seventh centuries.[4] Corinthian pottery is by far the most frequent Greek pottery

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oils (cf. Coldstream 1977: 228). In the settlement areas, however, imported pots that cannot have traveled with anything in them predominate among the fine pottery. In order of frequency these consist chiefly of Corinthian, Euboean, and Phoenician Red Slip, in addition to those of local manufacture (Ridgway 1992: 89).

3 The Diolkos—the trackway constructed so that ships could be hauled on wheeled trolleys over the isthmus—was probably built during the reign of the tyrant Periander ca. 600 BCE (Lewis 2001: 11–15), which in itself is a good indication that a sufficient number of ships had been using the isthmus for enough time for the need for it to be felt. A length of up to 16 m for a clinker-built ship being hauled on rollers has been suggested as feasible for the much later Varangian portage routes, which often included much longer haulage distances (Stalsberg 2001: 370). A couple of wrecks of eighth-century Phoenician merchant ships loaded with hundreds of wine amphorae and located in deep water off the southern end of the Levantine coast were ca. 14 m long (Ballard et al. 2002: 157) and, therefore, probably capable of being hauled across the isthmus without the Diolkos. See, also, Herodotus 7.24, where he remarks that Xerxes' men could have drawn their warships across the isthmus of the Athos peninsula without trouble, but that he chose instead to construct a canal as a means of displaying his power.

4 Cf. also van der Brugge 2016: 328. This must almost certainly be so in the case of the eighth-century Corinthian Geometric kotylai found together with Phoenician Red Slip juglets and an alabastron in Tomb 19 of the Laurita necropolis at Almuñécar on the Málaga coast of

found in the West and on the North African coast in this period, and also finds its way eastward into most parts of the Aegean (Salmon 1984: 101–109). That, indeed, easterners may have had a hand in positively developing the Corinthian pottery industry for export has been argued by Sarah Morris and John Papadopoulos (1998), who point out that the development of proto-Corinthian pottery, toward the end of the eighth century, owes much to oriental influence.[5] This can be seen in the prominence of shapes such as the globular aryballos[6] and the alabastron, which, along with contemporary lekythoi and Rhodian aryballoi, share the flat mushroom lip (and very probably the contents)[7] of earlier and contemporary Phoenician flasks and other small container shapes (cf., e.g., Ridgway 1992: figs. 8: 16–19; 12; 14: 8–13; 30; pls. 5, 7, 8). But it is evident also in the decorative style (first found on aryballoi), which includes oriental animals and the use of incision for outlines and details, and seems particularly evocative of engraved metalwork as represented, for example, by the Phoenician bronze and silver bowls that become increasingly widespread in the Mediterranean from the ninth century onward (Markoe 1985, 1996: 50–54; 2000: 148–150; Morris and Papadopoulos 1998: 252–254). Morris and Papadopoulos go on to discuss other possible indications of a Phoenician involvement with Corinth, which include the cult of Aphrodite Ourania (who might well be thought of as a goddess of navigation) as official protectress of the city.[8] It has been suggested by Charles Williams (1986) that this cult came directly from Phoenicia, and, indeed, Herodotus (1.105) tells us that the temple of Aphrodite Ourania at Ashkelon was the oldest of all temples of this goddess. Williams (1981) has also drawn attention to the existence of a number of stelae

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southeastern Spain (Aubet 2001: 292). For other types of Greek pottery carried west by Phoenicians even earlier than this, see further below; and see Pseudo-Scylax's *Periplous* 112c [Lipiński 2004: 462–464] for Phoenician merchants selling Attic pottery at Kerne on the northwestern coast of Africa.

5 As a corollary to this, it is perhaps no coincidence that the possibly locally made Late Geometric pottery from the precinct of Tanit at Carthage seems to have affinities with the pottery of Corinth (Coldstream 1968: 386–387; cf. now Docter 2014).

6 The globular aryballos with a wide flat disc lip already appears in Corinthian pottery in the late ninth or early eighth century (see, e.g., Weinberg 1943: 18 no. 63, pl. x; cf. Coldstream 1968: 94–95, pl. 17: c), but it is only toward the end of the eighth century that it first acquires "Orientalizing" decoration.

7 For Corinth's fame in the distant past as a producer of iris-scented unguent, see the first-century writer Pliny (*NH* 13.2).

8 Perhaps the equivalent of the Phoenician Tanit, or one of those other versatile Levantine goddesses associated with marine navigation and the protection of seafarers, who have a tendency to run effortlessly into one another. On the question of temple prostitution in the temple of Aphrodite Ourania at Corinth, see Fauth 1988: 38.

shrines of sixth–fifth-centuries date, including one in the Potters' Quarter, some of them not dissimilar in general to stelae or cippi found on early Iron Age Crete and in the Punic West (Morris and Papadopoulos 1998: 258, pl. 21; cf. Stampolidis 1990; Moscati 2001), or to elements of the Phoenician shrine at Kommos (Shaw 1989: fig. 10). Morris and Papadopoulos (1998: 259–261) also consider various elements in the foundation and other mythology of Corinth, which could be construed as suggesting some close Phoenician connections (cf. West 1997: 58). Other hints at Phoenician involvement in the life and religious practices of Corinth are listed by Eckert (2016: 127, 129–133).

3 Phoenicians, Corinth, and Euboean and Attic Pottery

Before I go on to discuss another small piece of archaeological evidence that may indicate a close Phoenician relationship with Corinth, it is perhaps worth considering some of the Euboean and Attic pottery that was arguably carried westward on Phoenician ships. As González de Canales, Serrano, and Llompart (2006: 25) have pointed out, it seems unthinkable that the Euboean pendent semicircle skyphoi and the 15 pendent semicircle plates of the ninth or very early eighth century (which are rare in the Aegean, but relatively common at Tyre) that turn up at Huelva (González de Canales, Serrano, and Llompart 2006: 19, figs. 21–24) were carried all that way by Euboean Greeks. The same has been argued for a similar skyphos from Sant'Imbenia on Sardinia, which, like the Huelva material, was found in a thoroughly Phoenician context (Ridgway 2006: 244–247; Naso 2014: 171).[9] How, then, did these get there? Did they first go to Tyre (as a considerable number of such skyphoi and an impressive number of such plates did [Coldstream and Bikai 1988]), and were then transported westward via Kommos on southern Crete, along the southern open sea route, to the far west? This is certainly possible, but one problem is that, although there are a few Euboean pendent semicircle skyphoi on Crete, particularly at Knossos (Popham 1983: 281; Coldstream 1996: 403), there is no sign of any of the plates on that island, and even the skyphoi are absent from Kommos (Callaghan and Johnston 2000). One could probably argue that the inhabitants of Crete had little use for such plates, since the shape is a regular feature of eastern Mediterranean ceramic and metal repertoires rather than Aegean ones. But one could perhaps ask alternatively whether the plates that reached Huelva might have

9 For other examples of pendent semicircle skyphoi from the central Mediterranean, some almost as early as the Sant'Imbenia one and none of them later than the mid-eighth century, see Naso 2014.

traveled west over the Isthmus of Corinth. Although, against this, there are no Euboean pendent semicircle plates or skyphoi known from Corinth or the Isthmian sanctuary, in support of it we might cite the two plates from the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens (Kraiker and Kübler 1939: 130, pl. 52; Kübler 1943: 46, pl. 34), tucked in well to the west of the eastern entrance to the Saronic Gulf. These are accompanied by a few pendent semicircle skyphoi in Athens, and to the west of the Isthmus at Delphi (Lemos 2002: 46), which suggests that this may have provided a route westward. Together with these may have traveled the examples of late ninth/early eighth century Attic pottery, which also reached Huelva and other sites with close associations with Phoenicians in the western and central Mediterranean (González de Canales, Serrano, and Llompart 2006: 19, figs. 17–20; Kourou in press 2020). Later, from the mid-eighth century, early versions of Attic and Euboean "SOS" amphorae can also be seen to extend in their distribution from Huelva in the far west to the Levant (including Tyre) in the far east (Pratt 2015: figs. 11–14); and Pratt (2015: 231–232) is surely justified in finding further support for the suggestion, first put forward by Shefton (1982), that Phoenicians were heavily involved in distributing these around the Mediterranean. The association of later versions with Early Corinthian aryballoi, especially in the western Mediterranean, suggests that at least some of them traveled westward over the Isthmus of Corinth.

4 A Phoenician Ship at Corinth?

Finally, returning more narrowly to the question of Phoenicians and Corinth, I would like to draw attention to part of a ceramic plaque excavated at Penteskouphia, close to ancient Corinth, in 1879, among over 1,000 other plaques probably from a sanctuary of Poseidon, many of which show scenes of potters at work with potters' wheels and kilns. This particular plaque, now in Berlin (Furtwängler 1885: 90 no. 831; Fraenkel 1886: 3 pl. 8 no. 3a; Rayet and Collignon 1888: xv fig. 6; Basch 1987: 235, 237 no. 494; Casson 1995: fig. 98), has been dated by reason of its style to the seventh or sixth century. One side of the plaque shows a male figure identified by Furtwängler as Poseidon, with a human-headed bird flying behind him, and beneath this a man in a cave or hole digging something (perhaps clay) with a pickax (Fraenkel 1886: pl. 8: 3b) (Fig. 15.1). The other side shows the stern end of a ship with furled sail and brail rig, which Casson (1995: 69) has compared to the rigging of both Phoenician and Greek ships. Above the rigging, on either side of the mast, hangs a row of seven or more jugs of some material, while on top of the curved stern is a curious symbol consisting of a circular shape on top of a vertical pole, and above that a horizontal line. Behind

FIGURE 15.1
Terracotta plaque from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Penteskouphia, Corinth; Berlin Altes Museum, Antikensammlung no. 831 [P. 303] (other side of Fig. 15.2)
FRAENKEL 1886: PL. 8: 3B

this symbol is a row of three emblems that look like two-barred crosses, but could, given the difficulty of painting at this relatively small and crude scale, possibly be caducei (Fig. 15.2).

The main symbol on the stern of the ship has also been interpreted as a caduceus, or kerykeion, the short staff entwined by two serpents, and frequently shown in classical iconography as carried by heralds and often associated with the god Hermes or with Iris, the messenger of the gods—which, in some ways, might seem appropriate for a ship carrying goods or messages swiftly across the waves; however, by the seventh–sixth centuries, we would expect to be able to recognize a Greek caduceus without too much difficulty, and this symbol is clearly not one. Rather, it bears a much closer resemblance to the symbol found on the sterns of war galleys portrayed on Phoenician coins dating from the fifth century and later (Basch 1987: 320–325 nos. 675–682, 687; cf. Brody 2005: 179) than anything found in Greek iconography. This symbol consists of a crescent moon surmounting a sun disc, a motif that is often associated with the "sign of Tanit" on funerary and other stelae in the Punic West (Moscati 2001), and which can be related to an ancient Canaanite symbol (Tubb 1998: 146).[10]

10 For the association of the disc and crescent moon with Tanit, see Brody 2005: 179; 2008: 3. This symbol can also be found on funerary stelae from the eleventh–sixth centuries

FIGURE 15.2
Terracotta plaque from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Penteskouphia, Corinth; Berlin Altes Museum, Antikensammlung no. 831 [P. 303]; showing stern end of a ship (other side of Fig. 15.1)
FRAENKEL 1886: PL. 8: 3A

I would suggest that the main symbol on the stern is intended to indicate that this is a Phoenician ship. The symbol, which is recognizable from the portrayal of ships on Phoenician coins (see above) and from Phoenician and Punic funerary stelae, does not seem to appear on other contemporary Greek

al-Bass cemetery at Tyre (Sader 2005: 36–40, 52–53, figs. 17, 20, 34). The crescent on these and on the ships on Sidonian coins, as well as on stelae in the west, can point either upward or downward.

Some later Punic stelae combine the disc and crescent moon and the "sign of Tanit" with what we would recognize from Graeco-Roman iconography as caducei (e.g., British Museum ANE125117: a second–first centuries BCE stele with a dedication to Baal from the Tophet of Carthage, which also has a disc and crescent moon combination at the top of the stele [Tubb 1998: 140, fig. 98]; British Museum 1857,1218.30: fourth–second centuries, also from Carthage, and also with a disc and crescent moon at the top [Davis 1863: pl. 1: 2]; Quinn 2017: figs. 5.5, 5.6, from the Carthage Tophet). Much ink has been spilled for over more than a century on the question of whether the caduceus was originally a Greek or eastern symbol. For differing views on this, see, e.g., Frothingham 1916; Boetzkes 1967; Cross 1997, 31 n. 108. I would merely point out that it may well be in some way relatable to the image of a snake-legged goddess on a Canaanite gold pendant found by Michal Artzy at Tel Nami on the Carmel Coast and datable to the thirteenth century BCE (Artzy 1994: 125, fig. 4). This image, in turn, can be compared with those on a Mitannian seal impression on a letter in the Amarna archive and on some earlier Mitannian cylinder seals (Porada 1974–1977: 141–142, figs. 1b, 6–7), which Buchanan (1971) has associated with the underworld. That images like these (or at least their derivative, the caduceus) eventually become associated with Tanit seems likely (Brody 2005: 179).

representations of ships, including other plaques from Penteskouphia. Since almost half of the ship is missing, it is impossible to say what the other end looked like, but the shape of the stern, at least, seems similar to those of both Greek and Phoenician cargo and fighting ships in representations of the mid-first millennium (Basch 1987: 236–238 nos. 490, 493, 498; 321 nos. 675–678).[11] Was the plaque dedicated at a sanctuary of the god of the sea and protector of sailors by a Corinthian potter desirous of ensuring a safe journey for the Phoenician ship that carried his wares overseas, or was it dedicated by a Phoenician shipowner or captain, either based in Corinth or en route across the isthmus? The jugs suspended above the ship have been assumed to be Corinthian ceramic products (Rayet and Collignon 1888: xv), and they could perhaps be seen as somewhat crude and elongated representations of some examples of Corinthian trefoil-mouthed oenochoae (e.g., Amyx and Lawrence 1975: pls. 46–51), even though the jugs on the plaque appear to have taller conical feet. Their close similarity to jugs shown lying in a kiln on another plaque (Fraenkel 1886: 4, pl. 8 no. 19b; Rayet and Collignon 1888: xiv fig. 5) would suggest that they are local products, as does the possibility that clay is shown being dug up on the other side of our plaque, as well as the frequent associations between potters and plaques from the Penteskouphia sanctuary in general. On the other hand, jugs that could equally be seen to match these representations were being produced over a wide area of the Mediterranean world, including Greece, the Levant, and Etruria, in a variety of materials, including glass and metal as well as ceramics.

5 Concluding Remarks

There is not a great deal more that it is possible to say about this image, given the incomplete state of the plaque and the relative crudeness of the painting. Nevertheless, speculative though it may be, it perhaps adds yet another small fragment of evidence to those outlined earlier for Phoenicians operating at, or passing through, Corinth in the Archaic and preceding periods. If so, it probably should not surprise us. We have arguably become accustomed, until relatively recently, to thinking within our own specialized, and often protectionist, disciplines and geographical areas. Classical Greek archaeologists dealt only with Greeks in Greece and in lands (and at times) recorded as having been inhabited by Greeks; and Phoenicians (the province of Levantine archaeologists) threatened an alien intrusion into an otherwise ideologically self-contained world. As long as

11 For the belief that it is a merchant ship, see Chatzidimitriou 2010: 10–11.

separate archaeological disciplines did not regularly interact and intermingle, it was forgotten that people from different parts of the ancient world (ideally distinguishable archaeologically by their quite different material cultures) did, and just how mobile and cosmopolitan that world could be, even in the early centuries of the Iron Age. As Michal Artzy has shown for the Late Bronze Age, it takes excavation of a single harborside, as at Tell Abu Hawam, to show just how varied the origins of ships that called in there could be (Artzy 2006: 55).

Despite our archaeological obsessions with pottery, we need not worry (as some do) that Phoenician pottery is missing from Corinth in the early Iron Age and Archaic periods. Phoenicians were perfectly happy to use and/or reproduce other people's pottery, as the Cypro-Geometric and Euboean Subprotogeometric pots from sites such as Dor and Tyre, and the locally made "Greek" pottery from Carthage show (Coldstream and Bikai 1988; Gilboa 1999; Docter 2014); and, as long as these were available, they were content to use tableware and even small packaging vessels made elsewhere, in some cases—as the pendent semicircle plates reveal—made specially for them and designed to fit into their own repertoires (Coldstream and Bikai 1988: 39). The main goods for maritime trade that they produced in their home cities were other types of manufactures: fine textiles, glass and faience, elaborate carved ivories, and fancy metalwork. Trade in the pottery of others (including pottery as containers for other people's wine or unguents) was, to some extent, opportunistic—picked up because they were passing anyway and knew they could find a market (cf. Artzy 1985)—or, to a greater extent, because they were traders and designed their routes accordingly.

This brings us to the question of sea routes, which have only relatively recently been systematically considered, most recently of all (and occasionally rather mechanically) in the context of "network" approaches (Knappett, Evans, and Rivers 2008). Routes that link places purely by sea are one thing, but isthmuses and portages have always been just as important in long-distance seafaring and trading (Sherratt 2006), and, like mountain passes, act as funnels to attract sea travelers and thus provide stimuli to the local production of manufactured goods for maritime export by whoever is passing that way in either direction. The 5 km wide Isthmus of Corinth is undoubtedly the most famous and one of the shortest examples in the ancient world, and the ancients themselves were in no doubt that Corinth owed its prosperity as a commercial emporium to its situation on it (Thuc. 1.13), even if twentieth-century scholars of earlier generations might perversely have taken another view and, in Weberian fashion, argued that the city's wealth was built on its rich agricultural land rather than its location or even its commerce (Will 1955; Salmon 1984). It is my belief that Thucydides was right, and that Corinth would never have become

so wealthy in the first half of the first millennium BCE had it not been for its isthmus. This linked the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean with the central and western Mediterranean, and I have tried to suggest that ships of many different origins, including Phoenician ones, traveled across it.

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Trade and Power in the Fifth and Fourth Millennia BC: New Evidence from Northern Mesopotamia
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Trade and power in the fifth and fourth millennia BC: new evidence from northern Mesopotamia

Joan Oates

Introduction

The formation of the earliest known cities (generally attributed to Late Uruk Mesopotamia, c. 3500 cal. BC) was accompanied by the foundation of 'colonies' and smaller 'outposts' in Syria, Anatolia and Iran, established apparently to secure various raw materials lacking in the Mesopotamian homeland. The growth in Sumer of organization(s) capable of constructing and administering such distant 'colonies' both reflected and contributed to increasing levels of social and economic complexity. The scale of the colony settlements, both in terms of size and distance, raises again the question of the role of long-distance trade in early state formation. The colony data are new, and derive largely from twenty years intensive 'rescue' archaeology along the Euphrates, both in the area of the Tabqa and now the Tishrin dams in Syria and of a series of dams in south-east Anatolia (Fig. 1). Since the discovery and excavation of Late Uruk Habuba-Süd/Qannas (Strommenger 1980) and Jebel Aruda (van Driel 1979) on the Upper Euphrates in north-western Syria, some 1,200km from the Mesopotamian heartland and the eponymous site, the role of these and other Uruk-related sites has received much attention (*inter alia*, Palmieri 1985; Sürenhagen 1986; Schwartz 1988; Algaze 1989). These new investigations have greatly expanded our knowledge of fourth-millennium BC contacts not only between Syro-Anatolia and southern Mesopotamia (and probably Elam) but also across northern Mesopotamia, represented archaeologically by the widespread distribution of identical, indigenous northern materials from beyond the Taurus in the west to the foothills of the Zagros in northern Iraq.

Two views have been widely accepted. 1) That the south Mesopotamian (Late Uruk) presence in Syria and Anatolia was of relatively short duration, and 2) that the motive for this cultural intrusion was the acquisition of raw materials such as metals, good timber, stone and other exotic items lacking in the environment of southern Mesopotamia. Existing data seemed to support the view that the Uruk network in the north-west collapsed at the end of the Late Uruk period (Eanna archaic IV, perhaps c. 3300 cal. BC, Behm-Blancke 1985: 94). At approximately the same time the monumental Eanna precinct at Uruk itself was demolished in preparation for a comprehensive rebuilding (Eanna archaic III) (Finkbeiner 1986), an event which has been interpreted as evidence of

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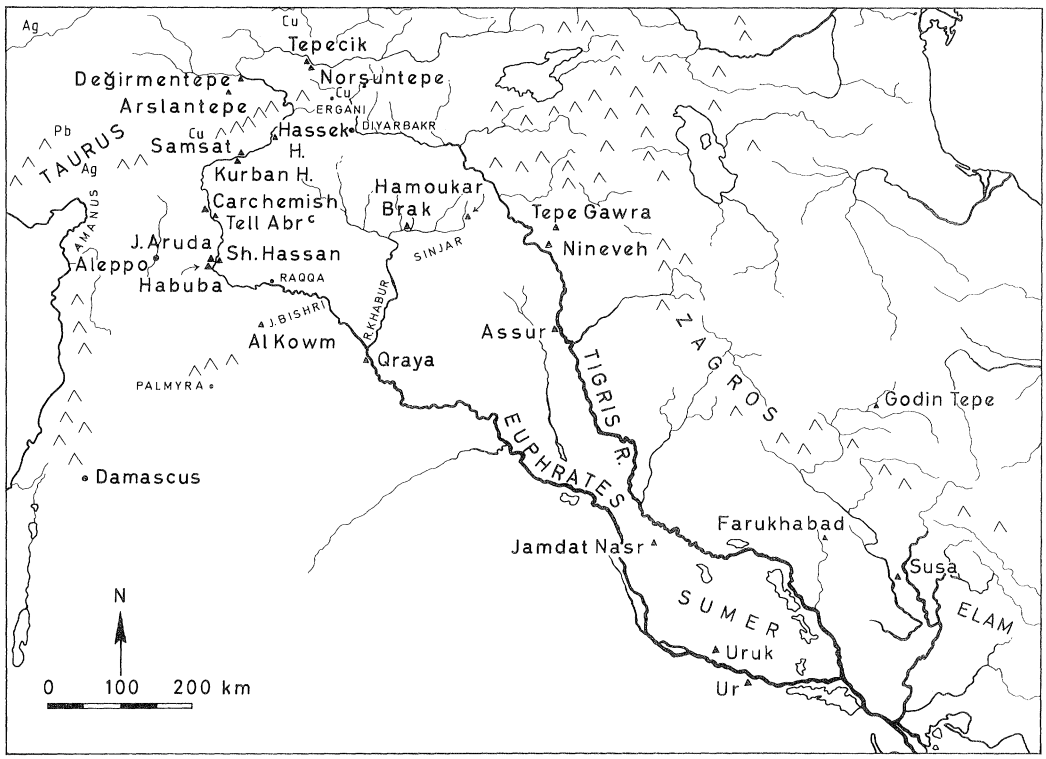

Figure 1 Map showing major sites mentioned in text. For discussion of routes, cf. Grant 1937; D. Oates 1968; 1977: 236; Palmieri 1985: 207; Algaze 1989: 579.

a major social or political upheaval, possibly to be identified with some conceptual shift and apparently coinciding with the loss of the northern 'colonies'. The presence of polychrome Jamdat Nasr pottery (= Uruk archaic III, though note the reservation expressed in Finkbeiner 1986: 33–4) in Oman (D. T. Potts 1986) and the widespread evidence of an eastern network based on Susa (Amiet 1986; T. F. Potts, this volume) seemed to emphasize both the loss of Anatolian raw material resources and some reorganizational need in Sumer itself at this time. Much emphasis has also been placed on apparent changes in settlement patterns (Adams 1981; Postgate 1986); at the same time the question whether the 'Jamdat Nasr horizon' had any separate, distinct, archaeologically identifiable reality was the subject of debate (Finkbeiner and Röllig 1986).

The site of Uruk/Warka provides the basic fourth-millennium BC Mesopotamian sequence. Indeed, with the exception of Nippur at which early Uruk materials have not so far been recovered, it remains the only Sumerian site at which extensive fourth-millennium levels have been examined. Yet up to now Uruk has yielded virtually no prime contexts. This fact has been much discussed with reference to the origins of writing (Nissen 1986); it affects equally the attribution of other types of artefact and has been responsible, *inter alia*, for disagreements as to the relative date of the 'Late Uruk' contact with Syro-Anatolia (e.g. Sürenhagen 1986: 32).

The decision to devote this issue of *World Archaeology* to 'Ancient Trade: new

perspectives' was taken over two years ago. At that time it was not the editor's intention to contribute. However, discoveries made this past spring at Tell Brak in north-eastern Syria have provided a 'new perspective' of some importance and the *raison d'être* for this brief commentary. These new materials *are* well-stratified and bear on the interpretation of Late Uruk expansion and its demise. They come from Brak Area TW (Oates and Oates 1989: fig. 1), where in 1991 we excavated some nine building phases consisting of small houses with walls of an unusual, square-section, oblong brick type (*riemchen*), characteristic of Late Uruk southern Mesopotamia. These houses yielded a very distinctive ceramic assemblage which immediately pre-dates the third-millennium BC (northern) Ninevite 5 (Oates and Oates 1991: 138–43). In the lower part of this sequence were buildings with grill

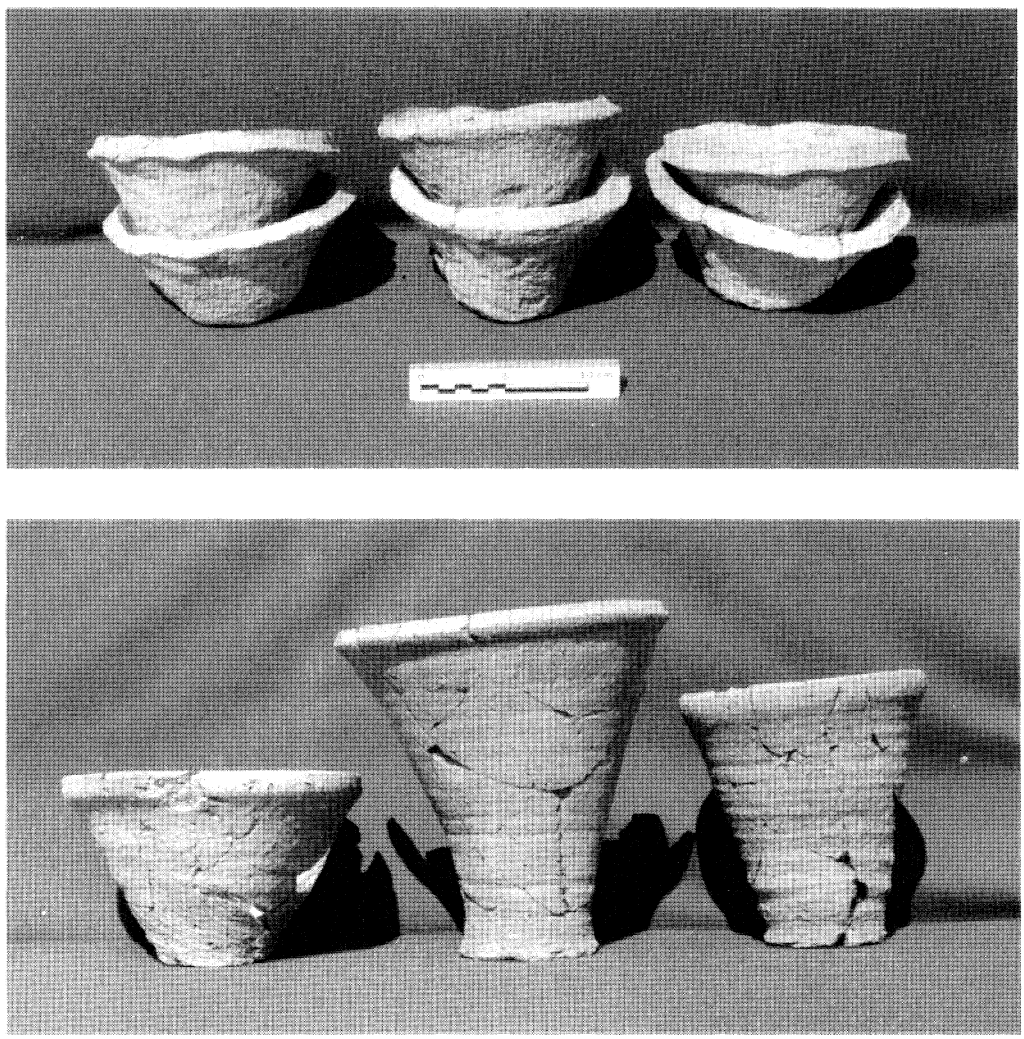

Plate 1 Mass-produced pottery types from the Area TW Jamdat Nasr and Late Uruk levels at Tell Brak. Above, bevelled rim bowls; below, Jamdat Nasr 'coarse flower pots', height of tallest 25cm (cf. Nissen 1970; Sürenhagen 1974/5; Matthews 1989; Pollack 1990).

foundations, a type known elsewhere at this time (Tell Karrāna 3, Fales et al. 1987; Hassek Höyük, Behm-Blancke 1985: fig. 1), below which lay the 1992 season's most significant discoveries. First, a level containing a number of ceramic types identical with those from the site of Jamdat Nasr, including two polychrome sherds (cf. Matthews 1992: figs 3, 4), the first discovery of such ceramics in the north. In addition to the familiar range of mass-produced vessels, a large number of unusually tall 'coarse flower pots' were recovered, a type not as yet attested elsewhere (Plate 1). Equally interesting was the large building which lay below the 'Jamdat Nasr' level, from which we recovered a wide range of complete vessels of Habuba/southern Uruk type (Plates 2, 3). This building would seem to be contemporary with, or perhaps just later than, the Tell Brak Area CH level 9–10 structures excavated in 1984, which contained largely indigenous northern Uruk material, also in situ (Oates 1986). This northern Uruk repertoire has a very wide distribution from the Upper Euphrates (e.g. Kurban Höyük, Algaze 1986; Karatut Mevkii, Schwartz 1988) to the northern Jazira in Iraq (Tell al Hawa, Nineveh).

The Jamdat Nasr ceramics, at present unique to Brak, extend the period of southern contact well into Eanna archaic III, and confirm Mallowan's earlier identification of Jamdat Nasr material at the site, in particular the famous Eye Temple (1947: 32, 60ff.; also Lebeau 1990: 253ff.). Other new information of major significance comes from Shaikh Hassan, across the Euphrates from Jebel Aruda, which has also yielded southern Uruk ceramics but of a date earlier than Habuba/Aruda (Boese 1986–7; Sürenhagen, pers. comm.). Together, these new data generate a very different picture of Uruk expansion

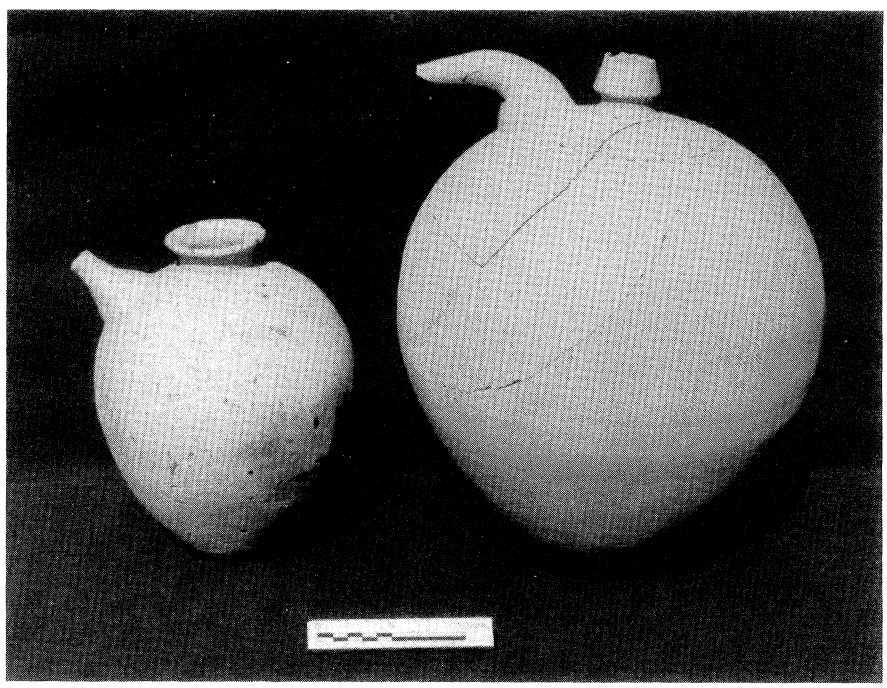

Plate 2 Late Uruk spouted vessels from Tell Brak, Area TW level 12. The drooping spouted jar bears both jab-incised and reserved slip decoration (cf. Sürenhagen 1974/5: pl. 12: 76).

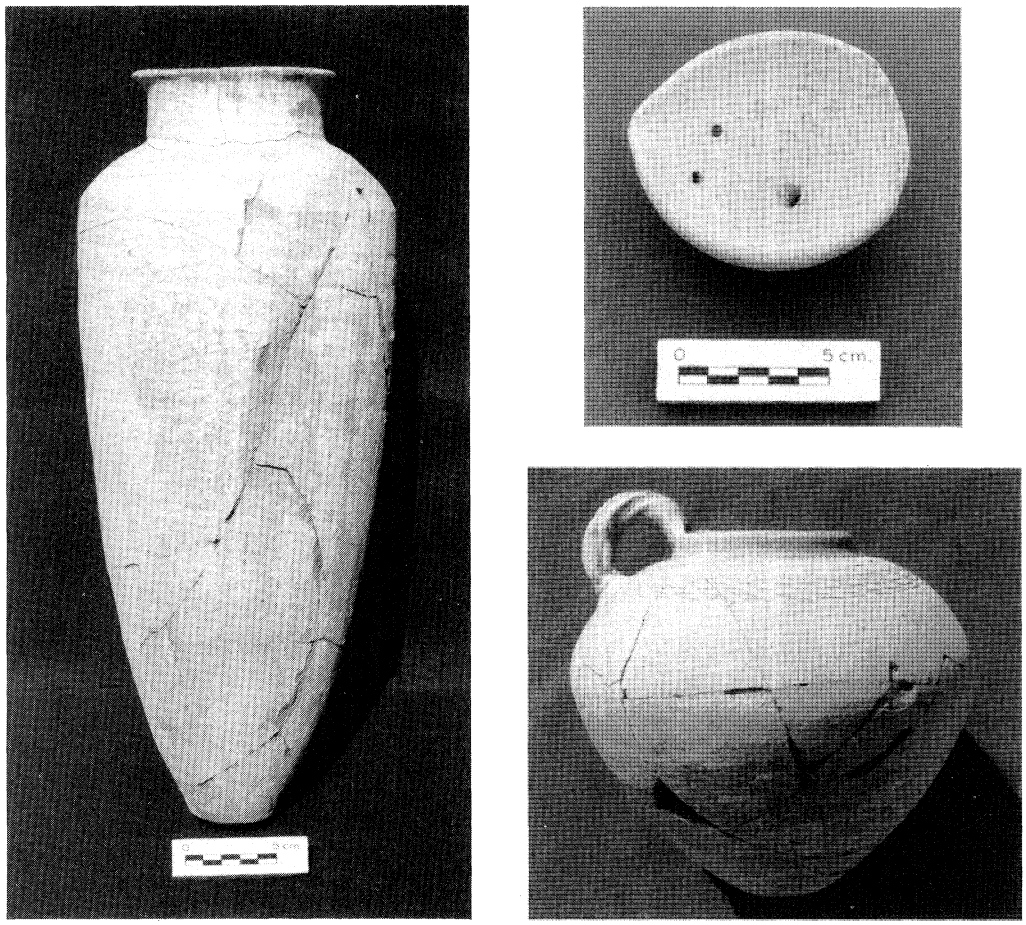

Plate 3 Late Uruk pottery, Tell Brak Area TW. Parallels for the small ladle can be found in Matthews 1992: fig. 2: 15, 16; Behm-Blancke et al. 1981: pl. 26; Sürenhagen 1974/5: pl. 19, 158.

from the 'short-lived foray' model (Algaze 1989: 571). It is the purpose of this paper to re-examine the evidence for long-distance trade in the fourth millennium BC, in the light of this and other new evidence.

Background

It is often asserted that Mesopotamia is wholly lacking in raw materials and that the necessity to organize the long-distance acquisition of such resources was a major factor in the early development there of complex political and economic forms. The development of extensive exchange networks is seen as important in rising social complexity, and especially in the growth of the bureaucratic controls that were developed to record, regulate and redistribute both local production and goods and raw materials from elsewhere. A contrary view is expressed in Wright 1981: 277–8.

Certainly the south Mesopotamian alluvium was lacking in metal, timber and exotic stone resources, but often it goes unrecognized that such items were far from necessities in any subsistence or survival sense. Moreover, some stone *is* locally available, including nodules of flint in the western desert, gypsum and a local alabaster (*Admiralty Handbook* 1918, 1944); and it has recently been shown that the limestone used in monumental buildings and elaborately carved vases at Late Uruk Warka came from a quarry only some 50km to the south-west (Boehmer 1984). The most crucial south Mesopotamian resource was of course the life-giving water of its two great rivers. The ubiquitous alluvial silts provided not only rich soils but also the elaborate ceramics found at the earliest settlements in Sumer and the mud-brick with which these settlements were built. Roofing materials suitable for ordinary (but not monumental) household structures derived from riverside trees such as poplar and reeds or reed matting, another certainly indigenous product. Grazing was widely available (Oates and Oates 1976: 120), and the ubiquitous occurrence of spindle whorls in the earliest villages attests an extensive textile production. Wheat and barley must have been introduced from elsewhere, but once irrigation farming was well-established (at least as early as the seventh millennium cal. BC), sizeable farming villages were a viable proposition without recourse to outside resources. Specifically and significantly missing among the local resources, however, are the types of raw material from which items of elite status normally derive, though these themselves are of course socially defined and we know from later sources that special kinds of textiles, for example, may have served such a function. In later periods quality textiles are well attested among Mesopotamia's many 'invisible exports' (Crawford 1973; Larsen 1987).

Thus the raw materials which are lacking in the south Mesopotamian environment are not those essential to everyday survival but those by which positions of power and elite status are acquired, expressed and reinforced. Moreover, already in the Mesopotamian neolithic (seventh millennium BC) such visible expressions of status were not uncommon, in the copper and lead trinkets of sites like Tell es-Sawwan and Yarim Tepe and in the widespread occurrence of semi-precious stone (*inter alia*, turquoise at Sawwan, Plate 4). In the absence of informative evidence we tend to assume that such small-scale objects were acquired via simple group to group exchange, but by the ᶜUbaid period there is a visible change in both organization and acquisitional behaviour which is significant in understanding the nature of early inter-regional exchange in Western Asia.

In the ᶜUbaid period there is evidence attesting increasing centralization and new forms of symbolic validation of social and economic relations: this can be seen in larger settlement size (ᶜUqair), the first identifiable monumental buildings (Eridu, Gawra), the first occurrence of large numbers of clay door and container sealings (Gawra, cf. Tobler 1950; Rothman 1988), a major administrative innovation with implications not only for the increasing receipt and despatch of portable goods, but also of the growth of 'authority' and perhaps even some form of central collection and redistribution. Comparable evidence has not yet been discovered in the south, but there we are poorly informed of this important stage in Mesopotamia's prehistory, owing largely to the difficulty of investigating early levels on major, long-occupied sites. There can be little doubt, however, about the increase in both overall settlement size and organization (Oates 1984; Henrickson and Thuesen 1989). Moreover, it is in this period that we see the first foreshadowing of the Uruk expansion, in the spread of southern ᶜUbaid material culture over the whole of

Plate 4 Alabaster figurine with turquoise necklace, from neolithic cemetery at Tell es-Sawwan, Iraq. Height c. 10cm, c. 6000 cal. BC.

Mesopotamia, an apparent cultural unity best exemplified at Gawra with its southern temples and ceramics, the latter largely locally made (Davidson and McKerrell 1980).

Most important in the context of this paper is new evidence from sites on the Upper Euphrates which seems to confirm the presence as far north as Malatya, across the Taurus, of at least one settlement which can best be interpreted as an ᶜUbaid 'outpost' (early fifth millennium cal. BC). Değirmentepe, now flooded by the Karakaya dam, lies some 27km north of Malatya, en route to Anatolian sources of both copper and silver (Esin 1983; 1985; 1989). By contrast with the local chalcolithic assemblage, both the house type (Esin 1988: fig. 2) and the painted pottery closely parallel contemporary examples from Mesopotamia. Moreover, material from the site includes the earliest and largest collection of stamp seals and clay sealings of this date from Anatolia; these are said to include door sealings, presumably from either private or public storehouses. ᶜUbaid pottery is also reported from the site of Arslantepe (Esin 1983: 187), and (rarely) at sites even further north in the Altınova plain. A major ᶜUbaid site has also recently been identified at Tell Abrᶜ, also on the Euphrates just south of Carchemish (Hammadeh and Koike, n.d.). Such sites confirm the Mesopotamian interest in Syro-Anatolia at this early date, but their precise social and economic relationship with the contemporary indigenous chalcolithic, and the 'Sumerian' south, remains to be ascertained.

Another ᶜUbaid expansion, often referred to in terms of 'trade', presents a very different picture. This is signified by the appearance of ᶜUbaid ceramics along the Arabian Gulf (Oates 1976; Frifelt 1989). By contrast with Anatolia these ᶜUbaid sites are ephemeral with few if any permanent structures. With the exception of a single group of sites in the area of Hofuf in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia they occur along the coast. Neutron activation, electron microprobe and thin section analysis of the painted pottery by which these sites are identified show an exclusive relationship with Sumer (Oates et al. 1977). None of the painted pottery clays resembles that of the local coarse ware, nor does pottery *per se* survive the ᶜUbaid presence. These ᶜUbaid ceramics cover a considerable period of time, and up to now none has been shown to be local. With the exception of the Hofuf sites, the pottery is not found inland, i.e. it does not appear within any local exchange network. Nor does it appear to have been copied. It would seem that these pots travelled with their owners, either for their contents or for their utilitarian value. There is no evidence that they were 'exchanged', and these Gulf data certainly do not support the view that 'maritime trade and transportation developed in the Persian Gulf as far as Bahrain since at least ᶜUbaid times' (Alden 1982: 624). At present they are most reasonably seen as representing seasonal exploitation, over a long period of time, by groups from southern Mesopotamia who presumably sailed down the Gulf (models of sailing boats were found in the Eridu cemetery, Lloyd and Safar 1948: pl. 5) and returned when weather and winds permitted. Whether the desired resources were types of fish and other marine life not found in the rivers of Mesopotamia, perhaps dried and carried back to Sumer (this could account for the different types of flints found associated with such sites, Frifelt 1989: 415), or more exotic items such as pearls, cannot be ascertained. What *is* clear is that this phenomenon does not parallel the ᶜUbaid expansion into Anatolia, and that 'exchange' is an unlikely interpretation. Unfortunately, as in all such studies, interpretation is constrained by the lack of non-perishable goods, likely to have constituted our most important evidence for exchange relations.

Thus in immediately pre-Uruk times two different kinds of evidence suggest the likelihood of deliberate 'outposts', either involved in local exchange networks or perhaps more directly in the production or acquisition of such elite commodities as copper, lead and possibly silver (gold is also reported by Woolley from a contemporary context at Ur (1931: 344); a context confirmed by the late Sir Max Mallowan), and of short-term sea-borne expeditions for the direct acquisition of marine commodities. At the same time in Mesopotamia itself social and economic developments clearly signal the beginnings of what was to culminate a millennium or so later in the Sumerian state.

Following the ᶜUbaid period there seems to have been a significant retraction from the widespread ᶜUbaid interactions, at least with respect to southern Mesopotamia. Many scholars have seen the later history of Mesopotamia as a recurrent cycle of centralization, expansion and collapse, and the visible contraction of southern material culture in the early Uruk phase may possibly represent the first such retraction. Within historic times periods of expansion are accompanied by increasing centralization and administrative reorganization (Akkadian, Late Assyrian), an observation perhaps pertinent also to the ᶜUbaid south. In the north, however, the contemporary late chalcolithic picture is not as circumscribed as the apparent loss of contact with the south might be thought to imply. The widespread distribution of certain quite distinctive ceramic types from the Altınova plain

(Norşuntepe) to Brak to Hamoukar to Gawra indicates a very extensive region of interaction (Hauptmann 1976: pls 49, 50: 1, 2; Tobler 1950: pls LXXIX, LXXXa, CXLV; Oates 1986: pl. 7; 1987: fig. 3: 6, 7; the cultivated fields and small tells just to the south-east of Hamoukar produce identical surface material, including unusually large channel rim vessels, found also at Brak and Gawra (pl. CXLV, 405, 406)). Indeed, at the end of this 'early Uruk' phase the cemetery at Gawra (level X) reveals some of the most persuasive evidence for social hierarchies known from this time. Moreover, clay sealings from sites like Gawra and Norşuntepe, now found largely in what appear to have been private houses, suggest the possibility not only of centrally administered but also more privately organized economic relationships. Later, shared symbolism is seen in the alabaster 'spectacle idols' of Brak (Oates 1985: pl. XXV), Hassek (Behm-Blancke et al. 1981: pl. 12: 5), el Kowm (Cauvin and Stordeur 1985: fig. 8: 1) and Sheikh Hassan (Boese 1989–90: 329).

Uruk expansion

Few archaeological discoveries in recent years have made more impact than the sites of Habuba Kabira Süd/Qannas and Jebel Aruda. At both sites not only the material culture – pottery, seals, sealings – but also the individual residential units are indistinguishable from those of southern Mesopotamia and in particular at the site of Uruk, previously our major source for the fourth millennium. The identity of material culture, ideology, accounting practices, use of space and building techniques render inconceivable any interpretation other than that the settlements at both Habuba and Jebel Aruda were built and lived in by south Mesopotamians. Both settlements were short-lived (100–150 years at most, perhaps considerably less); both were abruptly abandoned. The presence of monumental temples at Jebel Aruda and the essentially secular structure of Habuba suggest a difference of function for the two sites, which is reinforced by differences in the bureaucratic paraphernalia, including the clay tokens, bullae, other sealings, and the seals themselves (Strommenger 1980; van Driel 1983). No agricultural tools were found, and food was apparently acquired from local farmers (attested by the large storage jars said to constitute the only local pottery present). The construction of a massive wall in the second building phase suggests that local relations may not have been entirely peaceful, though it is possible that the wall served only to protect the valuable commodities, the collection of which is likely to have been the site's basic purpose – or that it may have been entirely symbolic. The presence of an earlier walled settlement at nearby Tell Sheikh Hassan (below) remains equally unexplained; there is little evidence for 'conflict' either here or in Sumer at this time (Fig. 2).

Since the discovery of Habuba Süd and Jebel Aruda, a number of contemporary sites have been identified in both Syria and Anatolia, which display various degrees of relationship with the Uruk south (or with Habuba/Aruda?). Some have been excavated, some identified solely by their surface remains. Such sites have been classified as 'colonies' or 'enclaves', 'outposts', i.e. smaller sites that show a close correlation with Uruk, and Uruk-related sites (Algaze 1989; Sürenhagen 1986), many of the latter solely on the dubious basis of the presence of bevelled rim bowls (Plate 1), the earliest of the

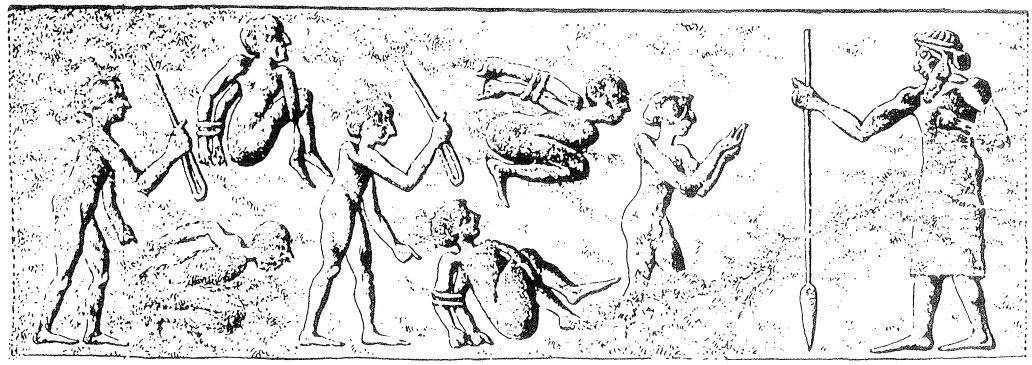

Figure 2 Evidence for conflict is rare in Late Uruk Mesopotamia, and seen largely in a small group of seal impressions from Warka which illustrate the taking (? or torture) of prisoners (cf. Brandes 1979: pls 1–13). In Sumer known city walls are of Early Dynastic date (but see now Pollack et al. 1991: 63). (After Brandes 1979: plate 1.)

'mass-produced types' widely used at this time, the purpose of which continues to elude us. Whether they were ration bowls, associated with a centralized administration, or (most recently) containers for baking bread (Millard 1988; Chazan and Lehner 1990), remains an unresolved question, but their presence *alone* does not signify more than contact with what had by then become a widespread system or technique. Nor do they necessarily signify a Late Uruk date (Oates and Oates 1991). At Tell Sheikh Hassan such vessels were found set into fireplaces (Boese 1986–7: 74). Of the 'outpost' sites undoubtedly the most informative is Hassek Höyük, an isolated small settlement some 260km beyond Habuba, at an important Euphrates ford which provided access to the Taurus some 20km beyond (Behm-Blancke et al. 1981, 1984). The major building and its contents are of southern Uruk types; even the use of cone mosaic wall decoration is attested (Behm-Blancke 1989).

This Uruk expansion has been seen in terms of a variety of models, most recently and comprehensively in terms of 'centre and periphery' (Algaze 1989). The acquisition of raw materials remains the common sense motive, but it must be emphasized that no single shred of evidence attests any form of 'trade'. The evidence for bureaucratic organization is overwhelming; what is less clear is what was being organized. Moreover, evidence for industrial activity associated with the essentially 'Uruk' sites (e.g. Canaanean blade production at both Hassek and Brak, Plate 5) illustrates the production of tools for which there is no evidence whatsoever in the south. Evidence for metalworking is found at sites beyond the Taurus, at Değirmentepe as early as the ᶜUbaid levels (Esin 1989: 137) and at Tepecik and Norşuntepe, close to the Ergani mines (Hauptmann 1982: 60–1), and includes silver and possibly iron (?ore) (Brandt apud van Loon 1978: 61–2). But there is neither overwhelming evidence for the acquisition of metals at Uruk-related sites in the north nor for the consumption of large quantities of metal status objects in the south. This statement must, of course, be qualified by two facts, that metals can be melted down and reused, and that we have failed to find the major cemeteries of fourth millennium BC Sumer, where one would expect to find large repositories of such elite items. Certainly there was a developed, technically advanced, local metallurgy in Anatolia, its products including

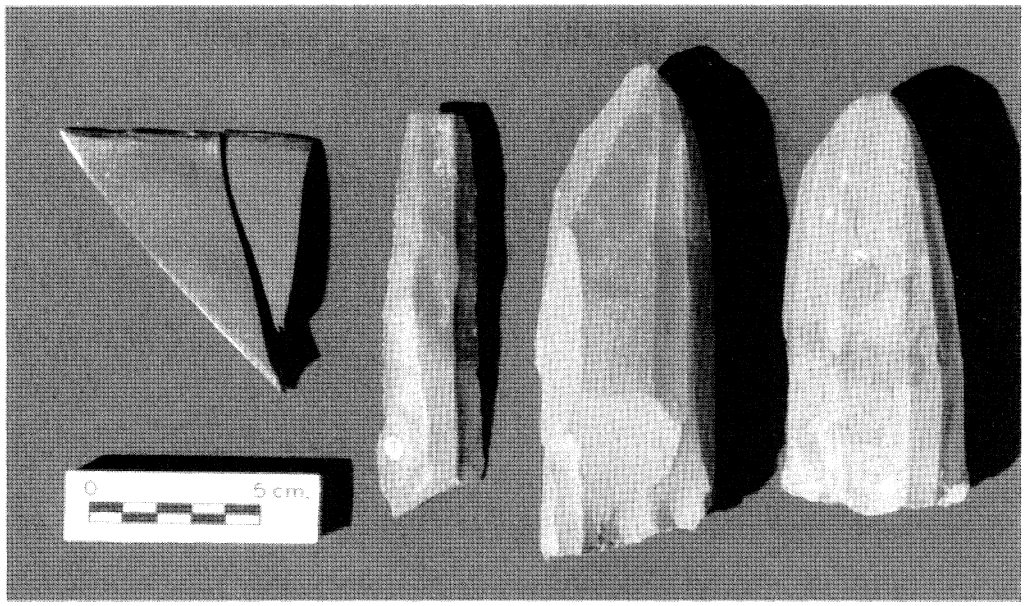

Plate 5 Late Uruk tabular flint, Canaanean blade and flint cores from Tell Brak, Area TW level 12. An obsidian core weighing over 2kg was found with these objects (cf. Behm-Blancke et al. 1981: pl. 14; 1984: pl. 5: 3; Strommenger 1980: fig. 45).

silver-inlaid daggers, and an increase in the quantity of copper/bronze found on sites in Sumer (Moorey 1985; Adams 1981: 80; Palmieri 1981; 1985). What we lack is actual evidence that one purpose of sites like Habuba was to acquire such objects or raw materials for southern consumption. Yet the notion persists, and indeed on the geography of settlement distribution seems overwhelmingly persuasive, that the pursuit of metals must have played a major role in the Uruk presence in these distant areas. Habuba may also have served as a transshipment centre for timber from the Amanus, an historically attested source. Nor should we forget that the wealth of the Syrian steppe even today lies in its flocks and herds, and that wool was the basis of later Ebla's prosperity, 'an empire built on the backs of simple shepherds' (Gelb 1986: 158).

The impressive 'administrative' evidence from sites like Habuba and Jebel Aruda, and indeed from indigenous sites like Arslantepe (Frangipane and Palmieri 1988), a type of activity attested in the north as early as the ᶜUbaid period, suggests a high level of organization but not necessarily regional centralization even in Sumer. Though in the Arslantepe levels attributed by the excavators to the Late Uruk phase the thousands of sealings seem to have derived from public buildings. Uruk is often seen as a, if not the, major central place, but this is an assumption based on the fact that most of the evidence comes from Uruk and is much influenced by that city's extraordinary monumental precincts and the fact that it remains the sole source of early writing. We are for the most part uninformed of the nature of contemporary Sumerian sites.

To this Syro-Anatolian reconstruction, currently seen in terms of a short-lived phenomenon the collapse of which accelerated a structural shift in Sumer, can be added the new evidence from Tell Brak, summarized above (p. 406), and from the site of Tell

Sheikh Hassan. At the latter site seventeen levels of southern materials have been excavated, now dated earlier (?Middle Uruk) than Habuba and the Late Uruk phase at Brak. Crucial to this earlier dating are certain very characteristic and distinctive ceramic types which do not occur at Habuba, *inter alia* long-handled ladles (Boese 1986–7: fig. 34) and conical cups with pouring lips (Sürenhagen 1986: 31–2; 1978). Similar pottery is reported from sites such as Qraya, well south of Habuba near the Euphrates-Khabur junction, and at Kowm 2-Caracol, situated on the steppe/caravan route at the western end of Jebel Bishri, south of Raqqa (Sürenhagen 1986; Cauvin and Stordeur 1985: fig. 6: 2). Also important at Sheikh Hassan is evidence for the use of bullae and tokens, and cylinder seals, which must significantly pre-date their present earliest attributions in the south (level 10, Boese 1986–7: 77, figs 36–9). Sadly, the earliest levels of this important site are now lost beneath the waters of Lake Assad (Boese 1987–8: 159).

Comment

Whatever interpretations are placed on these widespread cultural interactions, present evidence indicates that the pattern began at least as early as the ᶜUbaid period. Curtin's 'trade diaspora' (1984), the establishment of communities specifically for the purpose of mediating exchange relations between areas of different resource potential, offers one possible model (see Algaze 1989). According to Curtin 'trading settlements' tend to be directly involved in the exploitation of local resources, and therefore widely dispersed, when the local networks are relatively underdeveloped, a pattern with which Değirmentepe seems to conform (across the Taurus and near the actual ore sources). Present data are inadequate for any assessment of the degree to which such settlements were in direct relationship with the south, though one must suspect that major northern ᶜUbaid sites like Brak and Samsat or Carchemish may have played important mediating roles. Indeed it is in this context that the persistence after the apparent ᶜUbaid 'collapse' of a northern interaction zone should be seen (Norşuntepe – Brak – Hamoukar – Gawra).

For ᶜUbaid Mesopotamia itself present evidence suggests different kinds of exchange phenomena and the necessity of a variety of models, geographically differentiated. In the Gulf, for example, trading 'outposts' of Değirmentepe type are lacking; a different mode of direct resource exploitation seems to have been involved, based on intermittent and impermanent Sumer-based intrusions, perhaps more a factor of environmental than organizational conditions. The widespread identity of ᶜUbaid cultural material throughout northern Mesopotamia, and as far west as the Euphrates (Tell Abrᶜ) remains to be satisfactorily explained. Flannery's emulation model, as applied to Olmec–Oaxacan relations, provides many insights, in particular that Olmec influence was probably strongest in those areas that were already most developed and that already had status systems into which Olmec concepts could profitably be fitted. Emulation of Mesopotamian administration and religion makes sense only if local elites derived increased status, and thereby power, from their role as mediators in this contact. Indeed the adoption of southern public institutions (the temples at Gawra) has been seen as a northern assimilation of a southern means of consolidating restricted access to the means of production (Forest 1983). Purely demographic models have also been proposed, but the

simple fact is that our data are inadequate for more than speculative assessments. It seems clear, however, that the northern ᶜUbaid 'acculturation' is of a different degree from that of any other period in Mesopotamian history. (Without written documentation, evidence of the Akkadian Empire at Brak, one of its provincial administrative centres, would be attested solely in the iconography of a few clay sealings!)

To return to Curtin's model, it would seem that trading settlements are more likely to be established at focal transport nodes in situations where local polities already control developed networks (the latter perhaps to be seen in the post-ᶜUbaid, indigenous, northern, interregional contacts). Late Uruk locations, e.g. Habuba/Qannas, dominating – as did Meskene in later times – the traditional Euphrates terminus for access to the Mediterranean [and note the increasing evidence for contact with Egypt, perhaps via this route, Sürenhagen 1986: fig. 24; Moorey 1987; 1990; von der Way 1987], and Hassek Höyük, sited where the Euphrates route crosses the Taurus, may perhaps be interpreted in this context. Brak and Hamoukar control alternate routes northwards from the Tigris Valley and the Mesopotamian Jazirah, but these are not colony sites. Both were indigenous sites of urban proportion, and controlled prime agricultural land. At 90ha Hamoukar bevelled rim bowls have been found, but no other southern Uruk pottery has yet been reported. The local, largely chaff-tempered, late chalcolithic ceramics known from Brak and Hamoukar are also widely recorded, from Nineveh and Hawa in the east to the Karababa basin in the west (Kurban Höyük, Karatut Mevkii), clear evidence of widespread northern social and economic interactions at this time.

A new feature is the certain identification of southern Jamdat Nasr materials at Brak. This evidence not only prolongs the period of Late Uruk contact, but its absence elsewhere implies some structural reorganization. The reasons for this are undoubtedly complex, but a number of authorities remark on the appearance at this time north of the Taurus of a 'red-black burnished ware' of certain East Anatolian/Transcaucasian origin (Hauptmann 1982; Palmieri 1985). Both the frontiers and the local structure of the fourth millennium exchange systems now change, and it is possible that Brak, with at present the sole evidence for genuine southern contact, served as a (?the) major north–south organizational centre. To the north-west, the so-called 'colonies' had been abandoned (as was Late Uruk TW level 12 at Brak); indeed Hassek Höyük, closer to the Taurus, was destroyed. Moreover, at the Anatolian sites there is no longer evidence for central redistributive institutions (Palmieri 1985: 208). Remnants of Late Uruk cultural tradition persist in what is referred to as the 'late reserved slip ware' horizon, with a distribution at the very western margins of the former interaction zone (Tepecik, Arslantepe, Hassek). At Tepecik an 'isolated outpost' calls to mind the lone administrative building at Godin Tepe in the Iranian Zagros (Esin 1982a; 1982b; Weiss and Young 1975). Often described as 'late-Uruk-related', owing in part to the presence of bevelled rim bowls now known at Brak significantly to post-date the Jamdat Nasr horizon, it is likely that these 'late reserved slip ware' sites are contemporary with a post-Uruk, early bronze horizon which can be shown at Brak to pre-date the earliest Ninevite 5 (Oates and Oates 1991). Of interest is the apparent evidence for decentralization at the Anatolian periphery, despite the wealth and centralized administration of the Late Uruk contact phase, perhaps an indication of the degree to which the local emergent elite had become dependent on the earlier exchange relations, now lost or significantly altered.

Conclusions

From the Late ᶜUbaid period onwards there is evidence for significant social change in Sumer itself, with the establishment of public institutions and increasingly wealthy elites. With the exception of Uruk and its vast monumental complexes the archaeological evidence for both the nature and the organizational activities of these institutions now comes largely from outside Sumer, in particular in the context of the so-called colony sites. This paper has emphasized both the essentially social role played by the commodities of which the acquisition seems logically to have been at least one major motivating force in the establishment of the ᶜUbaid and Uruk 'networks', yet, perversely, the virtual absence of direct archaeological data for any form of trade or exchange. Such evidential problems are even more clearly illustrated in the historically attested Cappadocian trade, organized from the city of Assur (Larsen 1987). The latter family-based enterprises, however, are unlikely to provide a suitable model for the extraordinary organizational capacities and capabilities implied by the mere existence of fourth-millennium BC sites like Habuba and Jebel Aruda, and no doubt many more about which we are less well-informed (Carchemish, perhaps, and Samsat, now flooded). The paper has also emphasized the ᶜUbaid roots of this long distance pattern, and the persuasive evidence for a highly developed and distinctly northern region of interaction from ᶜUbaid times onward. Indeed, in the ᶜUbaid and Uruk periods the north is characterized by an elaboration of administrative paraphernalia as yet unparalleled in the south before the Late Uruk period, and it must remain a possibility that the very specialized use of sealed clay bullae as record of receipt and dispatch may have originated within this northern inter-regional system. [The earliest string-attached, sealed bullae yet discovered come from Halaf Arpachiyah (Mallowan 1935: pl. IX, b; von Wickede 1990: 54–66)].

These observations raise again the question of the role of long-distance trade in the growth of primary states. In the context of Varna Renfrew has emphasized the interrelationship of production and exchange, the circulation of goods of 'prime', i.e. 'ascribed intrinsic' value and the emergence of prominent social ranking, and suggests that the key to complex development may lie in technical advance which ensures new kinds of demands, not merely the (unprofitable) circulation of existing goods (1986: 159; see also Brumfiel and Earle 1987). In the specific context of ᶜUbaid Mesopotamia's undoubtedly 'prosperous and increasingly stratified agricultural society' (Yoffee 1981: 23), the lack of elite commodities such as metals and rare stone is likely to have stimulated both the demand for exotic items and the organization essential to their procurement. The geographical location of 'trading' outposts at this time and the associated evidence for metal-working at sites north of the Taurus makes plausible such an assumption despite the minimal artefactual evidence from Sumer. What was exchanged *from* Mesopotamia, or whether coercion was a factor of any significance, cannot be ascertained from the essentially negative evidence of prehistory. Later historical parallels suggest that south Mesopotamian manufactured goods may have been in high demand, and stress the role of booty (T. F. Potts, this volume). At no time is there evidence for the extensive export of grain (cf. also D. T. Potts, p. 424), which would have created tremendous logistical problems. Indeed surplus production would more logically have been used to support the southern craftsmen and administrators behind the system we have been examining.

Moreover, the evidence for craft specialization dates well back in the neolithic (Oates 1977) and by the time of the earliest written texts, a hierarchical arrangement of terms relating to crafts and professions is evident (Nissen 1974: 12–14).

One further point remains to be emphasized. The perception of Near Eastern distances is difficult in the age of the aeroplane. Yet 'an understanding of the importance of distance leads one to view in a fresh light the problems of administration' (Braudel 1975: 371). The minimum direct travel time from Uruk to Habuba along the shorter Jazirah route would have been at least a month, more likely two (Grant 1937: 171 (figures for faster camel caravans)), and it is another 400km to sites like Değirmentepe, a destination, moreover, that requires crossing the Taurus. One of the extraordinary features of the phenomena we have been examining is the consistency of artefactual materials from the 'colony' sites and their southern homeland. Such statements obviously demand further quantitative examination, but much of the relevant data is only recently excavated. Even the degree to which the northern ᶜUbaid and Uruk pottery is imported or locally manufactured remains to be ascertained (ICPES analyses are being carried out at present on southern Uruk types from Brak), but it is clear in some instances that the Late Uruk fabric is identical at Uruk, Brak and Habuba (for example in the very recognizable 'soft' brown clay of the red-slipped nose-lug jugs (Strommenger 1980: pl. D)). Despite the distances involved, the degree to which identical materials are found at these sites, whether locally made or imported, and over the now more lengthy period of time represented by Shaikh Hassan, Habuba and Jamdat Nasr Brak, suggests that direct and regular contact was maintained with the south. How early the donkey caravan came to play a role is uncertain, but may be suggested indirectly by the use of the steppe route at Middle Uruk Kowm-Caracol (see also Zarins 1978).

Whether the southern terminus was represented by Uruk alone, a degree of centralization for which the evidence is largely negative, or by competing polities on the Early Dynastic model, or by some version of Jacobsen's 'Kengir League' (1957: 99–109) remains to be established, though the latter receives some support in the evidence of the Jamdat Nasr 'city sealings' (Matthews, in press). It has been argued that the assumed Late Uruk loss of Anatolian raw material sources may be reflected in the restructuring visible at Jamdat Nasr Warka (Eanna archaic III), but the new evidence from Brak indicates an active though more probably restricted Jamdat Nasr presence in the north, associated with significant restructuring within the distant Anatolian metal-producing areas. The fact that long distance exchange relations with this area can now be shown to begin as early as the ᶜUbaid period, and to continue throughout most of the fourth millennium, must add strong support to the view that asymmetrical cross-cultural trade was one important factor in the growth of the Sumerian state.

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Abstract

Oates, Joan

Trade and power in the fifth and fourth millennia BC: new evidence from northern Mesopotamia

The formation of the earliest known cities was accompanied by the foundation of colonies in Syria and Anatolia, established to secure raw materials lacking in the Mesopotamian homeland. The growth in Sumer of organization(s) capable of constructing and administering such distant colonies both reflected and contributed to increasing levels of social and economic complexity. The paper summarizes new evidence from Tell Brak and Tell Shaikh Hassan, which substantially lengthens the colony period. It also emphasizes the ᶜUbaid roots of this pattern.

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The Phoenicians and the Origins of Collective Rule in Archaic Greece

by

Jacob Deboer Vanderkloet

A THESIS
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Abstract

Over the last few centuries, the ancient Greeks and their systems of government have been held in high esteem as they are routinely treated as the direct precursors to modern western democracies. For example, the contemporary historian Wilfried Nippel writes:

> Nowadays democracy is an unambiguously positive norm… it is a reminder of the great Athenian experiment and invites comparison with the inventers of this order. Athens remains contemporary… it is seen as a flame pointing to the future that has warmed the hearts of countless numbers of men and women striving for autonomy and self-determination.[1]

While such statements remain common in modern scholarship and political discourse, researchers rarely seem to consider whether the Greeks and their political institutions were truly unique in antiquity or if other people were also developing broad-based governments at around this time.

My research here intends to challenge some of these Hellenocentric oversights by demonstrating that the Phoenicians were another Mediterranean civilization in antiquity that developed broad-based oligarchical governments. In fact, my thesis will demonstrate that the trend of establishing broader, more collective systems of rule appears to have begun several centuries *earlier* among the Phoenicians than the Greeks. From this, I will argue that the origins of broad-based non-monarchical forms of government lie, not with the ancient Greeks and the institutions they developed over the course of the Archaic Period, but with the Phoenicians and the governments that existed in their city-states from as far back as the late Bronze Age. I will also argue that because the Phoenicians began this process of broadening their governments earlier, had political systems that were quite similar to the ancient Greeks', and were in constant

[1] Wilfried Nippel, *Ancient and Modern Democracy: Two Concepts of Liberty?,* trans. Keith Tribe (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 359.

contact with the Hellenes at this time, perhaps the Phoenicians and their governments in some ways inspired the political developments of the Archaic Period. By doing so, I will advocate that modern researchers should perhaps focus less on the ancient Greeks and more on the Phoenicians when discussing the origins of democracy, or at the very least, concede that the history of broad-based governments is far older and more complicated than is generally assumed.

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In addition to my two supervisors, there are some other scholars whom I would like to acknowledge. I want to thank all of the professors at the University of Calgary who taught me courses in Greek and Roman Studies during my time here as a graduate student, whose knowledge and expertise helped lay the groundwork for this thesis. I also want to thank the University of Arkansas' Dr. Daniel Levine, who led a seminar at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in the summer of 2022, that I was fortunate enough to have attended. There, Dr. Levine reinvigorated my passion for ancient history and provided me with some key firsthand experience of Greece and its material culture (including at a number of the locations discussed in this work, such as Athens, Corinth, Crete, the Peloponnese, Lefkandi, and more).

Finally, I would like to thank my friends and family for their incredible support as I have been working on this project and completing my master's degree. I am grateful for my fellow graduate students here at the University of Calgary and the encouragement they have provided me to keep pushing onward and work towards my ultimate goals. I would also like to specifically thank my parents, Ed Vanderkloet and Catherine Deboer, as well as my partner, Brianna Cranford, for sticking by my side and supporting me throughout this entire process.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

Over the course of the Archaic Period, which lasted from around 800 to 480 BC, ancient Greek society undoubtedly experienced some major changes and developments. At this time, many of the small villages scattered throughout Greece that had survived the Bronze Age Collapse began unifying through the process of *synoikism* to form larger city-states and consolidate the surrounding countryside into their territory. Cooler and wetter climate conditions seem to have given rise to dramatic changes in the demographics of Greece as the population of the region appears to have doubled over the course of the 8th century BC alone.[2] During the Archaic Period the Greeks also made significant advances in the art of war as they began developing the phalanx formation and hoplite warfare, two things that allowed them to serve as valuable mercenaries in the armies of contemporary civilizations, that helped them repel the Persian invasions of the early 5th century BC, and that they would ultimately continue to make use of throughout antiquity until their eventual demise at the hands of the Romans in the 2nd century BC.[3] Although they were divided into numerous states and polities, the Greeks do appear to have established a broader sense of cultural identity in the Archaic Period as they created festivals, games, and sanctuaries of panhellenic importance. These sanctuaries included places like Apollo's oracle at Delphi or Zeus' temple at Olympia, which were frequently consulted by visitors from throughout the ancient Greek world, especially during the quadrennial festivals, the Pythian and Olympic Games respectively. As the Archaic Period progressed, the Greeks also engaged in new art forms such as lyric poetry, theatre, philosophy, geography, and more.

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[2] Ian Morris, "The Eighth-Century Revolution," in *A Companion to Archaic Greece*, ed. Kurt A. Raaflaub and Hans van Wees, 1st ed. (Chichester, England: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 66-67.
[3] Peter Krentz, "Warfare and Hoplites," in *The Cambridge Companion to Archaic Greece,* ed. H. A. Shapiro (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 61-62, 80.

Unlike in the immediate aftermath of the Bronze Age Collapse, during the Archaic Period the Greeks began to increasingly engage in long-distance trade with the broader Mediterranean. This allowed the Greeks to come into closer contact with other cultures, from whom they were able to adopt various technologies and innovations. The civilizations that the Greeks were perhaps the most indebted to in this regard were those of the contemporary Near East, particularly the Phoenicians, a maritime people from modern-day Lebanon who played a crucial role in re-establishing trade between the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean.[4] As the Roman orator Cicero once said, "The Phoenicians were the first, through their trading and merchandise, to import into Greece greed and grandiosity and the insatiable desire for all things."[5] The presence of Phoenician pottery, jewels, and an inscribed bronze bowl from the Tekke cemetery suggest that Phoenician traders were visiting the island of Crete and engaging in commerce there since at least the 10th century BC.[6] In fact, some Phoenician craftsmen seem to have stayed on the island and resided there permanently, as evidenced by the fact that the Phoenicians appear to have built a shrine, known as Temple B, in the Cretan port city of Kommos in the late 9th century BC.[7] In addition to the island of Crete, the Dodecanese islands of Cos and Rhodes appear to have had a strong connection with the Phoenicians as well. The presence of Phoenician wares and burials, such as the Phoenician child burial discovered at Ialysos, suggest that Phoenician merchants were visiting these islands and trading with their inhabitants since at least the 9th

[4] Walter Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, trans. Margaret E. Pinder (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 21. Carolina López-Ruiz, *The Phoenicians and the Making of the Mediterranean* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021), 27-28.
[5] Cicero *De Re Publica* Fragment 3.3 (quoted in Nonius Marcellus 431M). Translation taken from: James E. G. Zetzel, *Cicero: On the Commonwealth and On the Laws*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 78.
[6] Joseph W. Shaw, "Phoenicians in Southern Crete," *American Journal of Archaeology* 93, no. 2 (April 1989), 181.
[7] Joseph W. Shaw, "Phoenicians in Southern Crete," 181-182.

century BC.[8] From the 8th century BC onwards, the islands of Rhodes and Cos appear to have stopped importing ceramics in such high quantities from the Near East and instead began producing local imitations of Cypro-Phoenician pottery, especially Black-on-Red ware juglets. This has led scholars to conclude that by the 8th century BC, Phoenician craftsmen had established permanent workshops on Rhodes and Cos for the bottling and selling of perfumes, oils, and other unguents.[9] Our surviving literary sources written by the ancient Greeks themselves only further corroborate the Phoenicians' early presence in the Aegean as they claim that the Phoenicians had established a presence on several islands, such as Thasos and Cythera, before the Greeks ruled there.[10]

In addition to the Aegean islands, the Greek mainland appears to have developed a growing connection or relationship with the Phoenicians at this time too. For example, from the 7th century BC onwards, Greek coins and vases increasingly depict chickens on them and various Greek authors make references to these birds in their written works.[11] This is significant, as the Phoenicians are believed to have ultimately introduced this species of livestock to the region by transporting them from the Near East aboard their ships, given that the earliest remains of chickens in Europe seem to all come from Phoenician sites, especially their colonies in Iberia.[12] At this time, large quantities of Phoenician goods seem to have also made their way into mainland Greece, even into the area of Laconia, which is surprising considering that this was an

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[8] Giorgos Bourogiannis, "The Phoenician Presence in the Aegean during the Early Iron Age: Trade, Settlement, and Cultural Interaction," *Rivista Di Studi Fenici* 46 (2018), 67.
[9] Giorgos Bourogiannis, "The Phoenician Presence in the Aegean during the Early Iron Age: Trade, Settlement, and Cultural Interaction," 68, 70.
[10] Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.8.1, Herodotus *Histories* 1.105.3, 2.44.3-4, 6.47, Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 3.1.1, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 1.14.7, 5.25.12,
[11] Lee Perry-Gal et al., "Earliest Economic Exploitation of Chicken Outside East Asia: Evidence from the Hellenistic Southern Levant," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 112, no. 32 (August 11, 2015), 9850.
[12] Lee Perry-Gal et al., "Earliest Economic Exploitation of Chicken Outside East Asia: Evidence from the Hellenistic Southern Levant," 9849.

especially insular region of Greece due to the fact that its major city, Sparta, was landlocked and prohibited its citizens from engaging in commerce.[13] Archaeological surveys at the port city of Gythium in Laconia have led to the discovery of a large number of murex shells, which has caused scholars to believe that in the early Iron Age, this city was heavily involved in the Phoenician trade of purple dyes.[14] Similarly, a number of Phoenician carved ivories and terracotta masks dating to the 8th century BC have been discovered at Artemis' sanctuary at Orthia, suggesting that by the early Archaic Period, the Lacedemonians were engaging in long-distance trade with the Near East.[15]

Of course, at this time commercial goods not only made their way from the Near East to Greece, but from Greece to the Near East as well. For example, from the late 9th century BC onwards a number of Greek ceramics, especially of Euboean origin, appear to have been exported to the trade post of Al Mina situated along the northern coast of the Levant, from which they were distributed throughout the Near East and were brought as far inland as the Neo-Assyrian capital of Nineveh.[16] The close trade connections between the Phoenicians and Greeks (especially from the island of Euboea) seem to be only further corroborated by the archaeological evidence suggesting that the Greek ἄποικος or 'colony'[17] of Ischia, which was founded by settlers from the Euboean cities of Chalcis and Eretria in the late 8th century BC, was also inhabited by a number Phoenicians in its early history.[18] Because of these various interactions

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[13] Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 2.38.2-2.39.1, Xenophon *Constitution of the Spartans* 7, Plutarch *Life of Lycurgus* 9.3-4.
[14] Niki C. Scoufopoulos and John G. Mckernan, "Underwater Survey of Ancient Gythion, 1972," *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 4.1 (1975), 103.
[15] Jane Burr Carter, "The Masks of Ortheia," American Journal of Archaeology 91, no. 3 (July 1987), 374.
[16] John Boardman, "The Early Greek Sherd at Nineveh," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 16, no. 3 (1997), 375.
[17] From now on, I will use the word 'colony' as a translation of ἄποικος, even though I recognize some of the inherent problems or challenges in using this term. For more on this topic, see: Robin Osborne, "Early Greek Colonization? The Nature of Greek Settlement in the West," in *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence*, ed. Nick Fisher and Hans van Wees (London, England: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd, 1998), 251–270.
[18] M. W. Frederiksen, "Archaeology in South Italy and Sicily, 1973-76," *Archaeological Reports* 23 (1977), 44.

between the Phoenicians and Greeks in the early Iron Age, by the time the Homeric epics were produced in the 8th century BC, the Phoenicians appear to have already had a well-established reputation for producing high-quality goods and for trading these goods in ports all over the Mediterranean.[19]

As the Greeks increasingly interacted with the Phoenicians, they seem to have adopted a number of Phoenician innovations and ideas. For example, it was from the Phoenicians that the Greeks adopted their script, which allowed them to produce a variety of written works in the Archaic Period just like they had previously done in the Bronze Age.[20] Furthermore, as the Archaic Period progressed, the Phoenicians seem to have greatly influenced Greek art and religion. For example, a number of scholars have demonstrated that over the course of the Archaic Period, Greek pottery seems to have been increasingly influenced by contemporary Near Eastern motifs as the Greeks shifted away from using geometric designs in favor of depicting human beings, wild animals, mythological creatures, and floral designs, especially ones with palmette volutes.[21] Meanwhile, researchers like Walter Burkert have demonstrated significant parallels between Greek and Phoenician gods such as Aphrodite/Ashtarte, Apollo/Resheph, Heracles/Melqart, as well as Greek and Phoenician forms of divination in antiquity.[22] The Phoenicians appear to have also had a profound influence on Greek seafaring and navigation.

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[19] For the luxury of the Phoenicians and their goods, see: Homer *Iliad* 6.289, 23.740, *Odyssey* 4.614, 15.425. For the Phoenicians' involvement in Mediterranean trade see: Homer *Odyssey* 13.271, 14.288, 15.415.

[20] Roger D. Woodard, "Contextualizing the Origin of the Greek Alphabet," in *The Early Greek Alphabets: Origin, Diffusion, Uses,* ed. Robert Parker and Philippa M. Steele (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2021), 74-75.

[21] Glenn E. Markoe, "The Emergence of Orientalizing in Greek Art: Some Observations on the Interchange between Greeks and Phoenicians in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries BC," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 301 (February 1996), 52-54. Thomas Mannack, "Greek Decorated Pottery I: Athenian Vase-Painting," in *A Companion to Greek Art*, ed. Tyler Jo Smith and Dimitris Plantzos (Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2018), 44.

[22] Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*, trans. John Raffan (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 145, 152-153, 210. Walter Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, 46.

From the 6th century BC onwards, the Greeks seem to have abandoned the practice of sewing the planks of their ships together in favour of using pegged mortise and tenon joints.[23] Considering that mortise and tenon joints have a far older history of use in the ancient Near East, have been observed in Phoenician ships dating back to the late Bronze Age such as in the Uluburun and Cape Gelidonya shipwrecks, and were known to the Romans simply as *Punicanis coagmentis* or 'Phoenician joints',[24] scholars believe that this shipbuilding technique must have been adopted by the Greeks from the Phoenicians.[25] It is likely that the bireme, a ship with two banks of rowers on each side for increased speed and maneuverability in naval warfare, was another Phoenician invention that was adopted by the archaic Greeks as our earliest depictions of these ships come from Neo-Assyrian portrayals of the Phoenicians and their navy during the reign of King Sennacherib (705-681 BC).[26] Overall, the influence from the Near East, particularly the Phoenicians, over the Greeks at this time was so prevalent that 20th century scholars decided to coin this era of Greek history, "the Orientalizing Period."

Out of all of the developments that occurred in Greece during the Archaic Period, perhaps the most noteworthy are the political changes that a number of Greek city-states experienced. At this time, many foundational laws and institutions were established within Greek cities that persisted well into the later Classical (479-324 BC) and Hellenistic Periods (323-31 BC). For example, the Spartans appear to have undergone drastic legal reform in the early Archaic Period which they attributed to Lycurgus, a shadowy figure who was revered as one of

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[23] George F. Bass, "New Techniques of Archaeology and Greek Shipwrecks of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries BC," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 150, no. 1 (March 2006), 14.
[24] Cato the Elder *On Agriculture* 18.9.
[25] Yaacov Kahanov and Patrice Pomey, "The Greek Sewn Shipbuilding Tradition and the Ma'agan Mikhael Ship: A Comparison with Mediterranean Parallels from the Sixth to the Fourth Centuries BC," *The Mariner's Mirror* 90, no. 1 (February 2004), 24-25.
[26] Lionel Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 58.

the city's major founders. Meanwhile, we hear that Athens experienced similar legal reforms under their famous lawgivers Draco and Solon in the late 7th and early 6th centuries BC respectively. As the Archaic Period progressed and these various legal reforms were implemented, Greek cities seem to have gradually reduced the power of their kings and, in many instances, outright abolished their monarchies in favor of broader oligarchical political systems. In the case of Athens, for example, this led to the creation of its 'democracy' in 508 BC.

This trend of overthrowing monarchies and replacing them with broader, more collective forms of government seems to have been considered one of the defining traits of the ancient Greeks and something that ultimately distinguished them from contemporary civilizations. In his *Politics*, Aristotle calls hereditary kingships 'barbarian monarchy' and contrasts this with what he classifies as 'Spartan kingship,' where the monarch seemingly holds the least amount of political power.[27] This suggests that Aristotle drew a distinction between the Greeks, who are constantly striving to reduce the power of their kings, and 'foreigners' (βάρβαροι), who are more complaisant towards monarchy. Aristotle's teacher, Plato on the other hand, does not seem to have considered monarchies a 'Greek' form of government at all in his *Republic.*[28] Similarly, in Herodotus' *Histories,* when King Xerxes of Persia, in preparation for his invasion of Greece, asks the former Spartan king, Demaratus, to summarize the Hellenes as best he can, he defines them as a people who are constantly (διαχρεωμένη) fighting off both poverty (πενίην) and despotism (δεσποσύνην).[29] Likewise, Hippocrates in his work, *Airs, Waters, and Places* claims

[27] Aristotle *Politics* 3.1285a-b.
[28] Plato *Republic* 8.544C.
[29] Herodotus *Histories* 7.102.1.

that the reason why the 'Asian race' (γένος τὸ Ἀσιηνὸν) is more cowardly than the Hellenes is because much of Asia (τῆς Ἀσίης τὰ πολλὰ), unlike Greece, is ruled by kings (βασιλεύεται).[30]

This Hellenocentric view that the ancient Greeks were the sole innovators of democracy and were in many ways unique or exceptional, continues to be perpetuated in modern scholarship and political discourse. Books written on the topic of democracy and its history often begin by discussing the ancient Greeks and the reforms of Cleisthenes in 508 BC.[31] Throughout his term as the British prime minister, Boris Johnson kept a bust of the 5th century Athenian politician, Pericles in his office and frequently referred to this figure in his political speeches on the nature and origins of democracy.[32] The present-day constitution of the European Union even begins with a preamble that quotes directly from Pericles' funeral oration delivered in the winter of 431 BC, "Our constitution … is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but of the whole of the people."[33] This notion that ancient Greek governments were the direct precursors to modern democracies remains quite prominent in contemporary American political discourse as well. For his last trip overseas as president in November of 2016, Barack Obama travelled to Greece and delivered a speech in which he declared "we're indebted to Greece for the most precious gifts – the truth, the understanding that as individuals of free will, we have the right and capacity to govern ourselves."[34]

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[30] Hippocrates *Airs, Waters, and Places* 16.
[31] For examples, see: Luciano Canfora, *Democracy in Europe: A History of an Ideology* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006). Kurt A. Raaflaub, Josiah Ober, and Robert Wallace, eds., *Origins of Democracy in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007). Jim Miller, *Can Democracy Work?: A Short History of a Radical Idea, from Ancient Athens to Our World*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2018). Kim Covert, *Ancient Greece: Birthplace of Democracy* (Mankato, MN: Capstone Press, 2012).
[32] Peter Jones, "Boris's Periclean Optimism," *The Spectator* 325, no. 9688 (May 3, 2014), 23.
[33] Luciano Canfora, *Democracy in Europe: A History of an* Ideology, 7. This quotation comes from Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 2.37.
[34] Uri Friedman, "Obama Makes the Case for Democracy, in the Land Where It Was Born," *The Atlantic*, November 17, 2016. Accessed on May 31st, 2023: https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/11/obama-democracy-greece/507890/

While the history of the ancient Greeks and the abolishment of their monarchies in favour of broader, more collective systems of government is a much-discussed topic in modern scholarship and political discourse, researchers rarely contemplate whether the Greeks were truly unique in this regard or if other civilizations in antiquity were also developing oligarchies at this time. Simon Hornblower is one rare exception as he does, at the very least, consider the possibility that Athenian democracy was inspired by the Phoenicians who were also developing collective systems of rule at around this time.[35] Nevertheless, Hornblower only ponders this point very briefly in his work before quickly moving on to discuss the Greeks and their contributions to democracy, saying little more than "The Phoenicians, in western Asia, had something comparable to the self-regulating city-state or *polis* of archaic and classical Greece… the Greek political arrangements we most admire. Scientific study in this area has, however, hardly begun… we can do no more than mention the Phoenicians and move on."[36]

My thesis here will attempt to amend some of these shortcomings in modern scholarship surrounding the ancient Greeks and the development of their political thought over the course of the Archaic Period. After providing a brief outline of my research methodology (Chapter 2), I will first summarize our surviving evidence of monarchies in ancient Greece, from when the Greeks first appear in the archaeological record during the Bronze Age, to the Archaic Period, the main period of focus in this paper (Chapter 3). Then, I will discuss how the Greeks appear to have gradually reduced the powers of their kings or abolished their monarchies in favour of broader political systems. I will do this by focussing specifically on the histories of Corinth

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[35] Another notable exception is: Stephen Stockwell, "Israel and Phoenicia," in *The Edinburgh Companion to the History of Democracy*, ed. Benjamin Isakhan and Stephen Stockwell (Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 2012).

[36] Simon Hornblower, "Creation and Development of Democratic Institutions in Ancient Greece," in *Democracy: The Unfinished Journey, 508 BC to AD 1993*, ed. John Dunn (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1992), 2.

(Chapter 4), Sparta (Chapter 5), and Athens (Chapter 6) during the Archaic Period and discussing the various political changes that these three city-states each underwent at this time, according to our various ancient sources and other evidence. Finally, I will discuss the history of the Phoenicians from the late Bronze Age to the 5th century BC and how they too, appear to have gradually reduced the powers of their kings in favour of establishing broader, oligarchical political systems in their city-states (Chapter 7). In this final chapter, I will not only draw comparisons between the forms of government that existed among the Phoenicians and Greeks, but will demonstrate that the trend of establishing broader, more collective systems of rule began several centuries *earlier* in Phoenicia than in Greece. By doing so, I will speculate that the political developments of archaic Greece were in some ways inspired by the Phoenicians and their oligarchies. The purpose of this thesis is not to lessen or discredit the Greeks' contributions to the development of democracy, but rather to argue that the history of broad-based governments is much older and far more complicated than is generally assumed. Furthermore, my thesis is meant to demonstrate that it is perhaps more fruitful to study the ancient Greeks and their political developments – not in isolation as though this civilization existed in a vacuum – but within their appropriate context and in conjunction with the other civilizations of the Mediterranean, with whom the Greeks were in close contact.

Chapter 2
Methodology

To begin, it is important to state that my approach to this work has very much been a multidisciplinary one. My research does not simply focus on the ancient Greeks and their political developments in isolation, but studies them in conjunction with the other civilizations of the ancient Mediterranean with whom the Greeks were in close contact and who were also experiencing substantial political changes at this time. The Phoenicians are, of course, the main civilization that I will be comparing to the Greeks and their political developments over the course of the Archaic Period. However, I will also make mention of other cultures, such as the Romans, Egyptians, and Arameans, on occasions where their histories or politics are relevant to the discussion and help illuminate broader trends of the period.

Moreover, I have taken a multidisciplinary approach in terms of the variety of sources that I have made use of in this work. As evidence for my arguments, I have tried to draw from a range of source material, including archaeological remains, inscriptional evidence, ancient literary works, modern scholarship, and more. I have also tried to capture both insider and outsider perspectives on the political developments that city-states experienced at this time. So, for example, when I recount the history of the Phoenicians from the late Bronze Age to the 5th century BC (Chapter 7), I will not only discuss what the Phoenicians themselves have left behind or revealed about their political systems, but will demonstrate what the neighbouring Assyrians, Neo-Babylonians, Israelites, and others have written about them as well. There were some instances, however, where it was, admittedly, quite challenging to capture both insider and outsider perspectives. Perhaps the most obvious example is my chapter on the history of archaic Sparta (Chapter 5).

Apart from the 7th century BC poet, Tyrtaeus, whose surviving works provide only a vague outline of the political organization of Sparta at this time,[37] there are virtually no ancient authors from Sparta itself who can provide us with an insider perspective on their government. Those who wrote extensively on the political history of Sparta were, by and large, outsiders who tended to view the city as peculiar in comparison to the other polities of Greece.[38] Furthermore, a number of our surviving ancient literary sources are not only separated geographically from archaic Sparta and its political institutions, but temporally as well. For example, authors such as Plutarch and Justin wrote their works at a time when Sparta no longer existed as an independent polity but was firmly under the hegemony of the Roman Empire as it had been for centuries by that point.[39] For these 2nd century Roman authors, the city of Sparta was little more than a popular tourist destination and a relic of a bygone era. The fact that our sources on the history of Sparta were written mostly by outsiders is quite problematic as these non-Spartan authors seem to have fallen into the habit of distorting the city's exceptional features or idiosyncrasies.[40] Moreover, it seems that the Spartans themselves were inclined to misinform outsiders on their way of life so that they could give off the impression that they were more powerful, intimidating, or brutal than they really were and deter others from challenging their authority.[41] These sorts of myths or exaggerations likely became even more prominent over time as authors became more and more separated temporally from the events and institutions of early Spartan history. As a

[37] Tyrtaeus Fragments 2, 4, 5, and 6.
[38] Stephen Hodkinson, "Sparta: An Exceptional Domination of State over Society?," in *A Companion to Sparta*, ed. Anton Powell, vol. 1 (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2018), 32.
[39] Yves Lafond, "Sparta in the Roman Period," in *A Companion to Sparta*, ed. Anton Powell, vol. 1 (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2018), 403-405.
[40] Stephen Hodkinson, "Sparta: An Exceptional Domination of State over Society?," 32.
[41] Anton Powell, "Sparta: Reconstructing History from Secrecy, Lies, and Myth," in *A Companion to Sparta*, ed. Anton Powell, vol. 1 (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2018), 8.

whole, scholars have called this tendency in our ancient sources to exaggerate or idealize Sparta's features the 'Spartan Mirage.'[42]

While the 'Spartan Mirage' admittedly creates several challenges in reconstructing the history of archaic Sparta, I believe that I have made notable efforts in my research to mitigate these issues. First of all, to avoid the issue of relaying falsehoods or distortions that have emerged in the literary tradition over time, I have decided to primarily rely on sources that are older or written closer temporally to the events I discuss. For this reason, throughout my thesis, I will rely far more on authors like Herodotus (485-425 BC), than Plutarch or Justin (2nd century AD). Even though some of the events of the Archaic Period are, unfortunately, only recorded in much later sources, I will often provide this information with the caveat that it warrants suspicion or by pairing it with modern scholarship on the topic. Furthermore, to get as close as possible to an insider's perspective on Sparta, I have given preference to sources written by authors who are known to have lived in the city, even if they were not themselves, Spartan citizens. For example, in my chapter on the history of archaic Sparta, I will frequently rely on Xenophon as he is known to have fought under the Spartans as a mercenary, been a close friend of the Spartan king Agesilaus II, and had his own sons raised and educated in the city.[43] Similarly, I will also frequently rely on Thucydides as he is known to have lived amongst the Spartans and gathered information from them during his twenty-year exile from Athens following the Battle of

[42] This term was first coined in: François Ollier, *Le Mirage Spartiate: Étude Sur l'idéalisation de Sparte Dans l'antiquité Grecque Du Début de l'école Cynique Jusqu'à La Fin de La Cité* (Paris, France: Les Belles Lettres, 1943).

[43] Xenophon *Anabasis* 7.6, *Agesilaus* 1.1, *Hellenica* 3.1.6, 3.2.7, Plutarch *Life of Agesilaus* 20.2. Although it should be noted that in recent years some scholars have questioned whether Xenophon's sons were truly raised in Sparta, such as: Noreen Humble, "Xenophon's Sons in Sparta? Perspectives on *Xenoi* in the Spartan Upbringing," in *Spartan Society*, ed. Thomas J. Figueira (Swansea, Wales: The Classical Press of Wales, 2004), 231–50.

Amphipolis in 424 BC.[44] Thus, by primarily relying on our oldest extant sources and by providing both outsider and insider (or at the very least quasi-insider) perspectives whenever possible, I believe that my research method has allowed me to mitigate some of the challenges presented in our ancient source material, such as the phenomenon of the 'Spartan Mirage.'

Another challenge that our ancient sources present, is the tendency to over-simplify the political developments of archaic Greece by providing what we would today call a 'Great Man' history.[45] Instead of capturing the complexities or nuances of a city's political developments, our ancient sources often attribute a city's system of government to a single founder or lawgiver. For example, our ancient sources on the history of Athens often treat Cleisthenes as the sole founder of the city's democracy.[46] This view is, of course, quite problematic as it assumes that Cleisthenes made his constitutional reforms by relying purely on his own genius and not by relying on any outside influences or pre-existing concepts. Moreover, it assumes that Athens' 'democracy' was a stable institution that did not undergo any major changes or developments following its creation in 508 BC.

In my thesis, I have tried to distance myself from this 'Great Man' approach to history-writing. While I will certainly make mention of lawgivers like Cleisthenes and their contributions to their cities' political systems, I will also treat our information about these figures with skepticism and remind the reader to be cautious of our ancient sources' overgeneralizations

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[44] Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.10.2, 5.26.5, 5.68.2. See also: Anton Powell, "Information from Sparta: A Trap for Thucydides?," in *Thucydides and Sparta*, ed. Paula Debnar et al. (Swansea, Wales: The Classical Press of Wales, 2021), 261-264.

[45] Nathan Rotenstreich, "Individuals, Great Men, and Historical Determination," *Social Research* 38, no. 1 (Spring 1971), 139, 142. Sarah Brown Ferrario, *Historical Agency and the "Great Man" in Classical Greece* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2014).10-12.

[46] Herodotus *Histories* 5.66, 6.131.1, Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 21-22.4, *Politics* 3.1275b, Isocrates *Antidosis* 232, Demosthenes *Against Midias* 144, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 1.29.6, Aelian *Varia Historia* 13.24, Plutarch *Life of Pericles* 3.1, *Life of Cimon* 15.2, *Life of Aristides* 2.1.

(for examples, see pages 66, 87, 89 & 99-100). Furthermore, I will demonstrate that the political developments of archaic Greece were, in many instances, not the product of a single man's actions, but a response to broader social conflicts and political tensions in Greek cities (see pages 54-56, 65 & 88). By doing so, I will show that there were, in all likelihood, a number of other groups or individuals who played key roles in the political developments of the Archaic Period, but whose names are, unfortunately, not recorded in the annals of history.

Instead of suggesting that the constitutional reforms of archaic Greece were accomplished entirely through the agency and innovations of famous lawgivers, I will propose that these reforms received external influence and were modelled off preexisting systems of government. In particular, I will advocate that the political developments of archaic Greece were inspired by the Phoenicians, a people who were also developing broad-based oligarchical systems of government at this time.[47] I will make this argument mostly by comparing Phoenician systems of government with those of archaic Greece and by showing that they shared a number of remarkable similarities. I will also demonstrate that the trend of establishing broader non-monarchical forms of government appears to have begun several centuries earlier among the Phoenicians than the Greeks, which means that it is quite possible that the political systems of archaic Greece were, in some ways, inspired by these various Phoenician precursors or counterparts.

Because I argue that the Greeks gradually turned to outside influences (i.e. the Phoenicians and their political institutions) for solutions to their growing social problems in the Archaic Period, one could say that my thesis adheres to the Diffusion of Innovations Theory.

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[47] Stephen Stockwell, "Before Athens: Early Popular Government in Phoenician and Greek City States," *Geopolitics, History, and International Relations* 2, no. 2 (2010), 129.

This theory states that over time, new ideas and technologies tend to spread through channels of communication to neighbouring civilizations, where these innovations can also be put to good use.[48] One could say that my thesis also adheres to Network Theory, an approach that has, in recent years, been increasingly used by scholars to argue that instead of viewing the ancient Mediterranean as a series of distinct or separate regions, we should conceptualize it as a collection of nodes linked to one another by networks of exchange.[49] Considering the ancient Mediterranean was such a hub of trade and interaction – not least between the Greeks and Phoenicians – I will contend that the political developments of archaic Greece were, in many ways, the consequence of diffusion or cross-cultural communications. By doing so, I will stand in direct opposition to Hellenocentrism, the notion that ancient Greek civilization essentially emerged from within itself and was unique or exceptional in antiquity. I will also stand in direct opposition to Oriental Despotism, the assumption that throughout history, almost all 'eastern' states relied on narrow authoritarian regimes,[50] as I will demonstrate that broad-based systems of rule clearly existed, not just in ancient Greece and the western Mediterranean, but in the ancient Near East as well.

Having briefly summarized both what I accept and reject as research approaches, I hope to have provided a clear impression of where my research falls in line in terms of its

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[48] James W. Dearing and Jeffrey G. Cox, "Diffusion of Innovations Theory, Principles, and Practice," *Health Affairs* 37, no. 2 (February 2018), 183-184. For examples of works that have explored or studied the diffusion of innovations in antiquity, see: Anna Collar, "Network Theory and Religious Innovation," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 22, no. 1 (June 2007), 152-155. Henrik Gerding and Per Östborn, "The Diffusion of Architectural Innovations: Modelling Social Networks in the Ancient Building Trade," in *Sinews of Empire: Networks in the Roman Near East and Beyond*, ed. Eivind Seland and Hakon Teigon (Havertown, PA: Oxbow Books, 2017), 71–84.
[49] Anthony Molho, "The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell," *Journal of World History* 13, no. 2 (2002), 490. Irad Malkin, *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 5, 8-10.
[50] Frederick G. Whelan, "Oriental Despotism: Anquetil-Duperron's Response to Montesquieu," *History of Political Thought* 22, no. 4 (Winter 2001), 619. Karl A. Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1957).

methodology. Although there are, admittedly, several challenges in reconstructing the history of Archaic Period, I believe that I have made notable efforts to mitigate these issues by employing a wide range of sources, modern scholarship, and a healthy bit of skepticism, especially regarding the early history of Sparta and the numerous achievements ascribed to ‘Great Men.’ With this research method in mind, I shall now proceed to lay out my arguments and begin my discussion on the political histories of ancient Greece and Phoenicia.

Chapter 3
From *Wanax* to *Basileus*: A History of Greek Monarchies from the Bronze Age to the Archaic Period

> "I think it is best that we no longer be ruled by one of ourselves as a monarch, since that kind of government is neither pleasant nor good… How could monarchy be a harmonious and coherent system when it permits the ruler to do whatever he wishes, to be accountable to no one? Even the best of men, if placed in this position of power [i.e. king], would lose his normal mental balance, for arrogance will grow within him as he enjoys all the good things at hand, as will envy, too, which is always a fundamental component of human nature… The rule of the majority, however, not only has the most beautiful and powerful name of all, equality [ἰσονομίην], but in practice, the majority does not act like a monarch. Indeed, the majority chooses its magistrates by lot, it holds all of these officials accountable to an audit, and it refers all resolutions to the authority of the public. I therefore propose that we abandon monarchy and raise the majority to a ruling position, for in numbers lies everything."[51]
>
> – Herodotus, *Histories* 3.80.2-6.

Before discussing how, as the Archaic Period progressed, the various city-states of Greece increasingly turned away from their traditional, monarchical forms of government towards systems of collective rule where power was more broadly distributed, it is important to first demonstrate why scholars believe monarchies were so prevalent in Greece to begin with. In this chapter, I will briefly summarize both the archaeological and literary evidence for the presence of kingships in Greece from the Mycenaean Bronze Age to the Archaic Period. As I am doing so, I will particularly try to address the question of whether kings ruled over Greece in the early Iron Age, as this is an especially difficult topic to address given that literacy had almost entirely disappeared from the region at this time, leaving us no written records from the period to rely on. Despite these challenges, I will demonstrate that it is, nevertheless, fair to assume that monarchies existed, by and large, throughout Greece up until the Archaic Period, when dramatic changes begin to occur in the Greeks' political thought or systems of government. This fact is significant for my thesis, as it shows that the Greeks started broadening their governments and

[51] Translation taken from: Robert B. Strassler, ed., *The Landmark Herodotus: The Histories*, trans. Andrea L. Purvis (New York, NY: Anchor Books, 2009), 245-246.

lessening their kings' powers several centuries *after* the Phoenicians had already begun to do so (as I will demonstrate in further detail later on in Chapter 7).

Let us begin by discussing the Bronze Age (3000-1200 BC), the period when an urbanized literate civilization (i.e. the Mycenaeans) first began to emerge in mainland Greece. From the works of Homer[52] and the numerous Linear B tablets discovered at sites such as Pylos or Knossos,[53] we know that during the Bronze Age, Mycenean Greece was divided into a number of kingdoms that were each ruled by a monarch called a *wanax*. These *wanakes* or 'great kings' held control over large swaths of territory and appear to have played a central role in their states' economies as they managed the cultivation of crops, taxed the population, and kept detailed records of commercial activity.[54] We also know that *wanakes* had a number of lesser officials serving beneath them to help manage and administer the various communities in their kingdoms, such as *damokoroi* or 'provincial governors' who appear to have been directly appointed by the *wanax* himself.[55] The significant role and authority of Mycenaean kings can perhaps also be inferred from Hittite records such as the Tawagala letter where the Hittite king, Hattusili III (1267-1237 BC) refers to a contemporary Mycenaean (Ahhiyawan) leader as a 'great king,' his 'brother' and his 'equal.'[56] This suggests that the status of Mycenaean kings was comparable or similar to that of contemporary Near Eastern monarchs.

The various kingdoms of the Mycenaeans appear to have dominated the political landscape of Greece for several centuries up until the Bronze Age Collapse (c. 1200 BC), when

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[52] Such as *Iliad* 9.163 or *Odyssey* 1.397.
[53] James T. Hooker, "The Wanax in Linear B Texts," *Kadmos 18*, no. 2 (1979), 100.
[54] Dimitri Nakassis, *Individuals and Society in Mycenaean Pylos* (Boston, MA: Brill, 2013), 2.
[55] Dimitri Nakassis, *Individuals and Society in Mycenaean Pylos*, 9.
[56] Willemijn J.I. Waal, "'My Brother, a Great King, my Peer': Evidence for a Mycenaean Kingdom from Hittite Texts," in *From "Lugal.gal" to "Wanax": Kingship and Political Organisation in the Late Bronze Age Aegean*, ed. Jorrit M. Kelder and Willemijn J. I. Waal (Leiden, Netherlands: Sidestone Press, 2019), 12.

they were ultimately toppled and fractioned into a variety of smaller independent communities. These more sparsely populated settlements seem to have, to some extent, continued to operate under monarchical forms of government in the early Iron Age. These early Iron Age kings, however, held sway over much smaller territories and were not called *wanakes* but *basileis*, a title that likely derives from the Mycenaean *qa-si-re-u*, a hereditary 'chieftain' who ruled over a village on the *wanax's* behalf.[57]

The existence of these monarchies in early Iron Age Greece is, in some ways, exhibited through the archaeological record. At a number of early Iron Age sites, archaeologists have discovered large buildings which seem to have been of central importance to the community and to have served as the dwelling of the local ruler. In fact, many of these discovered dwellings are *megara,* the same style of structure that, during the Bronze Age, served as the palaces and throne rooms of Mycenaean kings (*wanakes*).[58] At Tiryns, for example, after the city was destroyed during the Bronze Age Collapse, a *megaron* (known as Building T1) appears to have been constructed directly atop of its Mycenaean predecessor on the city's acropolis and to have continued to be used there until the mid 8th century BC.[59] The fact that this Iron Age *megaron* was discovered with twelve large *pithoi* (ceramic vessels used for storing grain and fluids) along its rear wall seems to be an indication that this structure primarily served as a residence and not a temple or religious site during this period.[60] Moreover, the fact that this building reused many of

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[57] Thomas G. Palaima, "Wanaks and Related Power Terms in Mycenaean and Later Greek," in *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*, ed. Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Irene Lemos (Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 68-69.
[58] Rodney Castleden, *Mycenaeans* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2005), 25-26, 47.
[59] James C. Wright, "The Formation of the Mycenaean Palace," in *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*, ed. Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Irene S. Lemos (Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 40.
[60] Joseph Maran, "Political and Religious Aspects of Architectural Change on the Upper Citadel of Tiryns: The Case of Building T," in *Potnia, Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age: Proceedings of the 8th International Aegean Conference*, ed. Robert Laffineur and Robin Hägg (Gothenburg, Sweden: Gothenburg University Press, 2001), 118-119.

the architectural features from the site's previous *megaron,* including the platform where the *wanax'* throne presumably once stood, suggests that this Iron Age structure served a rather similar function as its Mycenaean precursor: to house the local ruler. Considering that this building continued to be used for several generations, from the 11th to the 8th century BC without interruption, it seems that the rulers who dwelt there were, in all likelihood, hereditary or dynastic leaders (i.e. kings).[61]

Another example of a site that contains evidence of monarchical rule during the early Iron Age is the community of Nichoria in the Peloponnese. There, archaeologists have unearthed a *megaron* structure (known as Unit IV-1) built in the mid 11th century BC, which occupied the central ridge of the community. Over time, this *megaron* was remodeled by having a larger courtyard added to its front while an apsidal storage room was built onto its rear. Even though there are signs of cult activity at Unit IV-1, the presence of *pithoi* (storage containers), *scyphoi* (drinking cups), and other ceramic cooking vessels seems to clearly indicate that this structure functioned as a dwelling and not a temple.[62] Given the size of this *megaron*, its central position within the community, and the fact that it was inhabited for several generations, scholars assume that this building must have belonged to the local *basileus* of Nichoria and his dynastic successors.[63]

In addition to the sites of Tiryns and Nichoria, several other Greek communities dating to the early Iron Age have been discovered containing large central dwellings that are believed to

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[61] Alexander Mazarakis Ainian, *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples: Architecture, Religion, and Society in Early Iron Age Greece (1100-700 BC)* (Jonsered, Sweden: Paul Astroms Forlag, 1997), 161, 270.
[62] W. A. McDonald et al., "Excavations at Nichoria in Messenia: 1972-1973," *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 44, no. 1 (March 1975), 91.
[63] Sarah B. Pomeroy et al., eds., *Ancient Greece: A Political, Social, and Cultural History*, 4th ed. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018), 65-68

have belonged to the local king (*basileus*).[64] Such sites include examples from beyond the Greek mainland as well like the community of Emporio on the island of Chios, which appears to have had a large, 18 by 6.85m *megaron* built within its fortified acropolis in the 8th century BC that was kept noticeably apart from the other residential buildings in the community until the site's abandonment in the mid-Archaic Period.[65] While these structures may provide key insight into the political institutions of early Iron Age Greece, one must also recognize that the question of whether these structures belonged to a local king (*basileus*) is often determined through the subjective interpretation of facts like the building's size, its architectural features, prominent position in the community, interior furnishings, and the other finds associated with it.[66] Therefore, although the abovementioned evidence is certainly noteworthy and compelling, its shortcomings should also be acknowledged and warrant a degree of caution.

Another way archaeologists have advocated for the existence of monarchical political systems in early Iron Age Greece is by examining burials. For example, at the site of Lefkandi on the Greek island of Euboea, archaeologists have discovered a massive 50-meter-long structure dating to the mid 10th century BC, which contains the remains of two individuals, one male and one female, along with several ornate grave goods, some of which came from as far away as Babylon.[67] Considering the size of this mausoleum and the quality of the goods found within it, especially compared to contemporary graves discovered at the site, scholars believe that these

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[64] Such as 'Building A' discovered at Koukounaries on the Greek island of Paros, as discussed in: Jonathan M. Hall, *A History of the Archaic Greek World, Ca. 1200-479 BCE*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Wiley & Sons, 2014), 132-133. Alexander Mazarakis Ainian, *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples: Architecture, Religion, and Society in Early Iron Age Greece (1100-700 BC),* 82-83, 273.

[65] John Boardman, *Excavation in Chios, 1952-1955: Greek Emporio* (Oxford, England: The British School of Archaeology at Athens, 1967), 31-34, 250-251.

[66] Alexander Mazarakis Ainian, *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples: Architecture, Religion, and Society in Early Iron Age Greece (1100-700 BC),* 270-276.

[67] Mervyn Popham, E. Touloupa, and L. H. Sackett, "The Hero of Lefkandi," *Antiquity 56* no. 218 (1982), 172.

remains must have belonged to the community's king (*basileus*) and queen (*basileia*).[68] Even scholars like Mait Kõiv, an individual who is generally rather sceptical of the archaeological evidence of monarchy at this time, admits that the so-called heroön of Lefkandi is one clear example of early Iron Age kingship in Greece.[69] Another example from the island of Euboea is the site of Eretria, which contains a number of high-status burials near its West Gate dating to the 8th century BC.[70] These burials were each accompanied by a variety of valuable grave goods such as daggers, diadems, bronze cauldrons, jewels, and more. Of particular note is a man buried in Tomb 6, who was accompanied by a Mycenaean-era *skeptron*, a bronze staff or spear that appears to have been passed down to him as an heirloom, perhaps as a symbol of his family's royal prerogative.[71] Combined with the fact that these burials seem to have later become the focus of a local hero cult and that there is a near contemporary structure (Building A) in the city which could have quite possibly served as the ruler's dwelling, scholars believe that those buried at this cemetery must have been the king (*basileus*) of Eretria and his royal family.[72]

On the island of Cyprus near Kourion, archaeologists have discovered a number of Greek tombs that also appear to have belonged to the local royal family. These tombs date back to the 11th century BC and were discovered containing a variety of lavish grave goods such as bronze tripods, ceramic kraters, gold rings, and more.[73] One of the earliest burials at the site, Tomb 40 was even found containing an ornate gold sceptre, which has been interpreted by scholars as

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[68] Sarah B. Pomeroy et al., eds., *Ancient Greece: A Political, Social, and Cultural History*, 67-68.
[69] Mait Kõiv, "Basileus, Tyrannos, and Polis: The Dynamics of Monarchy in Early Greece," *Klio* 98, no. 1 (2016), 7.
[70] Keith G. Walker, *Archaic Eretria: A Political and Social History from the Earliest Times to 490 BC* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), 107.
[71] Jan Paul Crielaard, "Cult and Death in Early 7th-Century Euboea: The Aristocracy and the Polis," *Travaux de La Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen* 27, no. 1 (1998), 46.
[72] Alexander Mazarakis Ainian, *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples: Architecture, Religion, and Society in Early Iron Age Greece (1100-700 BC),* 58-62.
[73] Diana Buitron-Oliver, "Kourion: The Evidence for the Kingdom from the 11th to the 6th Century BC," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 308, no. 1 (November 1997), 29-30.

proof that the individual buried there was a king (*basileus*),[74] given that sceptres were considered the typical symbol of royalty in antiquity.[75] Epigraphical evidence from the later tombs at this site seem to only confirm that those buried there were members of the royal family. For example, one 8th century BC bowl discovered at the site, known as Cy8, contains an inscription claiming that it was the property of a certain Akastor, the king or 'βασιλῆFος' of Paphos (a nearby Greek city on the island).[76] A similar bowl, referred to as Cy14, has an inscription claiming "I belong to king [βασιλῆFος] Diweithemis."[77] A third bowl discovered at the site, known as Cy6, does not list the name of the king who was buried there, but at the very least provides a depiction of an enthroned man and woman who are labelled 'the king' and 'queen' respectively.[78] It is also worth mentioning that two 7th century gold bracelets were discovered in one of these tombs containing the inscription "of Eteandros, king [βασιλῆFος] of Paphos,"[79] an individual who was most likely the very same "Ituandar, king of Pappa" mentioned in contemporary Neo-Assyrian records.[80] In sum, there are a variety of archaeological remains which seem to demonstrate that in the early Iron Age, Greek communities operated under narrow monarchical forms of government ruled by a local chieftain or *basileus*. In the case of the royal tombs of Kourion, we even seem to have epigraphical evidence to corroborate the fact that those buried there, were indeed kings (*basileis*).

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[74] Elizabeth Goring, "The Kourion Sceptre: Some Facts and Factoids," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, no. 63 (1995), 106.
[75] For examples see: Homer *Iliad* 2.46, 14.93, *Odyssey* 3.412, 11.569, Aeschylus *Prometheus Bound* 761, *Eumenides* 626, Sophocles *Philoctetes* 140, *Oedipus at Colonus* 425, 449, Herodotus *Histories* 7.52.2, Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.9.2-4, etc.
[76] Glenn E. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985), 156, 177-178.
[77] Glenn E. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean,* 78.
[78] Glenn E. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean,* 175-176.
[79] Diana Buitron-Oliver, "Kourion: The Evidence for the Kingdom from the 11th to the 6th Century BC," 31.
[80] ANET[3] 291 and 294, as found in: James B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament: Third Edition with Supplement*, 291, 294.

Unfortunately, our archaeological information is the only evidence we have for Greek monarchies that comes directly from the early Iron Age itself, since this was a time when literacy had almost entirely disappeared from the region, leaving no written evidence behind. Nevertheless, once literacy remerged in Greece in the early Archaic Period with the adoption of the Phoenician script, our earliest written sources do seem to paint a rather similar picture: that the various communities of Greece were primarily ruled by monarchs in the aftermath of the Bronze Age Collapse. For example, the Homeric epics portray Greece as being subdivided into various kingdoms, each ruled by a hereditary chieftain or '*basileus*.' Leaders such as Proetus of Corinth or Pheidon of Thesprotia are repeatedly referred to as the *basileus* of their respective polities and appear to have ruled as such because they descended from a long line of similar kings.[81] The central importance and authority of these monarchical rulers is revealed already in the first book of the *Iliad*. When Achilles begins his dispute against King Agamemnon, Nestor admonishes him by saying "As for you, son of Peleus, do not seek to rival a king [βασιλῆϊ] by force, since a sceptre-holding king [σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεύς] to whom Zeus grants glory enjoys a greater portion of honour [τιμῆς] than other men do."[82] The fact that Greece was divided into these various kingdoms each ruled by a local *basileus* and his dynastic successors seems to be treated as an assumed fact throughout the Homeric epics and to have played a central role in their plots. For example, the plot of the *Odyssey* largely centers around the tensions between Odysseus' young son Telemachus and the various suitors who are threatening to steal his birthright [γενεῇ πατρώιον] and become king [βασιλῆα] of Ithaca by marrying his mother, Queen Penelope.[83]

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[81] Homer *Iliad* 6.163, *Odyssey* 14.316, 19.287.
[82] Homer *Iliad* 1.277. Translation taken from: Anthony Verity, *Homer: The Iliad* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2011), 10.
[83] Homer *Odyssey* 1.385.

In addition to the king or *basileus* of a community, assemblies (ἀγοραί) and councils (βουλαί) seem to have also played a significant role in politics too, as they are repeatedly portrayed in the Homeric epics deliberating on important matters of state and advising their king.[84] However, even though kings are often portrayed ruling in conjunction with other assemblies or governing bodies, it seems that the king ultimately had the final say in political matters.[85] For example, when in Book 2 of the *Iliad*, an assembly (boule) of the Greeks is debating whether they should abandon their expedition against Troy, Odysseus rebukes them by saying, "there is no way that we Achaeans can all serve as kings [βασιλεύσομεν] here. Many rulers are an evil thing, so let there be a single commander, one king [βασιλεύς], to whom the son of crooked-scheming Cronus has given a sceptre [σκῆπτρόν] and the power to judge, to decide over his people."[86]

The overwhelming presence of monarchies or kingships in the Homeric epics is noteworthy as scholars believe that these works not only reflect oral traditions that trace back to the late Bronze Age but also, to a large degree, the events and institutions of Homer's own day or lifetime.[87] From this, perhaps we may conclude that kingships resembling those presented in the Homeric epics, existed throughout the early Iron Age and at the time when these works were produced. As Pierre Carlier explains:

> It is hard to believe that the Greek epic poets would have imagined this political system if it was totally unknown to the Greek communities themselves… kings probably existed in most Greek communities of the early archaic period – villages, *ethne* and many emerging *poleis*; they probably worked more or less as the poems describe them. As this type of

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[84] See: David F. Elmer, "Assemblies and Councils," in *The Cambridge Guide to Homer*, ed. Corinne Ondine Pache (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 293–95.
[85] Raphael Sealey, *A History of the Greek City States, 700-338 BC* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976), 23-24.
[86] Homer *Iliad* 2.203-206. Translation taken from: Anthony Verity, *Homer: The Iliad*, 24.
[87] C. G. Thomas, "The Roots of Homeric Kingship," *Historia* 15, no. 4 (November 1966), 407.

> government is considered traditional by the poets and their audience, it probably already existed in the late Dark Age.[88]

Carlier's argument here seems to be only further supported by the fact that several early Iron Age structures that are believed to have functioned as the dwelling of a local king, closely match the descriptions found in the Homeric epics. For example, at the early Iron Age site of Zagora on the Greek island of Andros, archaeologists have discovered a large *megaron* known as House 19, which is believed to have belonged to the local *basileus* and has been noted for its remarkable similarities to Odysseus' palace – especially its walled courtyard and feasting hall – as it is described in Homer's *Odyssey*.[89]

Besides Homer, a variety of other authors from the Archaic Period provide us with the impression that monarchies existed throughout early Iron Age Greece. For example, the archaic poets Tyrtaeus (mid 7th century BC) and Pindar (late 6th century BC) tell us that after the Bronze Age Collapse, the Peloponnese was invaded by Dorian Greeks supposedly descended from Heracles who proceeded to divide the region amongst themselves and rule over it as kings (*basileis*).[90] Some parts of the Peloponnese even seem to have continued to be ruled by these Heraclid kings during the Archaic Period, such as Argos. The 7th century ruler, Pheidon of Argos, for example, who played a crucial role in expanding the city's influence over the Argolid plain and in creating a standardized system of weights and measurements, is said to have been a member of Argos' Temenid dynasty and ruled over the city as its rightful monarch (called either *basileus* or *tyrannos*).[91] Although our most detailed accounts of Pheidon and the other Temenid

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[88] Pierre Carlier, "Ἄναξ and Βασιλεύς in the Homeric Poems," in *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*, ed. Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Irene S. Lemos (Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 108.
[89] Alexandra Coucouzeli, "From Megaron to Oikos at Zagora," *British School at Athens Studies* 15 (2007), 180.
[90] Tyrtaeus Fragment 2 (as found in Oxyrhynchus Papyri, *Politica* 38.2824), Pindar *Pythian Ode* 5.69-72, 10.1-5, *Isthmian Ode* 7.12.
[91] Herodotus *Histories* 6.127.3, Aristotle *Politics* 5.1310b, Ephorus (as quoted in Strabo *Geography* 8.3.33, 8.6.16), Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 7.57, Plutarch *Amatoriae Narrationes* 2, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 6.22.2.

kings of Argos mostly come from the Classical Period and beyond, it seems fair to say that by the late Archaic Period, such stories were already in extensive circulation. When the Macedonian king, Alexander I tried registering for the Olympics in 504 BC, he did so by claiming that his family was descended from Argos' Temenid dynasty.[92] After the careful consideration of the Olympic judges (Ἑλληνοδίκαι), Alexander I's claims were determined to be true and he was permitted to take part in the games, which clearly suggests that by this time, the stories of Argos' Temenid kings were well-known and widely accepted as historically accurate. Otherwise, it would have hardly made sense for Alexander I to seek legitimacy in this way. In fact, some modern scholars have even argued that it was only in the closing decades of the Archaic Period, after the Battle of Sepeia in 494 BC, that Argos fully abolished its Heraclid monarchy in favour of a broader, more democratic political system.[93]

It is likely that Messenia was another region in the Peloponnese that continued to be ruled by its Heraclid kings during the early Archaic Period. Numerous sources from the early Classical Period and beyond record the names and deeds of Messenia's various Heraclid kings and even claim that these monarchs were still ruling during historical events like the First Messenian War (743-724 BC).[94] Moreover, surviving fragments of the *Processional Hymn to Apollo,* written by the late 8th century BC poet Eumelus of Corinth, indicate that this work was commissioned in

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[92] Herodotus *Histories* 5.22, Justin *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Philippic History* 7.2.13-14. It is likely that both Pindar (Fragment 121 found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus *On the Style of Demosthenes* 26) and Bacchylides (Fragment 20B found in Oxyrynchus Papyri 1361.1 and Athenaeus *The Deipnosophists* 2.10) wrote epinician poems for Alexander I in honour of this victory at the Olympic Games. See also Aeschines *On the Embassy* 32 and Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 2.99.3, for more the Macedonian royal family's claims of Greek ancestry.

[93] Thomas Kelly, *A History of Argos to 500 BC* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), 141. Robert Drews, *Basileus: The Evidence for Kingship in Geometric Greece* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983), 58-61.

[94] Plato *Laws* 3.690d, Isocrates *Archidamas* 23, Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 2.8.5, Hyginus *Fables* 137, 184, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 4.3.8, 4.4.4. Euripides' *Cresphontes* would have been another good source of information on this matter but it, unfortunately, is no longer extant.

honour of the contemporary Messenian king, Phintas of Ithome and his recent dedications at the sanctuary of Delos.[95] Although the archaic poet Tyrtaeus unfortunately does not mention any kings of Messenia in the few surviving fragments of his poetry, he does claim that during the Second Messenian War (c. 660-650 BC), the Messenians allied themselves with both the Arcadians, led by their king (βασιλέα) Aristocrates of Orchomenus and the Pisans, led by their king, Pantaeleon.[96] Thus, Tyrtaeus seems to confirm that during the early Archaic Period (i.e. his own lifetime), communities in the Peloponnese were often ruled by a local king or *basileus* who traced his lineage back several centuries, to the Dorian invasion of Greece that had supposedly occurred just after the Bronze Age Collapse (for more on this topic, see my later discussions on the early histories of Corinth and Sparta in chapters 4 and 5 respectively).

In addition to the Peloponnese, several Greek communities in Asia Minor claimed to have been ruled by kings throughout the early Iron Age as well. For example, the island of Lesbos was said to have initially been ruled by a series of kings (*basileis*) known as the Penthilids, who were supposedly descended from King Penthilus, the leader who had encouraged the Aeolian Greeks to first settle there.[97] Aristotle tells us that the Penthilid royal dynasty (βασιλικὰς δυναστείας) was eventually overthrown after it had fallen out of favour with the people of Lesbos for ruling too despotically.[98] Aristotle mentions a revolt against the Penthilids led by a certain Megacles, whose supporters had grown tired of the Penthilids' practice of beating the populace with staves (κορύναις). Aristotle also mentions a later instance, where a

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[95] Eumelus *Processional Hymn to Apollo* Fragment 2 (as found in Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 4.4.1.)
[96] Tyrtaeus Fragment 7 (as quoted in Strabo *Geography* 8.4.10).
[97] Cinaethon Fragment 4 (as quoted in Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 2.18.6), Myrsilus of Mithymna *BNJ* 477 F14 (as quoted in Plutarch *Moralia* 984E), Strabo *Geography* 13.1.3, Anticleides of Athens *BNJ* 140 F4 (as quoted in Athenaeus *The Deipnosophists* 11.15), Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 3.2.1, Plutarch *The Dinner of the Seven Wise Men* 20. Hellanicus of Lesbos *BNJ* 4 F32 (quoted in Scholia *Nemean Odes* 11.43), seems to provide an alternative account where Penthilus' father, Orestes, was the one responsible for settling Aeolia instead.
[98] Aristotle *Politics* 5.1311b.

man named Smerdis assassinated a Penthilid king as revenge for beating him and dragging him out of his wife's presence.[99] Although Aristotle does not mention when these events occurred, based on a fragment of the 7th century BC poet, Alcaeus, which appears to claim that the Penthilids were overthrown when he was still a young child,[100] scholars believe that these events likely occurred during the Archaic Period as opposed to the more remote, mythical past.[101] This can perhaps also be inferred from the surviving fragments of the near-contemporary poet, Sappho, who speaks rather harshly about the Penthilids, as though their reputation for being despotic rulers still existed in her lifetime.[102]

After the Penthilids were overthrown, Lesbos appears to have been ruled by a number of rather short-lived monarchies. The first of these monarchies was under the leadership of Melanchrus, an individual who is often called a tyrant (*tyrannos*) in our later ancient sources,[103] although the surviving fragments of the contemporary poet, Alcaeus, unfortunately reveal nothing about Melanchrus' official title, other than it was worthy (ἄξιος) of reverence or respect (αἴδως).[104] Melanchrus was then overthrown and replaced by the ruler Myrsilus, who is called a monarch (μοναρχίαν) in the poetry of the contemporary author, Alcaeus and either a king (*basileus*) or tyrant (*tyrannos*) in our later sources.[105] After the death of Myrsilus, we hear that Pittacus of Mytilene became the next monarchical leader of Lesbos. Pittacus is mostly referred to as the 'tyrant' of Mytilene,[106] although occasionally, he is called a *basileus* or *aesymnetes* as

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[99] Aristotle *Politics* 5.1311b.
[100] Alcaeus Fragment 75 (as quoted in Oxyrynchus Papyrus 1234).
[101] Mait Kõiv, "Basileus, Tyrannos, and Polis: The Dynamics of Monarchy in Early Greece" n.138.
[102] Sappho Fragment 71 (as quoted in Oxyrynchus Papyrus 1787)
[103] Strabo *Geography* 13.2.3, Diogenes Laertius *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 1.74, Suda *s.v.* Pittacus.
[104] Alcaeus Fragment 331 (as quoted in Hephaestion *Handbook of Meters* 14.3).
[105] Alcaeus Fragment 6 (as quoted in Oxyrynchus Papyrus 1789), Heraclitus *Homeric Allegories* 5, Plutarch *The Dinner of the Seven Wise Men* 147b, Strabo *Geography* 13.2.3,
[106] Alcaeus Fragment 348 (as quoted in Aristotle *Politics* 3.1285a), Plutarch *Life of Solon* 14, Strabo *Geography* 13.2.3.

well.[107] Upon his ascension to power, Pittacus seems to have formed an alliance with the Penthilids by marrying one of its members,[108] which caused the poet Alcaeus to accuse Pittacus of blatantly trying to seek legitimacy for his rule by associating himself with the island's former royal family.[109] In the end, Pittacus ruled over Mytilene for ten years before he abdicated from power, which seems to have ultimately brought an end to this dynastic system of government on Lesbos and led to the establishment of a broader oligarchical political system there.[110] Thus, it appears that it was only in the 6th century BC that a much broader, more collective system of government was truly established on the island. All of our literary information about Lesbos before this period, including the works of the archaic poet Alcaeus, suggest that the island was ruled by a series of kings (i.e. the Penthilids) or other monarchical governments (i.e. tyrannies) ever since the early Iron Age, when the island was first settled by the Aeolian Greeks.

Another region in Asia Minor that was said to have been ruled by a series of kings in the early Iron Age, is Ionia. Our earliest reference to this come from the surviving fragments of the late 7th century BC poet, Mimnermus, a native Ionian from the city of Smyrna. Mimnermus claimed that after the Peloponnese was invaded by the Dorian Greeks, the descendants of the legendary king Nestor of Pylos (i.e. the Neleids) proceeded to migrate to Ionia and rule there as kings.[111] Mimnermus says that the founder of Colophon, for example, was Andraemon of Pylos.[112] From the works of later authors such as Pherecydes of Athens, Herodotus of Halicarnassus, and Hellanicus of Lesbos (individuals who were all born in the late Archaic

[107] Aristotle *Politics* 3.1285a, Plutarch *The Dinner of the Seven Wise Men* 157E.
[108] Diogenes Laertius *Live of Eminent Philosophers* 1.81
[109] Alcaeus Fragment 5 and 70 (as quoted in Oxyrynchus Papyrus 1789 and 1234 respectively).
[110] Aristotle *Politics* 3.1285a, Strabo *Geography* 13.2.3, Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* 9.11.1, Diogenes Laertius *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 1.75.
[111] Mimnermus Fragment 9 (as quoted in Strabo *Geography* 14.1.4)
[112] Mimnermus Fragment 10 (as quoted in Strabo Geography 14.1.3)

Period, but wrote their works in the early Classical Period) we hear that the city of Ephesus was founded by the Neleid, Androclus, while Miletus was founded by Neleus son of Codrus.[113] Unfortunately, the names of the remaining Neleid founders of Ionia are only preserved in our later sources from the Hellenistic and Roman Periods.[114] Nevertheless, it seems fair to assume that during the Archaic Period, such stories were likely already in circulation. The scholar, Robert Drews for example, has no problem claiming that "most Ionians of the Archaic period believed that their ancestors had emigrated from Neleus' Pylos, and presumably they regarded their twelve cities [or *Dodecapolis*] as founded by offspring of Neleus' twelve sons."[115]

Not only do our ancient sources mention the various legendary founders of Ionia's twelve cities, but in some instances, they suggest that these Neleid kings were still ruling in the early Archaic Period. For example, the 5th century BC author, Ion of Chios claimed that his native island of Chios was still ruled by a Neleid king (*basileus*) named Hector, when it joined the Ionian League and began taking part in sacrifices at the Panionion.[116] Considering that the Ionian League and Panionion sanctuary of Poseidon Heliconius at Melia were not established until the 7th century BC,[117] it seems that Ion is situating King Hector of Chios, not in the distant mythical past, but in the relatively recent history of the Archaic Period. Another example would be when the 5th century BC historian, Herodotus claims that the reason why the Aeginetans decided to

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[113] Pherecydes of Athens *BNJ* 3 F155 (as quoted in Strabo *Geography* 14.1.3), Herodotus *Histories* 9.97, Helanicus *BNJ* 323a F23 (as quoted in Scholia *On Plato's Symposium* 208d).
[114] For the founding of Erythrae, see: Strabo *Geography* 14.1.3, Athenaeus The *Deipnosophists* 259a.
For the founding of Teos, see: Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 7.3.6
For the founding of Myus, see: Plutarch *On the Bravery of Women* 16.
For the founding of Phocaea, see: Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 7.3.10.
For the founding of Samos, see: Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 7.4.2.
[115] Robert Drews, *Basileus: The Evidence for Kingship in Geometric Greece*, 11.
[116] Ion of Chios *BNJ* 392 F1 (as quoted in Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 7.4.8).
[117] Hans Lohmann, "Ionians and Carians in the Mycale: The Discovery of Carian Melia and the Archaic Panionion," in *Landscape, Ethnicity and Identity in the Archaic Mediterranean Area*, ed. Gabriele Cifani and Simon Stoddart (Oxford, England: Oxbow Books, 2012), 35-36.

help the Spartans invade the Ionian island of Samos in 525 BC was because they wanted revenge for a previous offence that the Samians had committed against them under the reign of their king (*basileus*), Amphicrates.[118] Although Herodotus does not provide us with a specific date for when this king of Samos ruled, he does seem to be implying that his reign and commencement of this enmity with Aegina occurred in relatively recent memory. Some scholars have argued that King Amphicrates of Samos likely ruled around the time of the Lelantine War in the late 8th century BC,[119] while others have argued that he ruled in the late 7th century BC.[120] Regardless of which theory is true, it seems that scholars tend to believe King Amphicrates of Samos was a real historical figure who reigned, not in the remote mythical past, but during the early Archaic Period. There are several other references in our later Hellenistic and Roman sources that additionally seem to place the reigns of various Ionian kings in the Archaic Period, although the historical reliability of these sources should be treated with a greater degree of caution considering that they were produced much later than the events they recorded.[121]

Nevertheless, it seems fair to say, based on our ancient literary evidence, that the Ionian Greeks were likely ruled by kings (*basileis*) throughout the early Iron Age up until the Archaic Period. Several ancient sources including the 7th century BC poet Mimnermus, provide us with the impression that the Ionian Greeks of the Archaic Period widely believed that their cities had been founded by legendary kings and ruled by their descendants for several generations. Some sources even seem to suggest that certain Neleid kings, such as Hector of Chios, were still ruling

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[118] Herodotus *Histories* 3.59.4.
[119] Graham Shipley, *A History of Samos: 800-188BC* (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1987), 37-38
[120] Thomas J. Figueira, "Aeginetan Independence," *The Classical Journal* 79, no. 1 (October 1983), 23.
[121] The other Greek kings of Asia Minor who appear to have ruled in the Archaic Period are: King Hippoclus of Chios (mentioned in Plutarch *On the Bravery of Women* 3), King Demoteles of Samos (mentioned in Plutarch *Greek Questions* 57), Kings Amphitres and Leodamas of Miletus (mentioned in Conon *BNJ* 26 F1 section 44 and in Nicolaus of Damascus *BNJ* 90 F52-53), King Agamemnon of Cyme (mentioned in Julius Pollux *Onomasticon* 9.83) and King Knopus of Erythrae (mentioned in Hippias of Erythrae *BNJ* 421 F1).

in recent memory and took part in the historical events of the early Archaic Period. At this point, I should also reiterate that we have archaeological evidence from the Ionian island of Chios, suggesting that a monarchical government existed there at the site of Emporio in the 8th century BC.[122] I should also, once again, draw attention to the fact that in the Homeric epics (works that were, in all likelihood, composed in the region of Ionia around the 8th century BC), there are no representations of non-monarchical forms of government.[123] There are only depictions of polities ruled by kings (*basileis*) and their subordinate advisory bodies or councils, which could very well suggest that these monarchical political systems were the standard form of rule at the time that the Homeric epics were produced.

Beyond Asia Minor and the Peloponnese, several regions in northern Greece claimed to have been ruled by kings in the aftermath of the Bronze Age Collapse as well. For example, the Molossian people of Epirus were ruled by a series of kings known as the Aeacids who claimed descent from Achilles' son Neoptolemus, a hero who supposedly arrived in the region and founded this dynasty shortly after the conclusion of the Trojan War.[124] The story of Neoptolemus' journey to Epirus and establishment of a royal dynasty there seems to have been well-known by at least the late Archaic Period as the poet Pindar alludes to it several times in his poetry, such as in his seventh Nemean Ode where he claims that Neoptolemus "when he sailed away [from Troy] missed Scyros, but after wandering, he and his men reached Ephyra. In Molossia he ruled as king [ἐμβασίλευεν] for a short time, but his offspring [γένος] have forever

[122] John Boardman, *Excavation in Chios, 1952-1955: Greek Emporio*, 31-34, 250-251.
[123] For more on the dating of the Homeric epics, see: Eric Lewin Altschuler et al., "Linguistic Evidence Supports Date for Homeric Epics," *BioEssays* 35, no. 5 (February 18, 2013).
[124] Theopompus *BNJ* 115 F382 (as quoted in Strabo *Geography* 7.7.5), Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* 17.1.5, Virgil *Aeneid* 3.296, Strabo *Geography* 13.1.27, Pomponius Mela *Chorographia* 2.54, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 2.29.4, Plutarch *Life of Pyrrhus* 1.2, Justin *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Philippic Histories* 17.3, Silius Italicus *Punica* 14.94, 15.288, etc.

since [αἰεὶ] held that privilege of his."[125] The myths connecting Achilles' son, Neoptolemus to the region of Epirus may have already been in circulation at the time the Homeric epics were produced. It is notable that when, in the *Iliad*, Achilles prays to Zeus, he does so by invoking Zeus' cult form from Dodona, the oldest and most famous oracle in all of Epirus.[126] This invocation is noteworthy, as it is not only the sole reference to Epirus in the entire epic,[127] but the far more common practice in the *Iliad* seems to have been to invoke Zeus' cult form from the nearby mount, Ida.[128] Thus, Achilles' unusual invocation of Zeus' cult form from Epirus here may have been a subtle reference to the fact that this region was known for later becoming the land ruled by his son Neoptolemus and his subsequent progeny.[129]

The names and deeds of the various Aeacid kings of Molossia from the Classical Period until the late 3rd century BC, when this dynasty was eventually removed from power, are well-attested in our ancient sources.[130] However, our knowledge of Epirus' Aeacid kings in the Archaic Period unfortunately remains rather obscure with the exception of perhaps two individuals. The first is the Molossian king, Admetus, who is first attested in Thucydides' history and appears to have ruled around the time of Xerxes' invasion of Greece in 480/479 BC.[131] Thus, to consider this figure an archaic king would, in a way, be splitting hairs. The second individual who may very well have been a member of Epirus' Aeacid dynasty is Alcon of Molossia, an

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[125] Pindar Nemean Ode 7.36-40. Translation taken from: William H. Race, trans., *Pindar: Nemean Odes, Isthmian Odes, and Fragments*, Loeb Classical Library 485 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 77.
See also: Nemean Ode 4.51-55 and Paean 6.109 (as found in Oxyrynchus Papyrus 841).
[126] Homer *Iliad* 16.234.
[127] The 'Dodona' mentioned in Homer *Iliad* 2.749 is a reference to a different site, situated in Thessaly according to: G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 236.
[128] For references to Idaean Zeus see: Homer *Iliad* 3.275, 3.320, 7.202, 16.605, 22.170, 24.290, 24.309, etc.
[129] Sanna-Ilaria Kittelä, "Dodona and Neoptolemus: Heroic Genealogies and Claims of Ethnicity," in *Studies in Ancient Oracles and Divination*, ed. Mika Kajava (Rome, Italy: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2013), 35-36.
[130] For more information on this dynasty's eventual demise in the Hellenistic Period see: Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 4.35.3-5, Justin *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Philippic Histories* 28.3, Polyaenus *Stratagems* 8.52.
[131] Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.136-137, Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* 11.56.1-4, Plutarch *Life of Themistocles* 24.

individual who is first referenced in Herodotus' history and is said to have tried to form an alliance with the tyrant, Cleisthenes of Sicyon by marrying his daughter Agariste around the year 565 BC.[132] However, Herodotus never actually specifies whether Alcon of Molossia was a member of the Aeacid royal family so the question remains unclear.

Despite this obscurity, it nevertheless seems fair to assume that the Molossians were ruled by their Aeacid kings throughout the Archaic Period. It is unlikely that the stories of Neoptolemus' journey to Epirus and founding of a royal dynasty there would have been in circulation during the late Archaic Period and referenced several times in Pindar's poetry, if the Aeacidae were not an already well-established dynasty ruling over the Molossians by this point in time. It is also notable that Aristotle, in his *Politics* uses the Molossian royal family (ἡ περὶ Μολοττοὺς βασιλεία) as a prime example of a dynasty that has continued to rule in Greece for an exceptionally long time (πολὺν χρόνον διέμεινεν).[133] Aristotle then goes on to compare the Molossian royal family with the kings of Sparta, another long-lasting monarchy that was in power throughout the Archaic Period (for more information about Sparta's kings, see pages 62-64). Several other ancient authors also emphasize the great antiquity of the Molossian royal family and the fact that this dynasty seems to have continued to rule without interruption, from the distant mythical past to the historical period.[134] Therefore, if we know that kings (*wanakes*) were ruling before the Bronze Age Collapse and we know that kings (*basileis*) were ruling Epirus afterwards as well (during the events of the Classical Period and beyond), then it seems reasonable to assume that kings were likely ruling Epirus in between these two periods too, even

[132] Herodotus *Histories* 6.127.4
[133] Aristotle *Politics* 5.1313a.
[134] Plutarch *Life of Pyrrhus* 1.2, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 1.11.1-3, Justin *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Philippic Histories* 17.3.

if all we have are later, semi-legendary accounts about this region's early Iron Age history. As J.K. Davis puts it:

> Even if we decline to accept as historical the details of the developed story of its origins, the Aeacid dynasty was clearly well rooted in Molossian society in the archaic period, and provided military leadership while also serving as the unifying focus and as 'the government.' Its similarity to the Macedonian monarchy on the other side of Pindus… would be obvious enough even without Aristotle's own juxtaposition of them in *Politics* 1310B34ff. We may even think tentatively of Balkan Iron Age monarchy as a specific type of polity with its own uniformities and patterns of interaction.[135]

Another region in northern Greece that was said to have been ruled by kings (*basileis*) in the aftermath of the Bronze Age Collapse is Thessaly.[136] In the Classical Period, the people of Thessaly were divided into various territories, each ruled by a narrow oligarchy that was dominated by a local aristocratic family or *genos*. For example, the city of Larissa and the surrounding region were ruled by the Aleuadae, the city of Crannon and its surrounding area were ruled by the Scopadae, and the city of Pharsalus was controlled by the Creondae. These aristocratic clans were named after their founders, who were supposedly descendants of Heracles that had arrived in Thessaly soon after the Bronze Age Collapse and proceeded to rule over the region as kings (*basileis*). Such stories about the early Heraclid kings of Thessaly seem to have, at the very least, been in circulation by the late Archaic Period. Excavations at the Late Bronze Age *tholos* tomb at Georgiko have revealed that since the early 6th century BC, this site was the focus of a local hero cult in honour of Aeatus,[137] the Heraclid king who supposedly first conquered Thessaly and who fathered Thessalus, the eponymous founder of the Thessalian

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[135] J.K. Davies, "A Wholly Non-Aristotelian Universe: The Molossians as Ethnos, State, and Monarchy," in *Alternatives to Athens: Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece*, ed. Roger Brock and Stephen Hodkinson (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2002), 251.
[136] Slawomir Sprawski, *Jason of Pherae: A Study on the History of Thessaly in the Years 431-370 BC*, ed. Edward Dabrowa (Krakow, Poland: Jagiellonian University Press, 1999), 20-21.
[137] Maria Stamatopoulou, "Forging a Link with the Past: The Evidence from Thessalian Cemeteries in the Archaic and Classical Periods (Plates 69-80)," in *Tumulus as Sema: Space, Politics, Culture and Religion in the First Millennium BC*, ed. Oliver Henry and Ute Kelp (Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2016), 193-194.

people.[138] Moreover, the late archaic poet, Pindar demonstrates that he was clearly aware of the stories of Thessaly's early kings as he begins his tenth Pythian Ode, which was written in honour of the Aleuad, Hippocleas of Pelinna, by saying "Sparta is prosperous; Thessaly is divinely blessed. Both are ruled [βασιλεύει] by the race [γένος] of a single ancestor, Heracles."[139]

This quotation is noteworthy as it not only shows that Pindar was familiar with the stories of Thessaly's legendary kings, but by using the present tense βασιλεύει here, Pindar seems to be implying that Thessaly, like Sparta, was still being ruled by its Heraclid kings during his own lifetime. This can perhaps also be inferred from the final line of the poem, where Pindar claims that in Thessaly, the governing of states (πολίων κυβερνάσιες) is passed down from father to son (κεῖνται πατρώϊαι).[140] In addition to Pindar, a number of other ancient authors talk about Thessaly in the late Archaic Period as though it were still ruled by kings at this time. The first author that is worth mentioning here, is Simonides of Ceos, a 6th century BC poet who composed numerous odes for members of both the Aleuad and Scopad families.[141] Unfortunately, the few surviving fragments of Simonides' poetry do not reveal the official title or function of these Thessalian aristocrats. However, we do have a poem from the Hellenistic author, Theocritus, which refers to Simonides' two patrons Antiochus son of Echecratides and Aleuas son of Simus, as the ἄνακτος or *wanax* of their respective cities and claims that these kings' deeds would have all been forgotten, if not for Simonides' immortal poetry.[142] Moreover, it seems likely that one of

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[138] Polyaenus *Stratagems* 1.12, 8.44, Charax *BNJ* 103 F6 (as quoted in Stephanos of Byzantion *Ethnika s.v.* Δώριον), Zenobius *Proverbs* 4.29.
See also: Herodotus *Histories* 7.176.3-4, Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.12, Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* 4.67.2, Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 4.14, Velleius Paterculus *Roman History* 1.3.1.
[139] Pindar *Pythian Ode* 10.1-3. Translation taken from: William H. Race, trans., *Pindar: Olympian Odes and Pythian Odes*, Loeb Classical Library 56 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 368.
[140] Pindar *Pythian Ode* 10.71-72.
[141] Simonides Fragment 542 (as quoted in Plato *Protagoras* 339a), Fragment 57 (as quoted in *Planudean Anthology* 60), Cicero *De Oratore* 2.351-353, Quintilian *Principles of Oratory* 11.2.11–16.
[142] Theocritus *Idylls* 16.34-44. See also: Scholia *On Theocritus* 16.34-44.

Simonides' patrons here, Antiochus son of Echectratides, is the very same "Antiochus, king [βασιλεύοντι] of all Thessalians" mentioned in the works of the early 4th century BC Socratic philosopher, Aeschines of Sphettus.[143] We also know that another one of Simonides' patrons, Scopas son of Creon (or 'Scopas the Drinker'), featured in an early Hellenistic work known as *The Revenge-Killings of Tyrants*, which seems to suggest that the author of this work, Phaenias of Eresus considered Scopas to have been a *tyrannos* or tyrant.[144]

Another author who provides us with the impression that the Thessalians were still operating under a monarchical system of government in the late Archaic Period, is Herodotus. This is because, in his history Herodotus repeatedly refers to the leaders of Thessaly as *basileis* or 'kings.' For example, when Herodotus is describing the Athenian tyrant, Hippias' victory over the Spartans in 510 BC, he claims that this battle was won, in large part, thanks to the efforts of Hippias' Thessalian cavalry, who were led by their very own king (βασιλέα τὸν σφέτερον) Cineas of Conium.[145] Later on, when Herodotus is describing the Aleuadae's attempts to ally with the Persians in the leadup to Xerxes' invasion of Greece in 480/79 BC, he refers to the members of the Aleuadae simply as the 'kings of Thessaly' (Θεσσαλίης βασιλέες).[146]

Thucydides on the other hand, provides a much more obscure depiction of Thessaly's government. At times, Thucydides describes the Thessalians making their political decisions collectively (τοῦ πάντων κοινοῦ), as though they were ruled by broader councils or governing bodies.[147] Thucydides also claims that in battle, the Thessalians were led by a number of officials

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[143] Aeschines of Sphettus Fragment 10 (as quoted in Philostratus the Elder *Letters* 73). Translation taken from: Allen R. Benner and Francis H. Fobes, trans., *Alciphron, Aelian, and Philostratus: The Letters*, Loeb Classical Library 383 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949), 545.
[144] Athenaeus *The Deipnosophists* 10.438c.
[145] Herodotus *Histories* 5.63.3.
[146] Herodotus *Histories* 7.6.2.
[147] Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.102.4, 3.93.2, 4.78.3

whom he calls ἄρχοντες or 'archons,' the same term used for Athens' annually elected magistrates.[148] At other times, however, Thucydides seems to present a monarchical system of rule in Thessaly. For example, Thucydides claims that in 454 BC, the Athenians led an expedition to Pharsalus in order to restore Orestes, the exiled son of Echecratides, king of Thessaly (Ἐχεκρατίδου τοῦ Θεσσαλῶν βασιλέως).[149] Similarly, when Thucydides is describing the Spartan general, Brasidas' march through Thessaly in the summer of 424 BC, he claims that Thessaly's government was dynastic rather than democratic (δυναστείᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἰσονομίᾳ).[150] In addition to the abovementioned evidence, we have various sources from the Roman Period and beyond that also portray Thessaly as being ruled by monarchs (either *basileis* or *tyrannoi*) in the Archaic Period, although the historical value of these later sources should be treated with a much greater degree of caution or skepticism.[151]

Nevertheless, it seems fair to say that from at least as early as the 6th century BC, the Thessalians believed that their land had been invaded by descendants of Heracles in the early Iron Age who proceeded to rule over the region as kings and to found various royal dynasties there. In fact, based on the works of Pindar, Herodotus, and our surviving accounts about Simonides, we may even speculate that these Heraclid kings were still ruling over Thessaly in the late Archaic Period, as these authors often refer to Thessaly's leaders as *basileis*.[152] At times, Thucydides also speaks about Thessaly as though it were ruled by a monarchical form of government, although our information from Thucydides' history is much more contradictory and

[148] Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 2.22.3.
[149] Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.111.1.
[150] Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 4.78.3.
[151] For examples of Thessalian *basileis*, see: Plutarch *On Brotherly Love* 21, Suda *s.v.* Aleuas. For examples of Thessalian tyrants, see: Plutarch *On the Malice of Herodotus* 21, Scholia *On Demosthenes' Orations* 1.22.
[152] J. A. O. Larsen, "A New Interpretation of the Thessalian Confederacy," *Classical Philology* 55, no. 4 (October 1960), 238-239.

confusing, leaving us with the impression that by the early Classical Period, only slight vestiges of Thessaly's former monarchical political system were still around.

Having sufficiently summarized our literary evidence for the presence of monarchies in Greece throughout the early Iron Age and, in some instances, the perseverance of these dynasties into the Archaic Period, it is now time to address some of the notable problems or shortcomings of this evidence. First and foremost, there is the fact that literacy did not exist in Greece from the 12th to 8th centuries BC, which means that for the early Iron Age history of Greece, we are primarily forced to rely on sources that were written several centuries later on, after the Greeks had adopted the Phoenician script in the early Archaic Period. Moreover, the surviving fragments of some of our earliest archaic sources are, on occasion, only preserved in the works of later authors, which is problematic as it requires us to trust that these later authors had quoted their sources reliably and did not adapt or distort their citations in order to serve their own agendas.

There is perhaps also a semantic issue that arises from our literary sources. While the term 'basileus' seems to have most often referred to a hereditary monarch in the Homeric epics and our other ancient sources,[153] it appears that these works did not always necessarily treat 'basileus' the same as the modern English word 'king.' For example, when the late 8th century BC poet, Hesiod mentions the *basileis* of his hometown, Thespiae, he does not appear to be referring to its 'kings,' but to a group of individuals who served as the city's judges and who presided over important legal matters.[154] Similarly, in Athens, from at least the early 7th century BC onwards, 'basileus' did not refer to the city's king, but to an annually elected official in charge of managing the state's religious affairs (this topic will be discussed in more detail on

[153] Pierre Carlier, "Ἄναξ and Βασιλεύς in the Homeric Poems,"107-108.
Thomas G. Palaima, "Wanaks and Related Power Terms in Mycenaean and Later Greek," 69.
[154] Hesiod *Work and Days* 38.

page 81). As a result, even though 'basileus' seems to have, by and large, been used to refer to a hereditary monarch in our ancient literary sources, it would be wrong to assume that *every* reference to a 'basileus' carries this exact meaning and must therefore, be considered evidence of a monarchical political system. In fact, some scholars have argued that the abovementioned references to the *basileis* of Thessaly in the late Archaic Period should be interpreted, not as references to Thessaly's 'kings,' but to their *tagoi,* elected officials who served as military leaders (although I do not know how convincing I personally find this argument to be, considering that these *tagoi* only appear as Thessaly's supreme magistrates in sources and events from the 4th century BC onwards).[155]

The last notable problem with our archaic sources that depict monarchies in early Iron Age Greece is that these accounts can, at times, be quite biased or prone to the influence of later events. Many scholars have noted that throughout the Archaic Period, the Greek ruling elite appear to have claimed descent from semi-divine kings and to have initiated the worship of these legendary ancestors, not necessarily out of a benevolent desire to record the past, but in order to justify the current social hierarchies or institutions in their cities.[156] Peter Rose, for example, argues that many of the legendary rulers of early Iron Age Greece were "claimed as legitimating ancestors of the self-styled *aristoi*… [as a way of] insisting on the genealogically based

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[155] For more on this argument see: W. W. How and Joseph Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus: with Introduction and Appendices*, vol. 2 (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1957), 5.63.3, 7.6.2. Slawomir Sprawski, *Jason of Pherae: A Study on the History of Thessaly in the Years 431-370 BC*, 18-20.
Our earliest reference to the *tagos* as Thessaly's highest political position is in Xenophon *Hellenica* 6.1.8-9, 18, 6.4.33. Although we have inscriptional evidence for *tagoi* in the 6th and 5th centuries BC, this evidence seems to suggest that they were minor officials in charge of organizing small companies of troops and were not eponymous at this time. For more on this topic, see: Bruno Helly, "Tagos," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary,* 3rd ed. (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[156] Greg Anderson, "Before *Turannoi* Were Tyrants: Rethinking a Chapter of Early Greek History," *Classical Antiquity* 24, no. 2 (October 2005), 183-184.

superiority and therefore 'legitimacy' of the ruling elite."[157] Thus, one must acknowledge that our archaic sources for kings like the Penthilids of Lesbos or Aleuadae of Thessaly, may not necessarily present an accurate portrayal of the political institutions of early Iron Age Greece, but instead, the aetiological legends that these aristocratic families had invented for themselves by the Archaic Period in order to justify their position or status in contemporary society. Moreover, one must acknowledge the potential influence of broader, inter-state relations over our ancient sources for the Greeks' early Iron Age kings. For example, the abovementioned 5th century BC author, Pherecydes of Athens likely had a strong political motivation for recounting the stories of Ionia's legendary kings in his works. This is because, Pherecydes' native town of Athens also had myths about the Neleids ruling there in the early Iron Age (for more on this topic see page 77) and during Pherecydes' own lifetime, Athens ruled over much of the Ionian Greek world as *hegemon* of the Delian League. Thus, Pherecydes' retelling of the Neleids' founding of Ionia was quite possibly embellished to help legitimize Athens' relations with Ionia in the 5th century BC under the Delian League, an empire that was largely established by Cimon, a member of Athens' Philaid clan who also claimed descent from the legendary Neleid kings.[158]

Because of these various shortcomings in our literary sources, there are admittedly several challenges to using them as evidence for the presence of kings in early Iron Age or Archaic Greece. In fact, some scholars in recent years have decided to push back against the notion that Greece was primarily ruled by kings in the early Iron Age, arguing instead that at this time the Greeks began developing broader, non-monarchical systems of government.[159] I,

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[157] Peter W. Rose, "Class," in *A Companion to Archaic Greece*, ed. Kurt A. Raaflaub and Hans, 1st ed. (Chichester, England: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 474.
[158] Pherecydes of Athens *BNJ* 3 F2 (as quoted in Marcellinus' *Life of Thucydides* 2-4).
[159] Robert Drews, *Basileus: The Evidence for Kingship in Geometric Greece* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983). Mait Kõiv, "Basileus, Tyrannos, and Polis: The Dynamics of Monarchy in Early Greece," *Klio* 98, no. 1 (2016).

however, disagree with this argument and side more with the scholars who advocate that it was only later on, in the early Archaic Period that this shift towards broader, more collective political systems occurred.[160] While I agree that many of our literary sources are flawed and may not accurately portray the institutions or history of early Iron Age Greece, it seems like a bit of a stretch to suggest that *all* of these sources are completely unreliable and that in reality, early Iron Age Greece was dominated by a completely separate form of rule, oligarchy.

As this chapter has clearly shown, the Greeks of the Archaic Period widely believed that their cities had been ruled by hereditary monarchs after the Bronze Age Collapse until only relatively recently, when these monarchies were eventually overthrown. Furthermore, from at least the early Classical Period and beyond, the Greeks formally outlined the constitutional developments of their cities from the rule of hereditary kings (*basileis*) in their early history, to the rule of the tyrants who usurped them as monarchs in the mid 7th century BC, to the eventual establishment of broader, oligarchical political systems by the end of the Archaic Period.[161] To quote from Thucydides, "as Hellas grew more powerful and continued to acquire still more wealth than before, along with the increase of their revenue, tyrannies [τυραννίδες] began to be established in most of the cities, whereas before that [πρότερον], there had been hereditary kingships [πατρικαὶ βασιλεῖαι]."[162] Given the sheer amount of literary – not to mention archaeological – evidence we have, I see no reason to doubt this general outline of the Greeks'

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[160] Walter Donlan, "The Relations of Power in the Pre-state and Early State Politics," in *The Development of the Polis in Archaic Greece*, ed. Lynette Mitchell and P.J. Rhodes, (London, England: Routledge, 1997), 21. Ian Morris, "The Eighth-Century Revolution," 64, 72, 74, 75, 80. Sarah B. Pomeroy et al., eds., *Ancient Greece: A Political, Social, and Cultural History*, 107-108. Raphael Sealey, *A History of the Greek City States, 700-338 BC*, 23.
[161] Aristotle *Politics* 1.1252b, 2.1272a, 3.1285b, 3.1286b, 5.1310b, Polybius *History* 6.7-9, Cicero *De Re Publica* 1.41-43, Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Roman Antiquities* 5.74, etc.
[162] Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.13.1. Translation taken from: C. F. Smith, trans., *Thucydides' History of the Peloponnesian War, Volume 1: Books 1-2*, Loeb Classical Library 108 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919), 25.

constitutional developments; that there were hereditary monarchies up until the Archaic Period, when we start to see dramatic changes in the Greeks' political thought or systems of government. Furthermore, as the upcoming chapters will show, this gradual development of Greek political systems over the course of the Archaic Period, from hereditary monarchies to broader systems of rule, also existed in the traditions of perhaps our three most well-recorded *poleis*, Corinth, Sparta, and Athens. So, with this framework in mind, let us proceed to discuss the histories of Corinth, Sparta, and Athens and answer the questions of how, why, and when these states developed more collective systems of government. As I am doing so, it is worth taking note of the specific kinds of political institutions the Greeks introduced to broaden their governments as they appear remarkably similar to the councils, assemblies, and annual magistracies that also existed in ancient Phoenician city-states (as I will demonstrate in further detail in Chapter 7).

Chapter 4
A Political History of Corinth in the Archaic Period

> "Planted on an isthmus, Corinth had always been a commercial *emporium*; as formerly almost all communication between the Hellenes within and outside of the Peloponnese was carried out overland, and the Corinthian territory was the highway through which it traveled. She [Corinth] had consequently great money and resources, as is shown by the epithet 'wealthy'[163] bestowed by the old poets on the place, and this enabled her, when traffic by sea became more common, to procure her navy and put down piracy; and as she could offer a market for both branches of the trade [i.e. terrestrial and maritime commerce], she acquired for herself all the power that a large revenue affords."[164]
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> – Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.13.5.

Corinth, like the vast number of other Greek cities, began the Archaic Period under monarchical rule but over time experienced substantial political change, so much so that by the end of this period, it was ruled by a considerably broader, oligarchical form of government. As previously mentioned, following the Bronze Age Collapse, the Peloponnese was said to have been invaded by a group of Dorian Greeks supposedly descended from Heracles himself who proceeded to divide the region amongst themselves and rule over it as kings (*basileis*).[165] The city of Corinth was certainly no exception as its Bronze Age monarchs, the Sisyphidae, were believed to have been overthrown during the Dorian Invasion by the Heraclid, Aletes who then ruled over the city as its king (*basileus*) and established a new royal dynasty (*genos*) there.[166] These Heraclid kings were said to have ruled over Corinth for eleven generations, until their final

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[163] See: Homer *Iliad* 2.570.
[164] Translation taken from: Robert B. Strassler, ed., *The Landmark Thucydides: A Comprehensive Guide to the Peloponnesian War*, trans. Richard Crawley (New York, NY: Touchstone, 1998), 11.
[165] Tyrtaeus Fragment 2 (as found in Oxyrhynchus Papyri, *Politica* 38.2824), Pindar *Pythian Ode* 5.69-72, 10.1-5, *Isthmian Ode* 7.12. The historicity of these Heraclid kings, including the kings of Corinth is discussed in: Lilian H. Jeffery, *Archaic Greece: The City-States c. 700-500 BC* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1976), 39-41.
[166] Pindar *Olympian Odes* 13.14, Theopompus *BNJ* 115 F357 (as quoted in Scholia *On Theocritus* 5.83), Ephorus *BNJ* 70 F18 (as quoted in Strabo *Geography* 8.8.5), Callimachus *Aetia* 54i (as quoted in Plutarch *Quaestiones Convivales* 676f and Oxyrynchus Papyrus 2212), Diodorus Siculus *The Library of History* 7.9.2, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 2.4.3-4, Conon *Narrations* 26, Velleius Paterculus *Roman History* 1.3.3

king, Telestes was eventually assassinated and overthrown by the members of his family sometime in the early Archaic Period, around the year 747 BC.[167]

After King Telestes' assassination, the members of his family – known as the Bacchiadae – were said to have formed an oligarchy in Corinth. Under this new form of government, elections were held each year to determine who would serve as the city's chief magistrate or *prytanis*, an annual position that essentially replaced the role of king.[168] In addition to the *prytanis*, there appears to have been other lesser officials who acted within this oligarchy as well, such as the Polemarch who was tasked with managing the city's military affairs.[169] Given that councils (βουλαί) and assemblies (ἀγοραί) are mentioned already in the Homeric epics, modern scholars have speculated that the Bacchiad oligarchy of Corinth likely had similar governing bodies in charge of advising the city's *prytanis* on important political matters, although we unfortunately hear no mention of these governing bodies in our surviving literary sources.[170]

While the Bacchiad oligarchy of Corinth was likely a broader form of government than the hereditary monarchy that preceded it, it is important to bear in mind that this was still a rather narrow political system where power rested in the hands of a very limited few.[171] Under this oligarchy, only members of the Bacchiad clan (*genos*) were permitted to run for political office or take part in the city's elections. This means that only a small handful of Corinthians would have been able to participate in the city's politics as Diodorus Siculus claims that at the time of Telestes' assassination in 747 BC, the Bacchiadae consisted of no more than two hundred of

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[167] J. B. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth: A History of the City to 338 BC* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1997), 55-56.
[168] Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 2.4.4, Diodorus Siculus *The Library of History* 7.9.6, Strabo *Geography* 8.8.5
[169] Nicolaus of Damascus *BNJ* 90 F57 (as quoted in Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Excerpts on Ambushes* 22).
[170] Stewart Irvin Oost, "Cypselus the Bacchiad," *Classical Philology* 67, no. 1 (1972), 11-12.
[171] Stewart Irvin Oost, "Cypselus the Bacchiad," 10-11, argues that the Bacchiads even still used the title of king (*basileus*) while they ruled over Corinth.

Corinth's wealthiest aristocrats.[172] Furthermore, according to Herodotus, the Bacchiadae pursued a strict policy of endogamy, meaning they only allowed for intermarriage between fellow members of their clan so that the total number of Bacchiadae remained relatively small.[173] For these reasons, several ancient authors refer to the Bacchiad oligarchy of Corinth as though it, in truth, was not all that different from the monarchy that came before it. Herodotus, for example, refers to the Bacchiadae as ἀνδράσι μουνάρχοισι or 'monarchs.'[174] Similarly, Nicolaus of Damascus refers to the final ruler of the Bacchiad oligarchy, Patrokleides, not as Corinth's *prytanis* but as its king (*basileus*).[175] Diodorus Siculus likewise claimed that the eldest descendant (ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἐκγόνων) of the Heraclid, Aletes, ruled as king (ἐβασίλευσε) of Corinth until the tyranny of Cypselus (μέχρι τῆς Κυψέλου τυραννίδος), which suggests that he did not consider the leaders of Corinth's Bacchiad oligarchy to have been noticeably different from the hereditary monarchs (*basileis*) that ruled beforehand.[176] Finally, it is possible that Strabo also considered the Bacchiadae and their government to have been quasi-monarchical in nature, as he claimed that the Bacchiads ruled over Corinth as tyrants (οἱ Βακχιάδαι τυραννήσαντες).[177]

Be that as it may, in the end, the Bacchiad oligarchy lasted for less than a century before it was overthrown in 657 BC by Cypselus, a Corinthian aristocrat who instituted a new form of monarchical rule in the city by making himself its sole leader (c. 657-627 BC) and establishing his descendants as dynastic successors. Cypselus is most often referred to as a *tyrannos* or

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[172] Diodorus Siculus *The Library of History* 7.9.6.
[173] Herodotus *Histories* 5.92β.1.
[174] Herodotus *Histories* 5.92β.2.
[175] Nicolaus of Damascus *BNJ* 90 F57 (as quoted in Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Excerpts on Ambushes* 22).
[176] Diodorus Siculus *The Library of History* 7.9.3-6.
[177] Strabo *Geography* 8.6.20. For more information on ancient Greek oligarchies and their seeming resemblance to authoritarian regimes, see: Matthew Simonton, *Classical Greek Oligarchy: A Political History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017), 71-73.

'tyrant' in our ancient sources, although it should be noted that he is occasionally called a 'king' (*basileus*) as well,[178] which could suggest that he went by this title during his lifetime or that the differences between these two terms were not as distinct or clear-cut in the early Archaic Period.[179] According to Aristotle, Cypselus, like most other Greek tyrants, seized power over his city through demagoguery and the support of the masses.[180] This, to a certain extent, makes sense as we hear from our ancient sources that Cypselus enacted several populist reforms or policies throughout his reign. For example, after he ascended to power, Cypselus exiled the remaining Bacchiadae from the city, confiscated their property,[181] and likely redistributed these lands amongst Corinth's lower classes.[182] Meanwhile, he allowed the political enemies of the Bacchiadae that had been exiled from the city, to return to Corinth and regain their citizenship rights there.[183] Cypselus also devoted much of his efforts towards the construction of public buildings. Under Cypselus, both the sanctuary of Apollo on Temple Hill and the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia were built.[184] Cypselus additionally made several contributions to panhellenic sanctuaries outside of Corinth, such as at Delphi where he built the oracle's first treasury or at Olympia where he dedicated an ornate chest.[185] For these reasons, Aristotle, Ephorus, and Nicolaus of Damascus all claim that Cypselus was so beloved by his fellow citizens that he never bothered hiring bodyguards for protection.[186]

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[178] Such as in Herodotus *Histories* 5.92ε.2 and Nicolaus of Damascus *BNJ* 90 F57 (as quoted in Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Excerpts on Ambushes* 22). See also: Herodotus *Histories* 3.52.4 and Nicolaus of Damascus *BNJ* 90 F58.
[179] Mait Kõiv, "Basileus, Tyrannos, and Polis: The Dynamics of Monarchy in Early Greece," 62-63.
[180] Aristotle *Politics* 5.1310b.
[181] Herodotus *Histories* 5.92ε.2.
[182] Sarah B. Pomeroy et al., eds., *Ancient Greece: A Political, Social, and Cultural History,* 129.
[183] Nicolaus of Damascus *BNJ* 90 F57 (as quoted in Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Excerpts on Ambushes* 22).
[184] Sian Lewis, *Greek Tyranny* (Exeter, England: Liverpool University Press, 2009), 30.
[185] Herodotus *Histories* 1.14.2, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 5.18.7.
[186] Aristotle *Politics* 5.1315b, Ephorus *BNJ* 70 F179 (as quoted in Diogenes Laertius *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 1.98) Nicolaus of Damascus *BNJ* 90 F57 (as quoted in Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Excerpts on Ambushes* 22).

With that said, in recent years, some scholars have decided to push back against this notion that championing the causes of the masses (*demos*) or acting as popular rulers were some of the unique and defining traits of ancient Greek tyrants.[187] For example, Greg Anderson argues that even though Cypselus and other Greek tyrants constructed a number of public works and had their fair share of lower class supporters, this was not necessarily unusual or radically different from the behavior of contemporary oligarchical leaders in the Archaic Period.[188] Moreover, Anderson demonstrates that it is highly unlikely that ancient Greek tyrants wanted to totally upend the current political system, social hierarchies, or status quo in their cities as these conditions were what ultimately allowed them to seize power and rule as tyrants to begin with. Thus, perhaps we should view tyrants, not as radical revolutionary figures, but as a consequence of what happens when one particular individual becomes too successful at eliminating their political rivals and at dominating their local oligarchical system of rule.[189]

So, if it was not the lower classes (*demos*) of Corinth who principally supported Cypselus and the overthrow of the Bacchiadae, then who did? Although it is never explicitly stated in our ancient sources, many scholars believe that tyrants like Cypselus were particularly supported by the local merchant class, which, at this time, was becoming increasingly wealthy as well as dissatisfied with their marginal role in the city's political decision-making.[190] As Robert Drews explains, "the growing complexity of the Greek economy… created a wealthy class distinct from the landed aristocracy. Distressed that the aristocrats monopolized all political power the

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[187] G. L. Cawkwell, "Early Greek Tyranny and the People," *The Classical Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (1995), 86.
[188] Greg Anderson, "Before *Turannoi* Were Tyrants: Rethinking a Chapter of Early Greek History," 192-193, 196.
[189] Greg Anderson, "Before *Turannoi* Were Tyrants: Rethinking a Chapter of Early Greek History," 202.
[190] Robert K. Fleck and F. Andrew Hanssen, "How Tyranny Paved the Way to Democracy: The Democratic Transition in Ancient Greece," *The Journal of Law and Economics 56*, no. 2 (May 2013), 396-397.
Terry Buckley, *Aspects of Greek History 750-323 BC: A Source-Based Approach*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2010), 49, 51.
Pavel Oliva, "The Early Tyranny," *Dialogues d'histoire Ancienne* (1982) 363, 369.

nouveaux riches backed a revolution which put into power a single ruler responsive to their wishes [i.e. a tyrant]."[191] There are perhaps a few indications that the tyranny of Cypselus was supported by the *nouveaux riches* that had become dissatisfied with their marginal role in Corinth's politics. Firstly, we know that Cypselus himself was a member of the Corinthian elite who remained on the periphery of political power under the Bacchiadae. Although his mother, Labda, was technically a member of the Bacchiad clan, according to Herodotus she was born χωλή or 'crippled.'[192] As a result, she was not sought by any suitors within her clan and was instead, forced to go against the aforesaid custom of endogamy and get married outside the family to Aetion son of Echekrates, a man of lower status.[193] Therefore, it is possible that Cypselus himself is an example of a wealthy Corinthian who sought to overthrow the Bacchiad oligarchy because it had largely excluded him from politics.

If the tyranny of Corinth was indeed supported by the local merchant class, then this would also explain why Cypselus and his successors pursued several policies of commercial expansion. For example, during his reign, Cypselus seems to have established close diplomatic ties with a number of contemporary mercantile powers such as Lydia, an Anatolian kingdom known especially for its production of gold. Under Cypselus' rule, King Gyges of Lydia made several lavish dedications to the aforementioned Corinthian treasury at Delphi.[194] During his reign, Cypselus also founded several colonies along the northwestern coast of Greece, such as at Ambracia, Leucas, and Anactorium, which were each placed under the rule of one of his

[191] Robert Drews, "The First Tyrants in Greece," *Historia* 21, no. 2 (2nd Quarter, 1972), 131.
[192] Herodotus *Histories* 5.92 β.1.
[193] Herodotus *Histories* 5.92 β.1.
[194] Herodotus *Histories* 1.14.1-2, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 10.13.5

illegitimate sons.[195] This was most likely done in an effort to facilitate maritime trade between Corinth and the western Mediterranean, especially the various Greek colonies of southern Italy.

This policy seems to have continued to a certain extent under the reign of Cyspelus' successor, Periander (c. 627-585 BC), who founded the colony of Potidaea in Chalcidice and left it under the rule of his son, Evagoras, most likely in an effort to get more involved in the Thraco-Macedonian region's timber, gold, and silver trade.[196] This colony in particular would remain firmly under Corinthian control for quite some time, receiving annual colonists and magistrates all the way up until 433 BC.[197] Like his father, Periander also increased Corinth's influence over the northwestern coast of Greece by regaining control of Corcyra,[198] one of Corinth's oldest colonies that had since developed an animosity towards its parent city.[199] Soon after, Corinth and Corcyra jointly founded the colonies of Epidamnos and Apollonia along the eastern edge of the Straits of Otranto.

In addition to these efforts, Periander seems to have strengthened Corinth's relations with Lydia as Herodotus claims he sent 300 Corcyraean aristocrats to the region so that they could serve as eunuchs in the royal court of their king, Alyattes.[200] Herodotus also claims that Periander played a crucial role in brokering a peace deal between Lydia and the Greek city of Miletus sometime in the early 6th century BC.[201] In addition to Lydia, Periander seems to have developed close ties with Egypt, another important trade partner, particularly for its grain. This

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[195] Strabo *Geography* 10.2.8, Nicolaus of Damascus *BNJ* 90 F57 (as quoted in Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Excerpts on Ambushes* 22).
[196] Nicolaus of Damascus *BNJ* 90 F59 (as quoted in Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Excerpts on Ambushes* 23).
[197] Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.56.2.
[198] Herodotus *Histories* 3.52.6.
[199] For more on the tensions between Archaic Corinth and Corcyra see: Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.13.5, 1.25.3-4, & 1.38.1-5.
[200] Herodotus *Histories* 3.48.2
[201] Herodotus *Histories* 1.20.3

is, in part, exhibited by the fact that Periander named his nephew and successor, Psamettichus after the contemporary Egyptian pharaoh, Psamtik I.[202] During Periander's reign, the Greek *emporion* or trading post of Naucratis, situated along the coast of the Nile delta was also established, the remains of which have yielded a number of wares and goods of Corinthian origin.[203] Beyond his foreign policy, Periander supported the merchant class even further through his domestic policy as he funded the construction of the Diolkos, a trackway that allowed commercial ships to be dragged across the isthmus between the Saronic and Corinthian gulfs. Periander also oversaw the construction of Corinth's artificial harbour at Lechaeum.[204]

As a whole, it was under the Cypselid tyrants that Corinth reached the peak of its commercial power. Corinthian 'black figure' pottery quickly became the most popular style of the period and was traded extensively throughout the Mediterranean.[205] It was also most likely under the Cypselids that Corinth began to mint its first coins.[206] It is quite possibly because of these commercial policies and the Cypselids' mercantile supporters that Herodotus, when talking about the bias against trade and manufacture, claims "all the Greeks have adopted this attitude, especially the Spartans, but the Corinthians have the least prejudice towards craftsmanship."[207]

Despite these efforts, over time the Cypselid tyrants' popularity began to wane. While Cypselus appears to have generally been an admired leader, his eldest son and successor, Periander seems to have had a more mixed reputation. On the one hand, he was respected enough

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[202] Victor Parker, "Tyrants and Lawgivers," in *The Cambridge Companion to Archaic Greece*, ed. H.A. Shapiro (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 21.
[203] Albert Leonard Jr., *Ancient Naukratis: Excavations at a Greek Emporium in Egypt. Part I: The Excavations at Kom Ge'if,* vol. 1 (Alexandria, VA: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1997), 33, 145, 289 and 291.
[204] Sian Lewis, *Greek Tyranny* (Exeter, England: Liverpool University Press, 2009), 30.
[205]Stavros A. Paspalas, "Greek Decorated Pottery II: Regions and Workshops," in *A Companion to Greek Art*, ed. Tyler Jo Smith and Dimitris Plantzos (Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2018), 66.
[206] Donald Kagan, "The Dates of the Earliest Coins," *American Journal of Archaeology* 86, no. 3 (July 1983), 359.
[207] Herodotus *Histories* 2.167.2. Translation taken from: Terry Buckley, *Aspects of Greek History 750-323 BC: A Source-Based Approach*, 2nd edition, 51.

to have been asked to arbitrate the dispute between Athens and Mytilene in the late 7th century BC, over who should control Sigeum.[208] Several ancient sources also claim that Periander was one of the so-called seven sages of Greece.[209] On the other hand, however, authors like Herodotus and Aristotle claim that Periander was a ruthless leader who frequently executed his political rivals.[210] Herodotus additionally claims that Periander committed several other despicable acts like forcing all of Corinth's women to strip naked during the festival of Hera,[211] murdering his wife,[212] and having intercourse with her dead corpse.[213] One should be somewhat skeptical of these accusations however, as modern scholars have shown that it had become a common trope by Herodotus' time to portray tyrants in this way, committing various sexual misdeeds and other extreme taboos.[214]

The reputation of the last Cypselid tyrant, Psamettichus (c. 585-582 BC) seems to have been even worse than that of Periander. Psamettichus was never the ideal successor of Corinth's tyranny. We hear from our various sources that Periander's son, Lycophron, had always been the intended heir and was in fact on his way to Corinth to succeed his father, when he was tragically betrayed and killed by a group of Corcyraeans, wanting to recommence hostilities with their parent city.[215] As a result, Psamettichus was forced to succeed his uncle in a rather impromptu

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[208] Herodotus *Histories* 5.95.2.
[209] Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 1.23.1, Diogenes Laertius *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 1.13, Ausonius *The Masque of the Seven Sages* 10. In Plutarch's *The Dinner of the Seven Wise Men,* Periander is similarly associated with the Seven Sages since he serves as the host who gathers them all together for the eponymous dinner party.
[210] Herodotus *Histories* 5.92.η1 and Aristotle *Politics* 3.1284a.
[211] Herodotus *Histories* 5.92.η1. A slightly different version of this story was repeated by Ephorus according to Diogenes Laertius *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 1.96.
[212] Herodotus *Histories* 3.50.3. Two alternative versions of this story are also provided in Diogenes Laertius *Life of Eminent Philosophers* 1.94.
[213] Herodotus *Histories* 5.92.η2
[214] Carolyn Dewald, "Form and Content: The Question of Tyranny in Herodotus," in *Popular Tyranny: Sovereignty and Its Discontents in Ancient Greece*, ed. Kathryn A. Morgan, 1st ed. (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2003), 30-31.
[215] Herodotus *Histories* 3.53.1-7, Nicolaus of Damascus *BNJ* 90 F59 (as quoted in Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Excerpts on Ambushes* 23), Diogenes Laertius *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 1.95.

manner. From our surviving sources, we hear little to nothing else about Psamettichus' reign, except that it lasted for a mere three years before he was assassinated and the Cypselid tyranny was officially brought to an end.[216]

After their successful coup against Psamettichus in 582 BC, the people (*demos*) of Corinth established yet another oligarchy in the city.[217] This oligarchy, however, seems to have been much broader than the system in place under the Bacchiadae as it appears that power was no longer considered strictly hereditary. We hear that under this new oligarchy, Corinth's entire citizen population was divided into eight tribes or *phylai*.[218] Each tribe could elect nine of its members to serve in the city's council or Boule. Each tribe could also elect one of its members to serve as a *Proboulos*, a magistrate who played a leading role in this decision-making body.[219] In addition to the Boule, more powers seem to have been allotted to those chosen to serve as Corinth's envoys or ambassadors. This was, in large part, due to the fact that under its new oligarchy, Corinth became a leading member of the Peloponnesian League, a network of alliances headed by Sparta (for more on the Peloponnesian League see pages 74-75). From our ancient sources, we hear that at the Peloponnesian League's meetings, Corinth's emissaries could play a major role in swaying the votes of various other member states and consequently, shape much of the political landscape of contemporary Greece.[220]

In addition to its council (Boule), Corinth was said to have had other governing bodies such as an assembly (called either σύλλογος or ἐκκλησία) where all citizens could at least in theory, voice their opinions and take part in politics, although it seems that in practice, these

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[216] Aristotle *Politics* 5.1315b.
[217] Nicolaus of Damascus *BNJ* 90 F60 (as quoted in Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Excerpts on Ambushes* 24).
[218] Nicolaus of Damascus *BNJ* 90 F60 (as quoted in Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Excerpts on Ambushes* 24).
[219] Nicolaus of Damascus *BNJ* 90 F60 (as quoted in Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Excerpts on Ambushes* 24).
[220] Such as: Herodotus *Histories* 5.93.2, Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.124.3-1.125.1.

governing bodies held little power.[221] Plutarch, for example, claims that "the Corinthians had a polity which leaned more towards oligarchy [ὀλιγαρχικώτερόν] and that they transacted little public business in their assembly of the people [τῶν κοινῶν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ]."[222] It is also worth mentioning that from our surviving literary and epigraphical sources, we know that during the Classical Period, Corinth had a number of other elected officials serving in its oligarchy such as *strategoi* who were in charge of leading the city's military or *grammatistas,* an eponymous magistrate in charge of managing civic affairs.[223] However, it remains unclear whether these positions were established already in the late Archaic Period (in the immediate aftermath of Psamettichus' assassination) or if they were only added to Corinth's political system later on.[224]

As a whole, this redistribution of power under Corinth's new oligarchy seems to have abated many of the social tensions that had plagued the city throughout the preceding centuries. By the end of the Archaic Period, Corinth had shifted away from being a city ruled by hereditary monarchs to become a politically stable city with the reputation of having a rather broad and just system of government.[225] This sentiment is perhaps best summarized by the late archaic poet, Pindar, when he stated:

> While I praise… [the Oligaithidai, one of Corinth's leading families], I shall recognize prosperous Corinth… There dwells Good Government [Eunomia] and her sisters, the secure foundation of cities: Justice [Dike] and Peace [Eirene], who were raised together with her, the guardians of wealth for men, the golden daughters of wise Law [Themis]. They are resolute in repelling Hubris, the bold-tongued mother of Disdain [Koros].[226]

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[221] Matthew Simonton, *Classical Greek Oligarchy: A Political History*, 18-19.
[222] Plutarch *Life of Dion* 53.4. Translation taken from: Bernadotte Perrin, trans., *Plutarch's Parallel Lives, Volume 6: Dion and Brutus. Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus*, Loeb Classical Library 98 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918), 113.
[223] Nicholas F. Jones, "The Civic Organization of Corinth," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 110 (1980), 167.
[224] J. B. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth: A History of the City to 338 BC*, 232.
[225] J. B. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth: A History of the City to 338 BC*, 236.
[226] Pindar *Olympian Odes* 13.1-10. Translation taken from: Diane A. Svarlien, trans., *The Odes of Pindar* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991).

Chapter 5
A History of Archaic Sparta: From *Stasis* to *Eunomia*

> "It occurred to me one day that Sparta, though among the most thinly populated of the states, was evidently the most powerful and most celebrated city in Greece; and I fell to wondering how this could have happened. But when I considered the institutions of the Spartans, I wondered no longer."[227]
>
> – Xenophon, *Constitution of the Spartans* 1.1.

The early Iron Age history of Sparta, at first glance, appears to have been much like that of its fellow Peloponnesian city-state, Corinth. According to our ancient sources, Sparta had been ruled by a number of legendary kings (*wanakes*) throughout the Bronze Age, the most famous of which was perhaps King Menelaus, the hero of the Trojan War who was the brother of Agamemnon and husband of Helen. Following the Bronze Age Collapse, we hear that the Peloponnese was invaded by Dorian Greeks and that Sparta's Atreid dynasty was overthrown and replaced by a series of kings (*basileis*) who were supposedly descended from Heracles himself.[228] Soon after the Dorians' arrival in the Peloponnese, Sparta's first Heraclid king (*basileus*), Aristodemus is said to have begotten twin sons with his wife, Argeia.[229] Because Sparta's monarchy relied on a system of primogeniture, this apparently caused a succession crisis as it was unknown which of the two twins, Eurysthenes and Procles, was born first. Consequently, the Spartans decided to make both of these twins their kings and thereafter adopted a form of government ruled jointly by their two monarchs.[230]

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[227] Translation taken from: E. C. Marchant and G. W. Bowersock, trans., *Xenophon's Scripta Minora: Hiero, Agesilaus, Constitution of the Lacedaemonians, Ways and Means, Cavalry Commander, Art of Horsemanship, On Hunting, and Constitution of the Athenians,* Loeb Classical Library 183 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925). 137.
[228] Tyrtaeus Fragment 2 (as found in Oxyrhynchus Papyri, *Politica* 38.2824), Pindar *Pythian Ode* 1.62, 5.69-75, Herodotus *Histories* 6.52.1, 7.204, Strabo *Geography* 8.5.5, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 3.1.5.
[229] Herodotus *Histories* 6.52.2, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 3.1.6-7.
[230] Herodotus *Histories* 6.52.5, Strabo *Geography* 8.5.5, Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 2.8.2, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 3.1.5.

With that said, these ancient accounts of Sparta's early history appear rather suspect and, in all likelihood, are largely mythical. Little to no archaeological remains have been discovered in Sparta itself dating to the Bronze Age. One noteworthy exception is the so-called Menelaion, but this site is situated more than 4 km southeast of the city and is on the opposite side of the Eurotas river.[231] As a result, it is questionable whether 'Sparta' even existed in the Bronze Age, let alone was ruled by the various kings that we hear of from our later sources.[232] Instead, Sparta appears to have emerged as a city in the early Iron Age over the course of the tenth and ninth centuries BC as the four nearby villages of Pitana, Mesoa, Limnae and Cynosoura gradually grew in size and unified through the process of *synoikism*.[233] Later, during the early 8th century BC, a fifth village, Amyclae, also became part of Sparta.[234] Scholars have suggested that it was rather during this period of *synoikism* that Sparta's dual monarchy was established, perhaps as a compromise between the chieftains (*basileis*) of the two most powerful villages that later formed part of the city.[235]

Regardless of when the Spartans adopted their dual monarchy, this development appears to mark the first stage in the reduction of their kings' powers. Under this diarchic government, Sparta's two monarchs held equal authority and thus provided a greater system of checks and

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[231] Panagiota A. Pantou, "An Architectural Perspective on Social Change and Ideology in Early Mycenaean Greece," *American Journal of Archaeology* 118, no. 3 (July 2014), 372.
[232] Paul Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia: A Regional History 1300-362 BC*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2002), 58, 80-81.
[233] Paul Cartledge, "The Peculiar Position of Sparta in the Development of the Greek City-State," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature* 80C (June 13, 1980), 97.
William Cavanagh, "An Archaeology of Ancient Sparta with Reference to Laconia and Messenia," in *A Companion to Sparta*, ed. Anton Powell, vol. 1 (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2018), 63.
[234] Michael Whitby, ed., *Sparta* (Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), 8.
[235] Jonathan M. Hall, *A History of the Archaic Greek World, Ca. 1200-479 BCE*, 136.
William G. Forrest, *A History of Sparta, 950-192 BC* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 1969), 28-29.
J. F. Lazenby, *The Spartan Army* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2012), 84-86.

balances than had existed before.[236] Moreover, the members of Sparta's two royal families, the Agiad and Eurypontid dynasties, seem to have been kept apart in some important ways.[237] For example, even though our sources describe several Spartan royal marriages and spousal relationships, including even cases of incestuous marriages within the same dynasty,[238] we curiously hear of no instances where an Agiad married a Eurypontid. This could indicate that the members of these two dynasties were not allowed to intermarry, perhaps in an effort to encourage a sense of rivalry between them or to hinder them from forming political alliances with each other and from collaborating on matters of state. From our surviving ancient sources, we in fact hear of several Spartan kings who fiercely rivalled each other and opposed the actions of their counterpart, such as King Eurysthenes and King Procles, the supposed founders of these two dynasties,[239] or King Cleomenes I and King Demaratus, Sparta's monarchs during the late Archaic Period.[240]

With that said, the creation of this diarchy does not seem to have achieved much in reducing the social tensions in Sparta at the time. Both Herodotus and Thucydides portray this period of early Spartan history as one full of political unrest or *stasis*.[241] As Sparta consolidated the surrounding region of Laconia under its rule, it developed a highly repressive system which

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[236] Sarah B. Pomeroy et al., eds., *Ancient Greece: A Political, Social, and Cultural History,* 177.
Herodotus *Histories* 5.75 & 6.50 tells us that up until the late Archaic Period, both of Sparta's kings had to go on military campaigns together and were required to agree on all decisions or matters of policy, before they could act on it. Therefore, Sparta's kings seem to have been able to essentially 'veto' each other up until this point.
[237] For example, their burial sites were kept separate according to Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 3.12.8, 3.14.2. According to Aristotle *Politics* 2.1271a, the Spartan political system depended on there being division between the two kings.
[238] Such as the Agiad marriage between King Leonidas I and his niece Gorgo (Herodotus *Histories* 7.239.4) or the Eurypontid marriage between King Archidamus II and his aunt Lampito (Herodotus *Histories* 6.71.2).
[239] Herodotus *Histories* 6.52.8, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 3.1.7.
[240] Herodotus *Histories* 5.75, 6.50-51, 6.61.1, 6.64-65.1, 6.67 6.70 and Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 3.4.3-5. Several other ancient sources allude to when King Cleomenes I deposed Demaratus, although they do not explain this rivalry in as much detail, such as Xenophon *Hellenica* 3.1.6, *Anabasis* 2.1.3, 7.8.17, Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* 11.6, and Seneca *De Beneficiis* 6.31.4.
[241] Herodotus *Histories* 1.65.2 and Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.18

reduced much of its population into 'helotage,' a form of slavery or serfdom. Some estimates claim that for every Spartan citizen there could have been as many as seven helots.[242] Because Sparta's citizens were so heavily outnumbered, they were almost constantly concerned about maintaining the status quo and suppressing any helot revolts.[243] This tension was likely only exacerbated by the fact that in the late 8th century BC, after engaging in a twenty-year-long conflict, Sparta practically doubled in size by gaining control of the neighbouring region, Messenia, and subjugating much of its population into helotage as well.[244]

From our surviving ancient sources, we get the impression that the citizen-soldiers of various Greek city-states, like Sparta, were a major driving force behind the political changes of the early Archaic Period, since they were almost constantly occupied in wars at this time and therefore, increasingly wanted a role in the political decision-making behind these conflicts and sought certain benefits as compensation for their military service.[245] Aristotle, for example, provides this impression in his work *Politics*, when he claims that:

> Indeed, the earliest form of constitution among the Greeks after the kingships, was made up of those who were actually soldiers… [and] as states grew and the wearers of heavy armor had become stronger, more persons came to have a part in government.[246]

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[242] Thomas J. Figueira, "The Demography of the Spartan Helots," in *Helots and Their Masters in Laconia and Messenia: Histories, Ideologies, Structures*, ed. Nino Luraghi and Susan E. Alcock (Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2003), 361, 365.
[243] Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 4.80.3, Aristotle *Politics* 2.1269a
[244] Michael Whitby, ed., *Sparta,* 8. So many people were reduced to helotage from this war, that the word 'Messenian' appears to have become a common synonym for 'helot,' as Thucydides tells us in *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.101.2.
[245] Peter Krentz, "Warfare and Hoplites," 64. Hans van Wees, *Greek Warfare: Myth and Realities* (London, England: Bloomsbury Academic Press, 2004), 56-57. This may also be evidenced by the fact that in Sparta especially, the concept of citizenship seems to have been closely tied to military service. For example, we hear of several instances where helots were offered citizenship (probably the partial or quasi-citizenship of the *Perioeci*) in exchange for fighting in Sparta's wars, such as in Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 4.26.5-8, 4.80.3, 5.34.1, Xenophon *Hellenica* 6.5.28, and Athenaeus *The Deipnosophists* 6.271F.
[246] Aristotle *Politics* 4.1297b. Translation taken from: H. Rackham trans., *Aristotle's Politics,* Loeb Classical Library 264 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1932), 343.

Therefore, it is perhaps due to the Spartans' perpetual state of war and their almost constant involvement in the suppression of the local helot population, that the next major change in Sparta's government occurred, the constitutional reforms of Lycurgus.

Lycurgus is an obscure figure in the early history of Sparta. Most scholars believe that Lycurgus lived sometime around the 8th century BC,[247] although some have argued that he was entirely legendary and thus, did not exist at all.[248] As a result, there is no clear-cut scholarly consensus on the matter. Furthermore, when discussing Lycurgus' constitutional reforms, one needs to be wary of the fact that our surviving ancient sources tend to attribute almost all of Sparta's customs or traditions to Lycurgus, even though we now know this was not the case. For example, several ancient writers like Xenophon and Herodotus claim that Lycurgus established the *syssitia* or the 'mess halls' where Spartan male citizens would dine together.[249] Given that mess halls are recorded to have existed in several other Greek city-states as well, particularly on Crete, it seems more likely that this practice of communal feasting was in fact much older, perhaps dating all the way back to the early Iron Age, before the Dorians migrated from the Greek mainland onto Crete, the Dodecanese, and the various promontories of Caria.[250] Similarly, Plutarch claims that Lycurgus outlawed the use of coinage in Sparta and instead, encouraged his

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[247] This date is often derived from a variety of ancient authors. For example, Plutarch *Life of Lycurgus* 1.1-2 states that Aristotle, Timaeus, the so-called Disk of Iphitus, and other sources, all suggest Lycurgus lived around the time of the first Olympiad and Homer. By relying mostly on Ephorus, Strabo *Geography* 10.4.19 also claims that Lycurgus was a contemporary of Homer. Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 5.4.5 says Lycurgus lived during the first Olympiad. Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.18.1 suggests that Lycurgus' reforms occurred around 400 years before the end of the Peloponnesian War, which would put it around the late 9th or early 8th century BC. Cicero in *Pro Flacco* 63, claims that Sparta had been living under the same political system for 700 years, and in *De Republica* 1.9, he says Lycurgus reforms happened shortly before the reign of Romulus, which both suggest an 8th century date, etc. If Lycurgus wrote down his laws and, as far as we know, the Greek alphabet was adopted sometime around the 8th century BC (Pomeroy et al., 91), then this date appears to be the *terminus post quem*.
[248] Massimo Nafissi, "Lykourgos the Spartan 'Lawgiver': Ancient Beliefs and Modern Scholarship," in *A Companion to Sparta*, ed. Anton Powell, vol. 1 (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2018), 94-94.
[249] Xenophon *Constitution of the Spartans* 5.2 and Herodotus *Histories* 1.65.5.
[250] Pindar *Pythian Ode* 9.19, Aristotle *Politics* 2.1272a, Ephorus *BNJ* 70 F149 (as quoted in Strabo *Geography* 10.4.17), Dosiadas and Pyrgion as quoted in Athenaeus *The Deipnosophists* 4.143A-F.

fellow citizens to use iron rods as their currency.[251] This too seems highly unlikely, considering that the archaeological evidence suggests coinage had not even been invented yet in the early 8th century BC, when Lycurgus is generally thought to have lived.[252] Furthermore, in the opening lines of his *Life of Lycurgus,* Plutarch himself casts serious doubt on the historical reliability of his work and, by extension, of our ancient sources about Lycurgus overall, when he says:

> Generally speaking, it is impossible to make any undisputed statement about Lycurgus the lawgiver, since conflicting accounts have been given of his ancestry, his travels, his death, and above all, of his activity with respect to his laws and government; and there is least agreement about the period in which the man lived.[253]

Despite these challenges, there may be some things that we can infer from our ancient sources about the constitutional reforms accredited to Lycurgus or the so-called 'Great Rhetra.' For example, the laws attributed to Lycurgus seem to have played a significant role in organizing Sparta's citizens into a professional army.[254] Many sources such as Xenophon, Plutarch, and Pausanias, claim that Lycurgus established the *agoge*, the military education that each male Spartan citizen had to undergo throughout their youth, starting at the age of seven.[255] Aristotle similarly associates Lycurgus with the professionalization of Sparta's military, by claiming that he founded the *Crypteia,* an organization made up of Sparta's young adults who were tasked with brutalizing the local helot population every year, after the state had ritually declared war on them.[256] Perhaps our earliest source on this matter, Herodotus, also seems to have been under the

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[251] Plutarch *Life of Lycurgus* 9.3.
[252] Donald Kagan, "The Dates of the Earliest Coins," 343-344.
[253] Plutarch *Life of Lycurgus* 1.1. Translation taken from: Richard J. A. Talbert, trans., *Plutarch: On Sparta,* ed. Christopher Pelling (New York, NY: Penguin Classics 2005), 53.
[254] Stephen Hodkinson, "Professionalism, Specialization, and Skill in the Classical Spartan Army?," in *Skilled Labour and Professionalism in Ancient Greece and Rome*, ed. Edmund Stewart, Edward Harris, and David Lewis (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 348-351.
[255] Xenophon *Constitution of the Spartans* 2, Plutarch *Life of Lycurgus* 16-17, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 3.14.8, 3.16.10, 7.8.5.
[256] As quoted by Plutarch in *Life of Lycurgus* 28. The nature and function of the Crypteia is also described in Plato *Laws* 1.633b-c, 6.763a-b, and Plutarch *Life of Cleomenes* 28. Plutarch seems to have been under the impression that

impression that Lycurgus made substantial contributions to Sparta's army, as he writes that "he established Sparta's military institutions, the platoons of citizens bound together by oath, [and] the companies of thirty."[257]

In exchange for their military service, Lycurgus is said to have given the Spartans several rights or privileges, many of which seem to have emphasized creating a sense of equality between citizens.[258] According to ancient writers like Polybius, Plutarch, and Justin, the Great Rhetra stipulated that each Spartan citizen was allotted an equal-sized portion of farmland by the state known as a *kleros*, as well as the necessary number of helot serfs to cultivate these lands.[259] Plutarch additionally tells us that male Spartan citizens were forced to live together in communal barracks until at least the age of thirty.[260] Xenophon similarly expresses this notion of shared property when he claims that Lycurgus gave Spartans the right to borrow slaves, hunting dogs, and horses from each other, whenever they wished.[261] He also claims that all citizens were permitted to discipline or punish the children of other Spartans as though they were their own.[262] This sentiment seems to be echoed in a number of other sources, which state that polyandry or 'wife-sharing' was permitted and was not an uncommon practice in Sparta either.[263] Above all,

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the slaughter of 2000 helots described in Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 4.80.4, was performed by the Crypteia. When Herodotus claims in *Histories* 4.146.2 that the Spartans only performed executions at night, this could also be a reference to the nighttime actions of the Crypteia.

[257] Herodotus *Histories* 1.65.5. Translation taken from: Robert B. Strassler, ed., *The Landmark Herodotus: The Histories*, 37.

[258] Philip Davies, "Equality and Distinction within the Spartiate Community" in *A Companion to Sparta*, ed. Anton Powell, vol. 2 (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2018), 481.

[259] Polybius *History* 6.45, 6.48, Plutarch *Life of Lycurgus* 8, 16.1, *Sayings of Lycurgus* 226b, Justin *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Philippic Histories* 3.3.3

[260] Plutarch *Life of Lycurgus* 16.7, 25.3.

[261] Xenophon *Constitution of the Spartans* 6.3. We also hear this in Aristotle *Politics* 2.1263a

[262] Xenophon *Constitution of the Spartans* 6.2.

[263] Herodotus *Histories* 5.40.2, Polybius *History* 12.6.8, Plutarch *Life of Lycurgus* 15.6-10. Xenophon also mentions this custom in *Constitution of the Spartans* 1.7-9.

this notion of equality is perhaps best exemplified by the fact that several ancient sources refer to Spartan citizens simply as ὅμοιοι[264] or 'equals.'[265]

To a certain degree, these rights seem to have been extended not only to Spartan men, but to women as well. For example, in Sparta, female citizens, like their male counterparts, were provided with educations which included a physical education in sports and combat.[266] For this reason, Spartan women seem to have been well-known in antiquity,[267] particularly for their wits and clever quips.[268] Unlike other Greek city-states, Sparta also allowed female citizens to manage their own finances, own property, and inherit wealth from their parents.[269] In fact, this seems to have enabled at least a few Spartan women to become considerably wealthy and influential, for which they were referred to as the πατρούχοι or the 'heiresses.'[270] Aristotle tell us that by his day, these 'heiresses' had accrued so much wealth that they owned nearly two-fifths of all of Sparta's arable lands.[271]

With that said, it is important to bear in mind that this notion of Spartan equality was, by and large, illusory or a façade.[272] Although the Spartans had some notable customs and laws that created the appearance of equality, as a whole, Spartan society was extremely hierarchical and stratified, with well over half of its population reduced to helotage. Even within Sparta's citizenry itself, there appears to have been certain class distinctions as some families were

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[264] Xenophon *Hellenica* 3.3.5, *Constitution of the Spartans* 13.1, 7, Aristotle *Politics* 5.1306b.
[265] Massimo Nafissi, "Sparta," in *A Companion to Archaic Greece,* ed. Kurt A Raaflaub and Hans van Wees, 1st ed. (Chichester, England: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 130.
[266] Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 82, Euripides *Andromache* 595-601, Xenophon *Constitution of the Spartans* 1.4, Plutarch *Life of Lycurgus* 14.2-15.1, *Moralia* 227d.
[267] Herodotus *Histories* 3.134.5, Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 81-83, Euripides *Andromache* 590-604.
[268] As seen in Herodotus *Histories* 5.50-51, 7.239, Plutarch *Life of Lycurgus* 14.4, or *Sayings of Spartan Women*.
[269] Ellen G. Millender "Spartan Women," in *A Companion to Sparta*, ed. Anton Powell, vol. 2 (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2018), 511-512.
[270] Herodotus *Histories* 6.57.4
[271] Aristotle *Politics* 2.1270a
[272] Philip Davies, "Equality and Distinction within the Spartiate Community,"481.

considerably more powerful and influential than others.[273] The 'heiresses,' for example, would have possessed significantly more wealth than the average Spartan woman. Likewise, even though female citizens were granted some noteworthy rights or powers in Sparta, this does not change the fact that Spartan society was patriarchal and, in general, privileged men over women. At this point, I should also reiterate that almost all of our literary sources on ancient Sparta were written, not by the Spartans themselves, but by outsiders who had a tendency to idealize or exaggerate certain aspects of Sparta's institutions and customs. Thus, one should be somewhat cautious of our descriptions of Spartan equality, as these descriptions may be, to some extent, the byproduct of their authors' wishful thinking or of the aforementioned phenomenon of the 'Spartan Mirage' (for more on this topic, see my discussion on pages 17-18).[274]

Perhaps the most significant reform accredited to Lycurgus, especially as it pertains to this study, is that he dramatically changed Sparta's system of government. A number of ancient authors such as Herodotus, Xenophon, and Plato, claim that Lycurgus established the Gerousia or Sparta's senate.[275] This council consisted of Sparta's two kings along with twenty-eight *gerontes* or elders over the age of sixty, who were elected into power by their fellow Spartans and thereafter, held the position for life. The primary function of the Gerousia seems to have been judicial as its members served as the jury during important court cases. Because each member of the Gerousia, including Sparta's two kings, could cast only a single vote and judicial decisions were based on a simple majority, the *gerontes* seem to have held considerable power in

[273] This is implied in: Plato *Laws* 3.696b, Aristotle *Politics* 4.1294b Ephorus *BNJ* 70 F149 (as quoted in Strabo *Geography* 10.4.16), Xenophon *Constitution of the Spartans* 7.3.
[274] Stephen Hodkinson, "Female Property Ownership and Empowerment in Classical and Hellenistic Sparta," in *Spartan Society*, ed. Thomas J. Figueira (Oakville, CT: The Classical Press of Wales, 2004), 103.
[275] Herodotus *Histories* 1.65.5, Xenophon *Constitution of the Spartans* 9.1-4, Plato *Laws* 3.691e-692a, Ephorus as quoted in Strabo *Geography* 10.4.18, Plutarch *Life of Lycurgus* 5.6, Justin *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Philippic Histories* 3.3.1-2, Tyrtaeus Fragment 4.

legal proceedings.[276] In addition to this, the Gerousia appears to have served as the city's main advisory body, tasked with counselling the Spartans and their kings on important matters of state.[277] Our sources suggest that in Sparta, political decisions or acts of legislation first needed to be approved by the Gerousia before they could be put to a vote in Sparta's citizen assembly (ἐκκλησία).[278] As a result, the creation of the Gerousia seems to have given at least some Spartans the opportunity to take part in politics and have a role in their government's decision-making. Having said that, it is important to bear in mind that this system was still by no means democratic. According to our sources, Sparta's citizen assembly would elect new *gerontes* through acclamation.[279] Aristotle considered this form of voting childish, probably because the existing members of the Gerousia who presided over these elections, could easily manipulate the results by claiming that their preferred candidate had received the loudest shouts.[280] For these reasons, even though in theory, every male Spartan citizen over the age of sixty was eligible to serve in the Gerousia, in practice, the *gerontes* seem to have all come from the same small number of aristocratic families.[281]

The final noteworthy change that Sparta's government experienced during the Archaic Period was when the office of the Ephors or 'overseers' was created. It is somewhat unclear when this position was established as some sources suggest that it was an invention of Lycurgus,[282] while others claim that it was founded later by Sparta's Eurypontid king,

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[276] Herodotus *Histories* 6.57.5, Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.20.3, Plato *Laws* 3.692a.
[277] Herodotus *Histories* 5.40.1, Aeschines *Against Timarchus* 180, Plato *Laws* 3.692a, Plutarch *Life of Lycurgus* 26.1.
[278] Aristotle *Politics* 2.1272a, Diodorus Siculus *The Library of History* 11.50, Plutarch *Life of Lycurgus* 6.3, *Life of Agis* 8.1, 11.1.
[279] Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.87.2, Plutarch *Life of Lycurgus* 26.2-3.
[280] Aristotle *Politics* 2.1271a.
[281] Sarah B. Pomeroy et al., eds., *Ancient Greece: A Political, Social, and Cultural History,* 178.
[282] Herodotus *Histories* 1.65.5, Xenophon *Constitution of the Spartans* 8.3-4, Justin *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Philippic Histories* 3.3.2.

Theopompus,[283] who ruled during the late 8th and early 7th centuries BC. Perhaps this is another example where our sources carelessly attribute an institution to Lycurgus, when in truth, these legal changes had developed gradually over the course of the Archaic Period. Regardless of when the Ephors were created, this development appears to have greatly reduced the power of Sparta's two monarchs. As their name suggests, the Ephors primary role was to oversee the kings and make sure they were kept in check. This function is perhaps best summarized by Xenophon, who tells us that every month Sparta's two kings were required to meet with the Ephors and swear before them to rule in accordance with the established laws of the state. In response to this, the Ephors would declare, "while you abide by your oath, we will keep the kingship unshaken."[284] In Sparta itself, the five Ephors regularly maintained watch over the kings and their affairs. Furthermore, during times of war or military campaigns, at least two Ephors would accompany the kings and their forces.[285] If, at any point, the Ephors felt that a king had neglected their duties or had broken the law, they had the ability to charge the kings with a crime and to serve as jury members in their trial alongside the aforementioned Gerousia. In fact, towards the end of the Archaic Period, the Ephors seem to have especially made use of this power as we hear that they charged both King Cleomenes I and King Leotychidas II for bribery in 494 BC and 476 BC respectively,[286] and prosecuted the Agiad regent, Pausanias for medizing in 478 BC.[287]

In addition to overseeing the kings, the Ephors seem to have served an important legislative role in Sparta's government. For example, after seeking approval from the Gerousia,

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[283] Plato *Laws* 3.692a, Aristotle *Politics* 5.1313a, Plutarch *Life of Lycurgus* 7.1, *Life of Cleomenes* 10.
[284] Xenophon *Constitution of the Spartans* 15.7. Translation taken from: E. C. Marchant and G. W. Bowersock, trans., *Xenophon's Scripta Minora: Hiero, Agesilaus, Constitution of the Lacedaemonians, Ways and Means, Cavalry Commander, Art of Horsemanship, On Hunting, and Constitution of the Athenians,* 187.
[285] P. J. Rhodes, "The Selection of Ephors at Sparta," *Historia* 30, no. 4 (1981), 499.
[286] Herodotus *Histories* 6.72 and 6.82.
[287] Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.31.2.

the Ephors were allowed to put political decisions or acts of legislation to a vote in Sparta's citizen assembly (ἐκκλησία).[288] Perhaps the most radical element of the Ephors was that each year they appear to have been selected, to some degree, at random from Sparta's adult male population. Plato for example, tells us that "the power of the Ephors came near to being a power conferred by lot [ἐγγὺς τῆς κληρωτῆς ἀγαγὼν δυνάμεως]."[289] Aristotle similarly alludes to this practice as he refers to the Ephors simply as οἱ τυχόντες[290] or 'whoever happens to be appointed'[291] and claims that this position was often held by individuals from Sparta's poorest families.[292] Because of these various powers or rights, many ancient authors seem to have been under the impression that the Ephors were Sparta's chief magistrates. Thucydides, for example, dates the events in his history not by aligning them with the reigns of Sparta's kings, but by providing the name of one of the Ephors of that year as though this position was equivalent to the Athenians' Eponymous Archon.[293] Likewise, Aristotle, when describing Sparta and the Ephors, writes that "this magistracy has authority over the highest matters."[294] Plato takes it a step even further by comparing the office of the Ephors to the rule of tyrants.[295]

Ultimately, by the end of the Archaic Period, the creation of the Gerousia and the Ephors seems to have caused Sparta's government to essentially become an oligarchy and Sparta's kings (*basileis*) to lose much of their powers. Whenever our ancient sources describe Sparta's kings and their function or privileges at home, we get the impression that their role was primarily

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[288] As we see the Ephor, Sthenelaidas do in Thucydides 1.85.3 & 1.87.1.
[289] Plato *Laws* 3.692a. Translation taken from: P. J. Rhodes, "The Selection of Ephors at Sparta," 498.
[290] Aristotle *Politics* 2.1270b, 2.1272a-b.
[291] P. J. Rhodes, "The Selection of Ephors at Sparta," 498.
[292] Aristotle *Politics* 2.1270b
[293] Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 2.2.1, 5.25.1, 8.58.1.
[294] Aristotle *Politics* 2.1270b. Translation taken from: Benjamin Jowett, trans., *Aristotle's Politics* (Kitchener, Canada: Batoche Books, 1999), 42.
[295] Plato *Laws* 4.712d.

religious and symbolic as their duties mostly consisted of holding certain priesthoods, performing sacrifices, and consulting oracles.[296] The kings possessed their most authority during times of war when they were serving as Sparta's chief military leaders, but even then, their powers were limited as they were still overseen by at least two Ephors and, from the late Archaic Period onwards, only one king was allowed to leave the city and go on a military expedition at a time.[297]

While Sparta's government became increasingly oligarchical at home, it also began to pursue new foreign policies which encouraged the creation of oligarchies abroad, in other city-states too. As previously mentioned, in the early Archaic Period, the Spartans sought to increase their power by subjugating neighbouring regions like Messenia under their rule. Over time, however, this policy changed as the Spartans attempted to increase their influence more so through diplomacy. By the mid 6th century BC, Sparta had formed a network of alliances with a number of other city-states, known as the Peloponnesian League, the main objectives of which was to overthrow contemporary Greek tyrannies and replace them with pro-Spartan oligarchies.[298] Herodotus, for example, tells us that in 525 BC, the Peloponnesian League led an expedition to Samos in an attempt to overthrow the tyrant, Polycrates [299] while later in 510 BC, they successfully ousted the Peisistratid tyrant, Hippias from Athens (for more information on this particular event see pages 97-98).[300] Plutarch tells us that the Spartans additionally overthrew Lygdamis of Naxos, Aeschines of Sicyon, Symmachus of Thasos, Aulis of Phocis,

[296] Herodotus *Histories* 6.57.1-4, Xenophon *Constitution of the Spartans* 15.3-5, Aristotle *Politics* 3.1285a, Plutarch *Life of Lycurgus* 21.4, 22.2.
[297] Herodotus *Histories* 5.75.2
[298] G. L. Cawkwell, "Sparta and Her Allies in the Sixth Century," *The Classical Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (1993), 371-372.
[299] Herodotus *Histories* 3.56.
[300] Herodotus H*istories* 5.63-65.

and the Cypselid tyrants of Ambracia.[301] Thucydides perhaps puts it the most succinctly when he simply says "but at last a time came when the tyrants of Athens and the far older tyrannies of the rest of Hellas were, with the exception of those in Sicily, once and for all put down by Sparta."[302]

It is also worth noting that as members of the Peloponnesian League, the Spartans appear to have regularly convened with their allies in an assembly (σύλλογος) where the delegates of each member state could deliberate and cast their vote on important political or military matters.[303] Therefore, by the late Archaic Period, the Spartans' foreign policy seems to have, to some extent, been shaped by the decisions that were determined collectively, by both themselves and their allies, in the assembly meetings of the Peloponnesian League.

In sum, although Sparta was able to maintain some semblance of its traditional monarchy, by the end of the Archaic Period it had, by and large, transformed into an oligarchy like its fellow Peloponnesian city-state, Corinth. The creation of the Gerousia and the Ephors appears to have given rise to a broader system of government, where more citizens could take part in Sparta's political decision-making than ever before. Moreover, the creation of the Gerousia and Ephors seems to have greatly reduced the powers or duties of Sparta's two kings (*basileis*), so much so that they were, henceforth, relegated to a primarily religious and symbolic role within Sparta itself. While Sparta's hereditary kings still held power outside of the city, especially in times of war when they would lead military expeditions, this privilege seems to have also been circumscribed by the late Archaic Period as only one king was permitted to leave

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[301] Plutarch *On the Malice of Herodotus* 21.
[302] Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.18.1. Translation taken from: Robert B. Strassler, ed., *The Landmark Thucydides: A Comprehensive Guide to the Peloponnesian War*, trans. Richard Crawley (New York, NY: Touchstone, 1998), 13.
[303] Herodotus *Histories* 5.91.2, Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.67.3, 1.87.3-4, Xenophon *Hellenica* 5.2.11, 5.2.20.

the city at a time and even then, he was required to bring at least two Ephors with him to oversee his handling of affairs. Finally, by the late 6th century BC, Sparta, as hegemon of the Peloponnesian League, seems to have made its important political decisions collectively, in conjunction with its allies and to have firmly committed itself to overthrowing monarchical governments (or 'tyrannies') in contemporary Greek city-states and replacing them with broader oligarchies.

Chapter 6
A History of the Athenian *Polis* to the Birth of 'Democracy'

> "Our constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands, not of a minority, but of the whole people. When it is a question of settling private disputes, everyone is equal before the law; when it is a question of putting one person before another in positions of public responsibility, what counts is not membership of a particular class, but the actual ability which the man possesses. No one, so long as he has it in him to be of service to the state, is kept in political obscurity because of his poverty. And, just as our political life is free and open, so is our day-to-day life in relations with each other."[304]
>
> – Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* 2.37.1-2.

Even though Athens is the Greek city-state that we appear to know the most about, thanks to a number of surviving ancient literary sources and archaeological sites, its early Iron Age history is nevertheless shrouded in obscurity. According to our ancient sources, Athens was ruled by a number of legendary kings (*wanakes*) throughout the Bronze Age, the most famous of which was perhaps King Theseus, the hero who is said to have slain the Minotaur and established many of Athens' most important traditions or institutions.[305] Following the Bronze Age collapse, Athens' traditional Erechtheid dynasty was overthrown and replaced by the Melanthids, a family that supposedly originated from the Peloponnese but had been displaced by the recent Dorian Invasion.[306] In the end, the Melanthid dynasty's rule over Athens was rather short-lived as it only lasted until the reign of their second king, Codrus, who allegedly ruled around the time of the Ionian migration or the 11th century BC.[307]

According to our ancient literary sources, following the death of King Codrus, Athens' monarchy was officially abolished and replaced by an oligarchy.[308] Under this new form of government, the noble families of Athens, known as the Eupatridae, would elect one of their

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[304] Translation taken from: Rex Warner, trans., *Thucydides: History of the Peloponnesian War* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books 1976), 145.
[305] Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 2.15.2, Aelian *Varia Historia* 5.13.
[306] Herodotus *Histories* 5.65.3, Conon *Narrations* 39.
[307] Strabo *Geography* 14.1.3, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 7.2.10.
[308] Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 4.5.10, Justin *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Philippic Histories* 2.7.1-3.

members to serve as Perpetual Archon, a life-long position that essentially replaced the role of king.[309] As a result, our sources seem to describe this system functioning much like the aforementioned Bacchiad oligarchy of early archaic Corinth (for more on this topic see page 52). According to tradition, this Athenian oligarchy lasted for roughly three centuries until 752 BC, when it was slightly altered. Instead of serving for life, the Archons would, thereafter be elected by the Eupatridae to serve for ten-year terms.[310] Compared to the Perpetual Archons, these Decennial Archons' rule over Athens did not last long, as there would only be seven in total before the system was almost entirely remodelled in 682 BC. By this point in time, we hear that at least some of the Decennial Archons had developed a strong reputation for cruelty. The Decennial Archon, Hippomenes, for example, was known for having his own daughter, Leimone, killed after he had caught her having pre-marital intercourse. Hippomenes supposedly murdered her by locking her away in an empty house with a horse, so that when, after a while, the creature had become starving and desperate, it eventually devoured her.[311] Hippomenes is also said to have killed his daughter's lover in a rather brutal way too, by dragging him to death behind his chariot.[312]

Having said all that, most modern scholars concur that these traditions concerning the early history of Athens and the reign of their Perpetual and Decennial Archons, are, for the most part, mythical and contain little to no historical value.[313] As Michael Stahl and Uwe Walter put it:

> Such mythical stories tell us much about Athenian self-consciousness in the classical period and the construction of their identity from the late sixth century.

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[309] Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 3.1, Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Roman Antiquities* 2.8.2, Plutarch *Life of Theseus* 25.2.
[310] Eusebius of Caesarea *Chronicles* 1.67
[311] Aeschines *Against Timarchus* 182, Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* 8.22, Ovid *Ibis* 459-460,
[312] Heracleides *Epitome of Aristotle's Athenian Constitution,* Fragment 7.
[313] Raphael Sealey, *A History of the Greek City States, 700-338 BC*, 95-96.

> But for the question of the beginning of a political organization or state in Attica, they have no value.[314]

In some ways, the unreliability of these traditions can be inferred from the very fact that the sources that record them, were written many centuries later and are full of internal inconsistencies or contradictions. For example, even though our sources claim that this new oligarchy was a broader system than the monarchy that preceded it and that it relied on at least some form of voting, they, at the same time, suggest that each of the Perpetual Archons were direct descendants of one another. Eusebius, for instance, declares that the first Perpetual Archon, Medon, was the son of Athens' final king, Codrus.[315] He then says that after Medon died, the Perpetual Archonship was passed onto his son, Acastus, who was then later succeeded by his son Archippus, and so on and so forth.[316] Similarly, we hear that this direct line of succession continued throughout the reign of the Decennial Archons until at least the reign of their fourth leader, Hippomenes (c. 723-713 BC).[317] As a result, it is entirely unclear from our sources how this early oligarchic government differed much at all from the monarchy that preceded it. This confusion is only further muddled by the fact that several ancient authors like Plato, Aristotle, and Pausanias refer to the Perpetual and Decennial Archons as 'kings' or *basileis*.[318]

Beyond these internal inconsistencies, our accounts also run into serious issues when compared to the archaeological record. For example, many ancient sources claim that Athens consolidated the surrounding region of Attica during the reign of their Erechtheid king, Theseus,

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[314] Michael Stahl and Uwe Walter, "Athens," in *A Companion to Archaic Greece*, ed. Kurt Raaflaub and Hans van Wees, 1st ed. (Chichester, England: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 139.
[315] Eusebius of Caesarea *Chronicles* 1.65
[316] Eusebius of Caesarea *Chronicles* 1.67
[317] Heracleides *Epitome of Aristotle's Athenian Constitution* Fragment 7, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 1.3.3, 4.5.10.
[318] Plato *Menexenus* 238d, *Symposium* 208d, Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 3.3, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 1.3.3, 7.2.1, Marmor Parium *BNJ* 239.a23-a31.

which would suggest that this all occurred in the Bronze Age.[319] Despite this, most modern scholars agree that in truth, Athens did not unify the surrounding region of Attica until more than a half millennium later, during the Late Geometric Period or the 8th century BC, when a series of roads were built linking the Athenian Acropolis to the Attic countryside as well as when a number of other Greek city-states were also showing signs of increased urbanization and *synoikism*.[320] In sum, much of what we hear from our ancient sources about the early history of Athens and its various forms of government has been called into serious question and should be treated with skepticism.

After the reign of the Perpetual and Decennial Archons, our ancient sources tell us that Athens' oligarchy was heavily reformed or restructured in 682 BC. At this time, the Archons' term of office was greatly reduced from ten years to just one.[321] In addition to this, the Eupatridae could now elect three of their members to serve as the city's chief magistrates. The first magistracy was the Eponymous Archon, the highest position of authority in Athens' government which was primarily responsible for managing civic affairs and bringing certain legal cases to trial.[322] The Eponymous Archon would spend their term of office dwelling in the *Prytaneum*, Athens' main seat of government where the city's central hearth was situated and each Eponymous Archon had their year of service named in their honour.[323] The second most powerful magistracy under this Athenian oligarchy was the Polemarch, tasked with leading Athens' military forces and making important war-time preparations or decisions.[324] The final

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[319] Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 2.15.2, Plutarch *Life of Theseus* 24.
[320] John K. Papadopoulos, "The Emergence of the Polis," in *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Athens*, ed. Jenifer Neils and Dylan K. Rogers (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 37.
Steven Diamant, "Theseus and the Unification of Attica," *Hesperia Supplements* 19 (1982), 45.
[321] Eusebius of Caesarea *Chronicles* 1.67, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 4.15.1.
[322] William E. Dunstan, *Ancient Greece* (Orlando, FL: Harcourt College Publishers, 2000), 104.
[323] Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 3.5
[324] William E. Dunstan, *Ancient Greece*, 104.

major office was that of the Archon Basileus, which, despite its name, was the least powerful of the three. The Archon Basileus primarily functioned as Athens' religious figurehead and would serve an important priestly role during certain festivals such as at the Anthesteria, where they were required to ritually hand over their wives to the god Dionysus (for more on this topic and how it may be related to the Phoenicians see pages 115-116).[325]

In addition to these three chief magistracies, we hear of several minor positions within this oligarchic government. For example, six members of the Eupatridae could also be elected to serve as Junior Archons or *Thesmothetae*, who were assigned to legislative roles in the city.[326] We also hear of positions such as the superintendents, treasurers, and clerks, although we seem to know less details about these positions, other than that they appear to have been elected through a show of hands at this time.[327] In addition to these various offices, all adult male Athenians who possessed more wealth than the lowest class of citizens, the *Thetes*,[328] were permitted to take part in their government's political decision-making by serving in the *Ecclesia,* Athens' popular assembly that would vote and deliberate on important matters of state.[329] Lastly, under this new Athenian oligarchy, former Eponymous Archons, Polemarchs, and Archon Basileis, became permanent members of the Areopagus, a council which, like Sparta's Gerousia, mainly served as an advisory body for the city's leaders and as a jury during important legal

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[325] Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 3.5, 57.1, Pseudo-Demosthenes *Against Neaera,* 73-76.
Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*, 105, argues that this ritual was intended to recreate the myth of when King Theseus gave Ariadne away to Dionysus.
[326] Federica Carugati, *Creating a Constitution: Law, Democracy, and Growth in Ancient Athens* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019), 23.
[327] Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 54.3, Aeschines *Against Ctesiphon* 14, 25.
[328] Plutarch *Life of Solon* 18.2, Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 7.3.
[329] Matthew Simonton, *Classical Greek Oligarchy: A Political History*, 15-16, 18-19.

proceedings, especially homicide trials (for more information on the similarities between the Areopagus, Gerousia, and other councils of elders in antiquity, see pages 119-122).[330]

Unlike the early Iron Age history of Athens, this development towards a broader, oligarchic government around 682 BC is well-attested and generally accepted as historical fact. For example, most modern scholars agree that by the early 7th century BC, the Areopagus hill does, in fact, appear to start being used as the site of Athens' homicide trials and other legal proceedings.[331] Moreover, archaeologists have discovered fragments of the original stele used by the Athenians up until the late 5th century BC to record the names of each of their annual Archons. Although the names of the Archons who ruled before 548 BC are no longer extant, based on what the surviving fragments of the inscription indicate about its overall length, scholars estimate that this list of names would have stretched considerably further back in time,[332] to around the early 7th century BC.[333] In addition to this, there is the so-called Parian Marble, a 3rd century BC stele that also provides the names of each year's Eponymous Archon in Athens. The inscription on this stele is preserved in much better condition and lists Athens' annual Archons as far back as Lysiadas, an individual who, according to the chronology, appears to have ruled in the year 682/681 BC, which is precisely when our sources say this system of annual Archons was introduced.[334]

Because this change in Athens' government in the early 7th century BC does appear to be well-attested and corroborated, unlike what we hear about earlier periods in Athenian history,

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[330] Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 3.6, 4.4, 8.4, 16.8, 57.3.
[331] Robert W. Wallace, *The Areopagus Council, to 307 BC* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 30-31.
[332] Plato *Hippias Major* 285e seems to imply that this very list, displayed publicly in the Athenian agora, contained the names of Archons stretching at least as far back as Solon (594/3 BC).
[333] Donald W. Bradeen, "The Fifth-Century Archon List," *Hesperia* 32, no. 2 (1963), 197-198.
[334] T. J. Cadoux, "The Athenian Archons from Kreon to Hypsichides," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 68 (1948), 88-89.

perhaps 682 BC, in truth, marks the year when Athens officially shifted away from its traditional monarchy towards its first ever oligarchy.[335] If this were the case, then it would certainly make more sense chronologically with what we hear was going on elsewhere in the Greek world at the time. As previously mentioned, it was only 65 years before this change in Athenian government that Corinth abolished its traditional monarchy and established its first oligarchy in 747 BC. Similarly, it was right around this time, in the late 8th or early 7th century BC that the Spartan king Theopompus was said to have established the office of the Ephors, thereby turning Sparta's government into a much more oligarchic system and relegating Sparta's kings to a primarily religious role in society, much like the role that the Archon Basileis seem to have served under this Athenian oligarchy. Having said that, it is important to note that some scholars prefer a slightly earlier date for the abolishment of Athens' monarchy, around the late 8th century BC. They argue that at this point, as the region of Attica was unifying through the process of *synoikism*, Athens' king along with the kings (*basileis*) of the other villages in Attica decided as a compromise, to relinquish their positions and establish a broader system of rule where power could be more evenly shared.[336]

Regardless of whether the Athenians abolished their monarchy in 682 BC, this year seems to mark an important stage in Athens' development towards a broader system of government. After these reforms, power no longer resided in the hands of a single ruler who reigned for a lengthy period of time, but was now distributed among several individuals who

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[335] David D. Phillips, *The Law of Ancient Athens* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 2. Robert W. Wallace, *The Areopagus Council, to 307 BC,* 32-33.

[336] Ron Owens, *Solon of Athens: Poet, Philosopher, Soldier, Statesman* (Brighton, England: Sussex Academic Press, 2010), 39-40. J. B. Bury, *A History of Greece, ed. Russell Meiggs*, 4th ed. (London, England: Macmillan Education, 1977), 170. Jonathan M. Hall, *A History of the Archaic Greek World, Ca. 1200-479 BCE*, 135. Jan Paul Crielaard, "Cities," in A Companion to Archaic Greece, ed. Kurt A. Raaflaub and Hans van Wees, 1st ed. (Chichester, England: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 365.

occupied various annual positions or magistracies. Moreover, all but the lowest class of Athenian citizens now became eligible to serve at least some role in their government's political decision-making by being part of the *Ecclesia*. Having said that, it is important to bear in mind that this system was still far from democratic as only the members of Athens' noble family, the Eupatridae were permitted to run for the highest positions of power.[337] Moreover, because elections were achieved through a show of hands, votes were not kept anonymous and could therefore be influenced by one's peers or superiors.[338] Ultimately, while the creation of this oligarchy did lead to a broader system of rule, within just fifty of years of its existence, by the late 7th century BC, this system seems to have encountered some serious problems.

Our first indication of major political tension within this Athenian oligarchy appears around 632 BC with the so-called Cylonian Affair. According to ancient historians such as Herodotus and Thucydides, this event occurred when an Athenian aristocrat named Cylon, after accruing a great deal of popularity and support from the masses (thanks in large part to his recent victory at the Olympic Games), decided to launch a coup and seized the Acropolis with his followers in attempt to make himself the city's tyrant.[339] Although this coup was ultimately unsuccessful and Cylon's supporters were, by and large, put to death for their involvement in the conspiracy, this event nevertheless demonstrates a growing sense of political unrest or *stasis* in Athens at the time and appears to have loomed large over the subsequent decades as Athens' oligarchy began to soon push for various legal reforms.

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[337] Robert W. Wallace, "Revolutions and a New Order in Solonian Athens and Archaic Greece," in *Origins of Democracy in Ancient Greece*, ed. Kurt A. Raaflaub, Josiah Ober, and Robert Wallace, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007), 49. William E. Dunstan, *Ancient Greece,* 103-104. Federica Carugati, *Creating a Constitution: Law, Democracy, and Growth in Ancient Athens*, 23.
[338] Matthew Simonton, *Classical Greek Oligarchy: A Political History*, 18-19, demonstrates that at this point in time, the *Ecclesia* was simply expected to ratify or approve of whatever was being proposed by the city's leaders.
[339] Herodotus *Histories* 5.71, Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.126, Plutarch *Life of Solon* 12.

The first major wave of legal reforms occurred just ten years after the Cylonian Affair, around 621 BC under the instigation of Athens' famous lawgiver, Draco. According to our sources, Draco was assigned by the Athenians to create the city's first ever written code of laws and to enact various reforms in an effort to abate the growing social tensions and factionalism.[340] On the one hand, Draco's laws had a reputation for being rather harsh, from which we get the meaning of the modern English word 'draconian.'[341] Aristotle, for example, goes so far as to say that, "there is nothing original worth mentioning about Draco's laws except their severity."[342] The main reason for this harsh reputation appears to have been due to the severe penalties that Draco imposed on those who had broken his rules. For instance, our ancient literary sources tell us that under Draco, even petty crimes like theft or idling were punishable by death.[343] Likewise, archaeologists have discovered a 5th century BC stele containing a copy of Draco's homicide law, which states that even those who were convicted of killing somebody by accident or without intent were to be permanently exiled from the city.[344]

On the other hand, Draco seems to have been remembered as a wise and well-respected lawmaker.[345] One reason for this, may have been because he was the first to commit Athens' laws to writing.[346] Prior to this, the laws of Athens appear to have been preserved orally by the

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[340] Plutarch *Life of Solon* 13, Gellius *Attic Nights* 11.18.2.
[341] Herodicus as quoted in Aristotle *Rhetoric* 2.1400b.19-20, Demades as quoted in Plutarch *Life of Solon* 17.2, Gellius *Attic Nights* 11.18.4.
[342] Aristotle *Politics* 2.1274b. Translation taken from: Alfred C. Schlesinger "Draco in the Hearts of His Countrymen" *Classical Philology* 19 no. 4 (Oct. 1924), 371.
[343] Plutarch *Life of Solon* 17.1, Gellius *Attic Nights* 11.18.3
[344] Chris Carey, "In Search of Drakon," *The Cambridge Classical Journal* 59 (2013), 37.
This law is also quoted in Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 6.11.6
[345] Xenophon *Economics* 14.4, Demosthenes *Against Timocrates* 211, Aeschines *Against Timarchus* 6, Cicero *De Re Publica* 2.2, *De Oratore* 1.197, Gellius *Attic Nights* 11.18.1, Lucian *Slander* 8, Diogenes Laertius *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 1.55 (quoting Lysias' *Against Nicias).*
[346] Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 41.2, *Politics* 2.1274b, Demosthenes *Against Aristocrates* 28, 51.

Archons,[347] who were therefore at liberty to distort the legal system to their advantage or to the benefit of their aristocratic clan, the Eupatridae.[348] By writing his laws down, however, and by permanently displaying them to the public on wooden tablets (*axones),* Draco appears to have done away with this system and created a greater sense of equality under the law or *isonomy*.[349] Perhaps Euripides summarizes this point best, when, in the *Suppliants,* he claims that:

> …a tyrant [is a man] in whose keeping and in his alone the law resides, and in that case, equality is at an end. But when the laws are written down, rich and weak [men] alike have equal justice, and it is open to the weaker [man] to use the same language to the prosperous [man] when he is reviled by him, and the weaker [man] prevails over the stronger [man] if he has justice on his side.[350]

Our ancient literary sources also tell us that Draco enacted several reforms that allowed Athenians who were not Eupatrids to have a larger role in government. For example, Draco is said to have allowed all adult male citizens possessing properties worth more than ten minae, to run for the archonship and to serve as treasurers.[351] Meanwhile, he declared all citizens with legitimate children and more wealth than 100 minae eligible to serve as *strategoi* and *hipparchoi*,[352] military positions that were subordinate to the Polemarch.[353] Lastly, Draco is said to have granted all male citizens over the age of thirty who could afford equipping themselves

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[347] This seems fairly safe to assume, considering that it would have been impossible for the junior archons to have acted as *Thesmothetai* 'legislators,' or for former archons to have served as judges in the Areopagus, had they not known what the pre-existing oral laws were.

[348] "You see that the laws stand as they were originally written, whereas the words of rascals [τῶν συκοφαντῶν] are spoken to fit the day and the occasion."- Aeschines *Speech on the Embassy* 66. Translation taken from: C. D. Adams, trans. *Aeschines' Speeches.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919), 209.This sentiment is expressed in a number of other ancient sources too such as Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 8.1.22, Isaeus *On the Estate of Dicaeogenes* 25, or Solon as quoted in Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 12.4.

[349] For more on the apparent benefits of written laws see Rosalind Thomas, "Writing, Law, and Written Law," in *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Greek Law*, ed. Michael Gagarin and David Cohen (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 46-49.

[350] Euripides *Suppliants* 429-437. Translation taken from: Whitney J. Oates and Eugene O'Neill Jr., eds., *The Complete Greek Drama: All the Extant Tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and the Comedies of Aristophanes and Menander, in a Variety of Translations*, vol. 1 trans. E. P. Coleridge (New York, NY: Random House 1938), 930.

[351] Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 4.2

[352] Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 4.2.

[353] Herodotus *Histories* 6.110-111.

with hoplite armour the right to be elected into the Boule, a new council of 400 citizens, which seems to have taken over some of the advisory duties of the Areopagus.[354] Perhaps this reveals that Draco's laws were designed, in part, to appease the city's citizen-soldiers, much like the aforementioned Spartan reforms of Lycurgus (see pages 65-68, for more on this topic).

With that said, one should bear in mind that our information on Draco's reforms is rather unclear and should all be treated with a degree of skepticism as our surviving ancient literary sources frequently contradict each other on the matter. For example, Aristotle's *Constitution of the Athenians* claims that Draco established Athens' council of 400, but then later, inexplicably, goes on to say that it was Solon who created Athens' first Boule,[355] a tradition that Plutarch seems to repeat in his *Life of Solon*.[356] In addition to this, all of our sources are likely being influenced by later events in Athenian history, such as when in 411 BC an oligarchic council of 400 citizens seized control of the city and tried to legitimize their rule by claiming that they were simply restoring one of Athens' oldest institutions.[357] This of course only further distorts our modern understanding of the history of Athens' early legal reforms. Lastly, one should always be wary of the fact that our ancient literary sources have a tendency to attribute almost all of a city's customs or institutions to a particular famous lawgiver (as we have already seen with the Spartan reforms of Lycurgus, described on pages 66-67).

In the end, Draco's laws do not seem to have succeeded in their goal of curbing Athens' growing social tensions or creating stability, as they would only last for around twenty-five years

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[354] Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 4.3.
[355] Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 8.4.
[356] Plutarch *Life of Solon* 19.1.
[357] Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 8.65-69, Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 31.1. Similarly, we hear that after Thrasybulus ousted the 'Thirty Tyrants' from Athens in 403 BC, he tried to legitimize his rule by also claiming that he was simply restoring the laws of Draco and Solon (Andocides *On the Mysteries* 81-83).

before being almost entirely repealed and replaced by a new wave of legislative reforms.[358] According to our ancient sources, in the year 594/3 BC, the Eponymous Archon Solon was compelled to create another series of laws in an effort to abate Athens' political unrest or *stasis*.[359] By this point in time, we hear that at least one major problem in Athens was that the lower classes were becoming increasingly unable to pay their debts, so much so that many citizens were being forced into debt slavery. In response to this, Solon is said to have abolished the practice of debt bondage and to have forgiven all existing loans.[360]

Like Draco, Solon is also said to have created various reforms which enabled more Athenians to take part in government. Solon reorganized the city's population into four economic classes, the *Pentakosiomedimnoi*, *Hippeis*, *Zeugitai,* and *Thetes*.[361] The wealthiest class, the *Pentakosiomedimnoi*, which consisted of individuals who earned more than 500 bushels-worth of grain each year, were given the exclusive right to serve as treasurers, Archons, and members of the Areopagus.[362] Meanwhile, the remaining magistracies were made available to the second and third highest classes, the *Hippeis* and *Zeugitai*, which consisted of individuals who earned more than 300 and 200 bushels-worth of grain respectively.[363] Those who belonged to the lowest class of Athenian citizens, the *Thetes*, remained excluded from political office, but were granted the right to serve as members of the *Ecclesia* and as jurors in the *Heliaia*, a newly-founded lawcourt which seems to have taken over some of the former duties of the Areopagus.[364]

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[358] Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 7.1, Plutarch *Life of Solon* 17.1, Gellius *Attic Nights* 11.18.4
[359]Herodotus *Histories* 1.29, Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 13.1, Plutarch *Life of Solon* 14.2, Diogenes Laertius *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 1.62.
[360] Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 2.2, Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Roman Antiquities* 5.65.1, Plutarch *Life of Solon* 13, 15.3-7, Diogenes Laertius *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 1.45
[361] Michael Stahl and Uwe Walter, "Athens," 146-147.
[362] Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 43.1
[363] Aristotle *Politics* 2.1274a, *Constitution of the Athenians* 7.3.
[364] Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 7.3, Plutarch *Life of Solon* 18.2.

As a whole, Solon's reforms appear to have earned him a great deal of popularity and admiration. Many ancient sources treat him as one of Athens' most important founding figures, while others even go so far as to claim that he was as one of the Seven Sages of ancient Greece.[365] Because Solon developed this legendary-like status in Athens, one needs to be very cautious of what our ancient sources claim as they may fall into the habit of misattributing various later reforms or institutions to him. For example, some sources suggest that Solon introduced the practice of selecting Archons and other magistracies by lot,[366] when, in truth, most modern scholars agree that this practice was not invented until almost a century later, perhaps as late as 487 BC.[367] This tendency in our ancient sources to view Solon as an almost proto-democratic lawgiver or as the direct precursor to the later reforms of Cleisthenes in 508 BC,[368] clouds our understanding of this historical figure. While we can certainly tell from the surviving fragments of Solon's own poetry that his reforms were, to some extent, designed to curb the unrestrained powers and actions of Athens' political elites,[369] we must also recognize that his reforms were, by no means, meant to fully empower the masses (*demos*) or uproot the status quo. In his poetry, Solon calls the people of Athens 'empty-headed [χαῦνος νόος]'[370] and says that the rights he established for them were sufficient, arguing that "the masses [δῆμος] would best follow their leaders if they are neither given too much freedom nor subjected to too

[365] Plato *Protagoras* 343a, *Timaeus* 20e, Demosthenes *The Erotic Essay* 50, Isagoras *Antidosis* 235, Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* 9.1.2, Diogenes Laertius *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 1.13, Plutarch *The Dinner of the Seven Wise Men,* Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 10.24.1.
[366] Isocrates *Areopagiticus* 22, Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 8.1,
[367] Geoffrey de Ste. Croix, "Five Notes on Solon's Constitution," in *Athenian Democratic Origins and Other Essays,* ed. David Harvey and Robert Parker (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2004), 99.
[368] Aristophanes *Clouds* 1189, Aeschines *Against Ctesiphon* 257, Demosthenes *On the Crown* 6, Hyperides *Against Athenogenes* 21, Isocrates *Areopagiticus* 16-17, Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* 9.1.4.
[369] Solon as quoted in Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 5.2, Demosthenes *On the Embassy* 255, and Plutarch *Life of Solon* 14.2
[370] Solon as quoted in Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* 9.20.2. Solon expresses a very similar sentiment in another fragment of his poetry quoted in this same passage of Diodorus, where he calls the masses ignorant.

much restraint. For excess breeds insolence, whenever great prosperity comes to men who are not sound of mind."[371]

Despite these challenges, modern scholars agree that overall, this period of legal reforms under Solon does appear to have shifted Athens' government away from a system that prioritized the status of one's birth or family (i.e. the Eupatridae), towards a timocracy or a system that emphasized one's worth.[372] Under this new timocratic system, an Athenian's τιμή or 'worth' seems to have been determined not just by their personal wealth, but, to some degree, by their ability to serve as soldiers in the city's army, as the names of Athens' new social classes, like the *Hippeis* or *Zeugetai*, appear to have derived from various military classifications.[373] From this, perhaps we can assume that Solon's reforms were, in some ways, intended to appease Athens' citizen soldiers as well as its wealthy inhabitants (i.e. the *nouveaux riches*) who did not belong to the city's traditional aristocratic families and were therefore desirous of a larger role in politics.[374] With that said, in recent years some scholars have pushed back against the notion that in Archaic Athens, citizenship and status were primarily determined by calculating one's wealth or possessions. Alain Duplouy, for example, argues that citizenship was determined, not by carefully measuring one's worth, but by observing their behavior and the way they presented themselves in public. According to Duplouy, in order to be considered a 'citizen' in the Archaic Period, one needed to regularly participate in local sacrifices and religious festivals, adhere to the city's customs and traditions (*nomoi*), wear certain attire, and behave in a way that was befitting

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[371] Solon says this in two fragments of his poetry quoted in Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 12.1-2. Translation taken from: Douglas E. Gerber, trans., *Greek Elegiac Poetry: Tyrtaeus, Solon, Theognis, and Mimnermus*, Loeb Classical Library 258 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 123.
[372] Kurt A. Raaflaub, "Athenian and Spartan Eunomia, or: What to Do with Solon's Timocracy?," in *Solon of Athens: New Historical and Philological Approaches*, ed. Josine Blok and André Lardinois (Boston, MA: Brill, 2006), 422-423.
[373] Kurt A. Raaflaub, "Athenian and Spartan Eunomia, or: What to Do with Solon's Timocracy?," 408-409.
[374] Robert W. Wallace, "Revolutions and a New Order in Solonian Athens and Archaic Greece," 60-61.

of one's social standing.[375] Thus, perhaps we should view Athenian citizenship at the time of Solon not necessarily as a right or privilege that was allotted to people on the basis of their worth, but as a sort of performance that people were expected to participate in as a way of proving or displaying their wealth and status to the community.

Be that as it may, in the end, Solon does not appear to have accomplished enough to diminish Athens' growing political unrest or social tensions. We are told that after creating his constitution, Solon made all Athenians swear oaths to ratify and abide by his new laws.[376] He then left the city for a period of ten years, so that during this time, he could not be approached by any fellow Athenians wanting to convince him to repeal or abolish his acts of legislation.[377] Within these ten years of Solon's absence, we are told that at least twice, Athens fell into a period of anarchy, where they were unable to choose an Eponymous Archon for the year and were thus, forced to leave the position vacant.[378] Within these ten years, we are also told that there was an Eponymous Archon named Damasias, who refused to step down from his position after his term of office had expired and instead continued to hold the archonship for an extra fourteen months before eventually being violently deposed by his political rivals.[379] All of these anecdotes reveal that things were neither running smoothly nor going well in Athens in the immediate aftermath of Solon's reforms. By the end of his life, Solon would ultimately see Athens' oligarchy completely overturned when in 561 BC a distant relative of his, Peisistratus,

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[375] Alain Duplouy, "The Making of the Greek City: An Athenian Case Study," in *Rethinking Athens Before the Persian Wars*, ed. Constanze Graml, Vincenzo Capozzoli, and Annarita Doronzio (Munich, Germany: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 2019), 207-209.
[376] Herodotus *Histories* 1.29.2, Demosthenes *On the Crown* 6, Plutarch *Life of Solon* 25.2.
[377] Herodotus *Histories* 1.29.1, Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 11.1, Plutarch *Life of Solon* 25.4.
[378] Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 13.1
[379] Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 13.2.

seized control of the city and reinstituted a form of monarchical rule by becoming Athens' first tyrant.[380]

According to our ancient sources, Peisistratus, like the Corinthian tyrant Cypselus, was able to seize power through demagoguery or appealing to the masses.[381] By the 6th century BC, we hear that three major political factions had emerged in Athens: the Men of the Plains, the Men of the Coast, and the Men of the Hills.[382] This last party appears to have been the most disenfranchised of the three as it mostly consisted of individuals belonging to the poorest class of Athenian citizens, the *Thetes.*[383] According to our surviving ancient sources, it was primarily through the support of the Men of the Hills that Peisistratus was able to seize power as Athens' tyrant in 561 BC.[384] Although Peisistratus would eventually be overthrown in 556 BC, he was able to return from his exile and rule over Athens twice more as tyrant, with his longest reign lasting from 546 BC to his death in 527 BC. Throughout his three reigns, Peisistratus seems to have maintained the avid support of the lower classes by pursuing various populist policies. For example, we hear that Peisistratus made it easier for lower class Athenians to own farmlands by refusing to tax their properties and by giving out generous loans.[385] We also hear that Peisistratus oversaw the construction of a number of public buildings in Athens such as the temple of Olympian Zeus,[386] the temples of Athena and Dionysus on the Acropolis,[387] the temple of Apollo

[380] Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 14.2-3, Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* 9.20, Diogenes Laertius *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 1.49-50, Plutarch *Life of Solon* 32.3, Gellius *Attic Nights* 17.21.5.
[381] Aristotle *Politics* 5.1310b
[382] Herodotus *Histories* 1.59.3, Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 13.4, Plutarch *Life of Solon* 13.1.
[383] Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 13.5, Plutarch *Life of Solon* 29.1.
[384] Herodotus *Histories* 1.59.3, Aristotle *Politics* 5.1305a.
[385] Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 16.2-6.
[386] Aristotle *Politics* 5.1313b.
[387] Victor Parker, "Tyrants and Lawgivers," 30.

Patroos in the Agora, and more.[388] Peisistratus also established several public celebrations or festivities, the most famous of which was perhaps the Greater Panathenaic Games, Athens' quadrennial sporting competition.[389] Furthermore, he founded the Greater Dionysia, the festival that gave rise to Athenian drama and was therefore, another major source of public entertainment.[390] That said, I should, once again mention that in recent years, some scholars like Greg Anderson have argued against the notion that Greek tyrants were as popular and revolutionary as our ancient sources claim or that their efforts to gain the support of the masses (*demos*) were necessarily radical in comparison to the efforts of contemporary oligarchical leaders.[391]

Be that as it may, Peisistratus seems to have received a great deal of political support not only from Athens' *Thetes,* but from the local merchant class as well (much like Cypselus, as discussed on pages 55-56).[392] Various ancient literary sources like Herodotus or Aristotle, claim that Peisistratus was able to seize control of Athens for his second time by forming an alliance with Megacles, the leader of the mercantile Men of the Coast.[393] The support of Megacles and, by extension, the traders and merchants who formed the coastal party, seems to have been crucial for Peisistratus' tyranny.[394] Although Megacles' descendants, the Alcmaeonidae, would later claim that they were staunch enemies of the Peisistratid tyrants and were exiled from the city for

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[388] Charles W. Hedrick, "The Temple and Cult of Apollo Patroos in Athens," *American Journal of Archaeology* 92, no. 2 (April 1988), 206.
According to Theopompus (as quoted in Athenaeus *The Deipnosophists* 12.533a), Peisistratus also converted his private gardens into a public space.
[389] Claudia Zatta, "Making History Mythical: The Golden Age of Peisistratus," *Arethusa* 43, no. 1 (2010), 56.
[390] Claudia Zatta, "Making History Mythical: The Golden Age of Peisistratus," 56.
[391] Greg Anderson, "Before *Turannoi* Were Tyrants: Rethinking a Chapter of Early Greek History," 202.
[392] Pavel Oliva, "The Early Tyranny," 370-372.
[393] Herodotus *Histories* 1.60.2, Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 14.4
[394] When Peisistratus is described eventually falling out of favor with Megacles, he is soon overthrown and exiled from Athens according to Herodotus *Histories* 1.61.2, Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 15.1. More famously in 510 BC, the Peisistratid tyrant Hippias was overthrown and exiled after falling out of favor with *Alcmaeonid*, Cleisthenes according to Herodotus *Histories* 5.63.1-2.

opposing their rule,[395] in truth, the aforementioned 5th century Archon List reveals that the Alcmaeonidae continued to faithfully serve under the Peisistratids, providing them with the invaluable support of the Men of the Coast, until at least 525/4 BC.[396]

If Peisistratus and his successors did indeed receive strong support from the local merchant class, then this would explain why they devoted so much effort towards various policies of commercial expansion throughout their reigns. For example, they appear to have strengthened Athens' ties with Macedonia, most likely in an effort to get more involved in the region's gold, silver, and timber trade.[397] Peisistratus himself would spend his second exile (556-546 BC) living along the timber-rich shores of the Strymon river and near the mines of Mount Pangaeus, which suggests that he already had close connections in the area by this time.[398] During his exile there, Peisistratus is also said to have founded the colony of Rhaecelus along the coast of the Thermaic Gulf.[399] Athens' relations with Macedonia seem to have only continued to grow under the rule of Peisistratus' sons, as we hear that Hippias, after being overthrown and exiled from Athens in 510 BC, was welcomed with open arms by King Amyntas I and offered to rule over the Macedonian city of Anthemus.[400] In addition to developing these close ties with Macedon, the Peisistratids strove for control over the Hellespont, most likely in an effort to get more involved in the Black Sea's grain trade.[401] Under Peisistratus' reign, Athens seized control

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[395] Herodotus *Histories* 1.64.3, 5.62.2, Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.126.12, Plutarch *Life of Solon* 30.4.
[396] Michael Stahl and Uwe Walter, "Athens," 153.
[397] Floris van den Eijnde, "The 'First Athenian Empire'? Athenian Overseas Interests in the Archaic Period," in *Empires of the Sea: Maritime Power Networks in World History*, ed. Rolf Strootman, Floris van den Eijnde, and Roy van Wijk (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2020), 62.
[398] Herodotus *Histories* 1.64.1, Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 15.2
[399] Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 15.2.
[400] Herodotus *Histories* 5.94.1 Athens' growing ties with Macedon at this time, also explains why King Alexander I was sent as a messenger to Athenians during the Greco-Persian Wars and is called their *proxenos* in Herodotus *Histories* 8.136.1, 8.143.3.
[401] Floris van den Eijnde, "The 'First Athenian Empire'? Athenian Overseas Interests in the Archaic Period," 59.

of the Greek city of Sigeum in the Troad and left it under the rule of Peisistratus' illegitimate son, Hegesistratus.[402] Peisistratus' successor, Hippias would further cement Athens' ties to the region by marrying his daughter Archedice off to Aeantides, the tyrant of Lampaskos, another major city in the Troad.[403] Under Peisistratus, Athens would also gain control of the opposite side of the Hellespont Strait, by invading the Thracian Chersonese, fortifying this peninsula, and leaving it under the rule of Miltiades the Elder.[404]

As a whole, it was under the Peisistratid tyrants that Athens became a major commercial power. Athenian 'red figure' pottery quickly became the most popular style of the period and was traded extensively throughout the Mediterranean.[405] It was also under the Peisistratids that Athens began to mint its first coins.[406] Lastly, during the reign of the Peisistratids, the Athenian Agora appears to have undergone some major developments. Prior to the 6th century BC, the Athenian Agora appears to have been a small unorganized space situated along the southern slopes of the Acropolis, which contained mostly residential buildings and was used primarily for gatherings of the *Ecclesia*.[407] During the 6th century BC, however, the Agora appears to have been relocated to its present position along the northwestern slopes of the Acropolis and transformed into a major public space and the commercial epicenter of the city.[408] The creation of this marketplace appears to have been accomplished, in large part, thanks to the efforts of the

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[402] Herodotus *Histories* 5.94.
[403] Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 6.59.3.
[404] Herodotus *Histories* 6.36.
[405] Thomas Mannack, "Greek Decorated Pottery I: Athenian Vase-Painting," 52, 58.
[406] John H. Kroll and Nancy M. Waggoner, "Dating the Earliest Coins of Athens, Corinth, and Aegina," *American Journal of Archaeology* 88, no. 3 (July 1984), 331.
[407] Homer A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens: The History, Shape, and Uses of an Ancient City Center* (Princeton, NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1972), 1-2, 19.
[408] Homer A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens: The History, Shape, and Uses of an Ancient City Center,* 19.

Peisistratids, who marked the Agora's new borders with boundary stones,[409] built the marketplace's first fountain house, known as the *Enneakrounos*,[410] and established the Altar of the Twelve Gods, a structure that Pindar would later call the *omphalos* or 'navel stone' of the city.[411]

As a consequence of these efforts to appease Athens' merchant and lower classes, Peisistratus seems to have been remembered as a mild and well-respected ruler.[412] His two sons, Hipparchus and Hippias, however, have much harsher reputations in our surviving literary sources. For example, we are told that in 514 BC, Peisistratus' son Hipparchus made sexual advances on a young Athenian man named Harmodius. When his advances were rejected, Hipparchus decided to publicly humiliate Harmodius by declaring that his sister was not a virgin and was therefore, unworthy of participating in the festivities at the Panathenaic Games. Because of this humiliation and because he feared that Hipparchus would soon try to rape him, Harmodius, with the help of his lover, Aristogeiton, assassinated Hipparchus.[413] In the aftermath of this assassination, Hipparchus' brother Hippias started ruling over Athens with even more severity. We are told that Hippias became paranoid and began putting to death a number of Athenians whom he suspected of conspiring against him.[414] For example, we hear that Leaena, the *hetaera* or prostitute of one of the tyrannicides,[415] was ruthlessly tortured for her suspected

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[409] Homer A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens: The History, Shape, and Uses of an Ancient City Center,* 20.
[410] Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 2.15.5, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 1.14.1.
[411] Pindar as quoted in Dionysius of Halicarnassus *On Literary Composition* 22. Herodotus *Histories* 2.7.1 also seems to treat this altar as the epicenter of Athens.
[412] Herodotus *Histories* 1.59.6, Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 6.54.5-6, Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 16.2-9, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 1.23.1, Athenaeus *The Deipnosophists* 12.532f
[413] Herodotus *Histories* 5.55-56, Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 6.54-57, Aristotle *Politics* 5.1311a, *Constitution of the Athenians* 18.2.
[414] Herodotus *Histories* 5.62.2, Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 6.59.2.
[415] Athenaeus *The Deipnosophists* 13.596F says she was the prostitute of Harmodius, but Polyaenus *Stratagems* 8.25 and Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 1.23.2 say that she was the prostitute of Aristogeiton. Meanwhile Plutarch *De Garrulitate* 8 seems to imply that she was the prostitute of both.

involvement in the plot against Hipparchus' life.[416] We also hear that Hippias was a rather avaricious tyrant, who was always devising new ways of raising more money for himself at the public's expense.[417] With that being said, one should treat all of these accusations with a degree of skepticism as it had become a common cliché by the 5th century BC to portray tyrants in this way, committing various atrocities and becoming increasingly despotic over the generations (as we've already discussed on pages 58-59, in regard to Corinth and its Cypselid tyrants).[418]

Regardless of whether these accusations of cruelty were true, within just four years of Hipparchus' assassination, Hippias seems to have quickly fallen out of favor with the Athenians. By 510 BC, the Alcmaeonid Cleisthenes had convinced the Spartans, as members of the Peloponnesian League, to come to Athens and overthrow the Peisistratid tyranny.[419] Although Hippias was able to flee the city during this uprising and later make several attempts to regain control of it, perhaps most famously at the battle of Marathon in 490 BC,[420] he would never again rule over Athens as tyrant. After deposing Hippias in 510 BC, we hear that the Spartans tried to establish a new oligarchy in Athens under the leadership of their close ally, Isagoras. When he attained the archonship in 508 BC, however, Isagoras and his pro-Spartan oligarchy seem to have soon crumbled apart. Isagoras' rule immediately received staunch opposition from Cleisthenes and his supporters, who had become a powerful political force in Athens by

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[416] Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 7.23, Athenaeus *The Deipnosophists* 13.596F, Polyaenus *Stratagems* 8.25, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 1.23.1-2, Plutarch *De Garrulitate* 8.
[417] Aristotle *Economics* 2.1347a.
[418] Thucydides highlights these tyrannical vices in *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.17 and claims that all tyrants shared a lust for wealth.
The gradual decline or worsening of tyrannies over the generations is described in several ancient sources such as Aristotle *Politics* 5.1315b or Herodotus *Histories* 5.92. These sources summarize the era of Greece's tyrants in a way that is rather similar to Aeschylus' famous parable of the lion cub in *Agamemnon* 717-736. Like a lion cub, the tyrants first seemed gentle and friendly, but after being adopted, grew increasingly savage and feral.
[419] Herodotus *Histories* 5.63-65, Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 19.3-6, Isocrates *Antidosis* 232, *Areopagiticus* 16.
[420] Herodotus *Histories* 5.96.1, 6.102, 107, 109.3. Another attempt by Hippias to regain power in Athens, following his exile in 510 BC, is described in Herodotus *Histories* 5.91.1-2, 93.2-94.1

appealing to the masses (*demos*) and advocating for radical reforms.[421] The situation became so dire for Isagoras that he summoned the Spartan king, Cleomenes I and his army back to Athens to forcibly remove the Alcmaeonidae and seven hundred of their strongest supporters from the city. After banishing Cleisthenes, Isagoras attempted to pass a law that would limit the size of Athens' Boule. Outraged by all of this, the Athenian people rose up against Isagoras and King Cleomenes' forces and besieged them on the Acropolis.[422] When the Spartans surrendered just three days later and agreed to leave Attica under truce, Cleisthenes returned to Athens and began instituting a series of radical constitutional reforms.

Above all, Cleisthenes appears to have passed laws that allowed more Athenians to participate in government. We hear that he offered citizenship to a number of Athenian slaves and *metics* (i.e. resident foreigners).[423] Cleisthenes is also said to have reorganized the city's population by dividing it into ten new tribes or *phylai* and by giving each tribe the right to elect fifty of their members into the Boule.[424] Moreover, each tribe could now choose one of their members to serve as their official representative, known as a *phylarch*, and could elect one of Athens' ten *strategoi* or 'generals,' a military position that seems to have become considerably more powerful at this time.[425] As a whole, our sources claim that Cleisthenes' reforms allowed the masses (*demos*) to gain substantial political power and control over Athens' government, on account of which this new system was called a democracy.[426]

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[421] Herodotus *Histories* 5.66-69, Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 20.1-2.
[422] Herodotus *Histories* 5.72, Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 20.3, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 3.4.2, 6.8.6.
[423] Aristotle *Politics* 3.1275b, Isocrates *On Peace* 50.
[424] Herodotus *Histories* 5.66.2-69.2, Aristotle *Politics* 6.1319b, *Constitution of the Athenians* 21.2-3, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 1.29.6.
[425] Herodotus *Histories* 5.69.2, Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 22.2.
[426] Herodotus *Histories* 5.78, Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 22.1, Isocrates *Areopagiticus 16-17,* Plutarch *Aristides* 13.1

Even though our sources portray Cleisthenes as this revolutionary father of democracy, in truth, the system he created very much resembled an oligarchy. Under this new system of government, Athens' traditional aristocratic families would continue to hold the highest positions of power and rule over the city, just as they had always done. Cleisthenes' own family, the Alcmaeonidae, for example, were a prominent aristocratic clan in Athens since at least the late 7th century BC,[427] and after Cleisthenes' reforms, would continue to dominate Athenian politics until at least the late 5th century, when we see figures like Pericles or Alcibiades.[428] Because this 'democratic' system did not allow slaves, women, children, or resident foreigners (*metics*) to vote, scholars estimate that up to 90% of Attica's population would have been excluded from politics.[429] Moreover, the space where political speeches and votes were held under this new democratic system, the Pnyx, is estimated to have been able to contain at most, around 6,000 people.[430] This means that it would have essentially been impossible for Athens' assembly meetings to have been attended by all adult male citizens, since, by the 5th century BC, there would have been around 30,000-50,000 of them in total.[431]

Lastly, it is worth mentioning that the most radical or 'democratic' institutions of this government were for the most part, established many years after the reforms of Cleisthenes. For example, a number of scholars have argued that ostracism, the right Athenian citizens had to vote to remove their politicians from power and exile them from the city, was not established by Cleisthenes but more than three decades later, in 487 BC, as this is the first known instance when

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[427] Our earliest reference to the Alcmaeonidae is during the Cylonian affair described in Herodotus *Histories 5.71,* Thucyidides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.126, Plutarch *Life of Solon* 12.
[428] Thucyidides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.127, 5.43, Plutarch *Life of Alcibiades* 1.
[429] John Thorley, *Athenian Democracy* (New York, NY: Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), 74.
[430] Mogens Herman Hansen, "The Athenian 'Ecclesia' and the Assembly-Place on the Pnyx," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 23, no. 3 (1982) 241-242.
[431] John Thorley, *Athenian Democracy*, 74.

an ostracism occurred.[432] As previously mentioned, some scholars believe that it was also in this year (487 BC) that the practice of selecting archons and other magistrates by lot was first introduced.[433] Be that as it may, it seems that the most progressive reforms of Athens' democracy were introduced even later than this, during the Classical Period. For example, it was only during the *Pentecontaetia* or the mid 5th century BC that the property requirements to run for the archonship were lowered, the Areopagus council's powers were significantly reduced, and citizens were granted the right to receive daily wages for serving as jurors.[434] As a result, it is fair to say that at least during the Archaic Period (800-480 BC), Athens' 'democracy' in truth, resembled more of an oligarchical system than anything.

In conclusion, from the early Iron Age to the dawn of the Classical Period, Athens' government underwent several drastic changes. At first, Athens, like most other Greek cities, relied on a monarchical system of rule and was governed by a series of kings (*basileis*). Our surviving sources then tell us that Athens began to gradually develop towards an oligarchy by first introducing the office of the Perpetual Archon, later replacing it with the position of the Deccenial Archon, and by finally, reducing all magistracies to one-year terms. Out of these three developments, only the latter appears to have any historical basis as it can be corroborated by epigraphical evidence, which suggests that Athens did indeed develop an oligarchy with annual magistracies sometime around 682 BC. Even though the creation of this oligarchy did allow more Athenians to take part in government and did lead to a broader system of rule, by the end of the 7th century BC, it already seems to have encountered some major problems. We hear of

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[432] Wilfried Nippel, *Ancient and Modern Democracy: Two Concepts of Liberty?,* 14.
Donald Kagan, "The Origin and Purposes of Ostracism*," Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 30, no. 4 (Oct-Dec 1961), 394.
Norman A. Doenges, "Ostracism and the 'Boulai' of Kleisthenes," Historia 45, no. 4 (4th Qtr. 1996), 402-404.
[433] Geoffrey de Ste. Croix, "Five Notes on Solon's Constitution," 99.
[434] Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 27, Isocrates *On Peace* 130, Plutarch *Life of Pericles* 9.3-4.

aristocrats like Cylon, trying to seize power over Athens by becoming the city's popular ruler or 'tyrant.' We also hear of the major constitutional reforms instituted by Athens' two famous lawgivers, Draco and Solon. In the end, both Draco and Solon's efforts seem to have all been in vain as they were ultimately unable to fix Athens' growing social problems or stave off its oligarchy's impending doom. By 561 BC, the city's government would be completely overturned, when the Athenians reinstituted a form of monarchical rule with Peisistratus and later, his two sons, serving as their tyrant. Peisistratus seems to have gained power, in large part, by championing the causes of the people and pursuing various commercial policies, but like Draco and Solon, his efforts do not seem to have accomplished enough to diminish Athens' political infighting or *stasis*. Moreover, the late 6th century BC appears to have given rise to an increasing disdain for tyrants, not just within Athens, but throughout the ancient Greek world (for more on this topic, see my discussion on the Peloponnesian League on pages 74-75). Eventually the Peisistratids would be overthrown in 510 BC, and in the aftermath of the ensuing power struggle, Cleisthenes would found Athens' first ever democracy. One should recognize that within the Archaic Period, however, this 'democratic' system still very much resembled an oligarchy. Nevertheless, it would be fair to say that as a whole, these developments show that Athens gradually progressed toward a broader and more collective system of rule over the course of the Archaic Period. Athens began this period under a monarchy, but by the end of it, was operating under a mostly oligarchic form of rule, just like Corinth and Sparta.

Chapter 7
A History of Phoenician Oligarchies: From the Late Bronze Age to the 5th Century BC

> "The Carthaginians are considered to have an excellent form of government, which differs from that of any other state in several respects, though it is in some [respects] very much like the Spartan. Indeed, the Spartan, Cretan, and Carthaginian states closely resemble one another and are very different from any others. Many of the Carthaginian institutions are excellent. The superiority of their constitution is proved by the fact that the common people [*demos*] remain loyal to it. The Carthaginians have never had any rebellion [*stasis*] worth speaking of, and have never been under the rule of a tyrant."[435]
>
> – Aristotle, *Politics* 2.1272b

Having demonstrated that as the Archaic Period progressed, the various city-states of ancient Greece increasingly turned away from their traditional monarchical forms of government towards broader systems of rule, I shall now discuss the history of the Phoenicians. The Phoenicians, like the Mycenaean Greeks, appear to have first been divided into various kingdoms during the Bronze Age, each of which were under the rule of a local monarch and his dynastic successors.[436] For example, inscriptional evidence suggests that the Phoenician city of Byblos was ruled by a series of kings stretching at least as far back as the 3rd millennium BC.[437] Meanwhile, Tyre and Sidon appear to have had longstanding monarchical governments throughout the Bronze Age as well, the earliest evidence of which comes from the 19th century BC.[438] This, to a certain extent, is not surprising as almost all of the major powers of the ancient Near East, such as the Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, and Elamites, also relied on monarchical forms of government at this time.[439] What is perhaps more noteworthy, however, is that like Corinth, Sparta, and Athens, the city-states of Phoenicia appear to have gradually

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[435] Translation taken from: Benjamin Jowett, trans., *Aristotle's Politics*, 47.
[436] Sandro Filippo Bondì, "Political and Administrative Organization," in *The Phoenicians*, ed. Sobatio Moscati (New York, NY: Abbeville Press, 1988), 126.
[437] Glenn E. Markoe, *Phoenicians* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 87.
[438] Maria Eugenia Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies, and Trade*, trans. Mary Turton, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 144.
[439] Marc van de Mieroop, *A History of the Ancient Near East Ca. 3000-323 BC,* 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 134-135.

reduced the powers of their kings in favor of adopting broader, oligarchical forms of government.

This chapter will provide a brief history of these political developments in Phoenicia and an overview of the surviving evidence of Phoenician oligarchies. In addition, I will draw close comparisons between these Phoenician political systems and the aforementioned political systems of archaic Greece. Perhaps most importantly, I will show that our surviving evidence indicates that this historical trend towards broader, oligarchical governments began several centuries *earlier* in Phoenicia than in Greece. This last point will be a crucial one for the sake of my thesis, as I will use it to argue that it is quite possible that the political developments of archaic Greece were in some ways inspired by these various Phoenician precursors or counterparts.

The earliest known evidence of the Phoenicians developing broader, potentially oligarchical political systems, comes from the late Bronze Age. At this time, the Phoenician cities of the Mediterranean coast were important allies or client states for the Egyptians, as they not only served as an important buffer zone against the more northern kingdoms of the Hittites and Mitanni, but also supplied the Egyptians with valuable trade goods such as cedar wood, textiles, carved ivory, finished metal objects,[440] and of course, the purple dye that the Phoenicians were famous for throughout antiquity.[441]

Perhaps our best sources of information on this period are the Amarna Letters of the 14th century BC, which are the official correspondences made between the Egyptian administration

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[440] Sandro Filippo Bondì, "The Origins in the East," in *The Phoenicians*, ed. Sobatio Moscati (New York, NY: Abbeville Press, 1988), 29-30.

[441] The famous purple dye extracted from murex shells appears in the archaeological record of cities like Tyre, starting in the 16th century BC according to: Charlene Elliott, "Purple Pasts: Color Codification in the Ancient World," *Law & Social Inquiry* 33, no. 1 (2008), 178.

and its representatives or allies in the Levant. In addition to providing significant insight on the diplomatic relations between Egypt and its neighbours, these epistles reveal how various Phoenician cities were politically organized at this time. For example, we hear that Sidon was ruled by a king named Zimredda,[442] Tyre had a sovereign named Abi-Milku,[443] and Byblos similarly relied on a monarchical form of government, first under the reign of their king Rib-Addi,[444] and later under the reign of his brother, Ili-Rapih.[445] These kings seem to have served an important administrative role in their respective cities as they are frequently described forming their own political alliances,[446] waging wars,[447] and petitioning their causes directly to the Egyptian pharaoh Amenhotep III and later, his successor Amenhotep IV (also known as Akhenaten).[448]

That said, these Phoenician kings do not seem to have held absolute power over their cities, but to have operated under broader political systems. This is perhaps best illustrated through the diction or word choice of the Amarna letters, as some notably diverge from the standard formula of these correspondences. For example, in one letter, it is not the king of Irqata,[449] but "Irqata and its elders" who write to the Egyptian pharaoh and request military aid.[450] Similarly, there is an instance where Abi-Milku, the king of Tyre, complains to the

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[442] Zimredda authors letters such as EA 144, 145 found in: William L. Moran, trans., *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1992), 230-231. For brevity's sake I will, from now on, be referring to letters only by their EA number, but shall be relying solely on Moran's translation.
[443] Abi-Milku authors letters such as EA 146-155.
[444] Rib-Addi authors letters such as EA 68-95.
[445] Ili-Rapih authors letters such as EA 139, 140.
[446] Such as the political marriage between the king of Byblos and the king of Tyre described in EA 89 or the alliances that the king of Sidon and king of Beirut made with the Amurru according to EA 83.
[447] Such as Byblos' war against the Amurru recorded in EA 121, Sidon's war against the Apiru described in EA 144, or the hostilities between King Abi-Milku of Tyre and King Zimredda of Sidon reported in EA 146.
[448] King Rib-Addi of Byblos, for example, authored at least 64 of the 350 surviving Amarna letters according to: Louise M. Pryke, "The Many Complaints to Pharao of Rib-Addi of Byblos," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 131, no. 3 (July-September 2011), 411.
[449] King Aduna of Irqata is mentioned in both EA 75 and 140.
[450] EA 100

Egyptian pharaoh about how King Zimredda of Sidon had formed an alliance, not with Arwad's respective king, but with the "men of Arwad," as a whole.[451] This curious phrasing seems to parallel a letter written by the king of Byblos, Rib-Addi, who laments that the city of Sumur was being attacked on the one hand, by the "sons of Abdi-Ashirti" (the king of Amurru), but on the other hand, by the "people of Arwad" collectively.[452] In fact, out of the entire corpus of the Amarna letters, we interestingly hear no mention whatsoever of a king ruling over the Phoenician city of Arwad.[453] Perhaps the most revealing or insightful letter on the topic of Phoenician government, is one written by King Rib-Addi of Byblos, who claims that although he wanted to form an alliance with King Hammuniri of Beirut, the "people of Byblos" insisted on forming an alliance with King Aziru of Amurru instead. Because of this, when Rib-Addi left for Beirut to exchange his new oaths of friendship, the "people of Byblos" decided to go behind their king's back and form an alliance with King Aziru of Amurru, on their own initiative. Later, when Rib-Addi returned from Beirut, he claims that the "people of Byblos" locked him out of his own city and forced him to live in exile with his new Beirutian allies.[454]

Apart from these examples, there are some other passages that are perhaps also worthy of mention, although they are admittedly more contentious or disputed. For instance, some scholars believe that one of the surviving Amarna letters was written to the Egyptian pharaoh by the "people of Byblos" as well.[455] This, however, is rather controversial as the text is highly fragmentary and consists of several lacunae. In truth, the opening lines of this letter, which would have clearly identified the writer, are illegible, leaving the authorship of this text a

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[451] EA 149
[452] EA 105
[453] Stephen Stockwell, "Israel and Phoenicia," in *The Edinburgh Companion to the History of Democracy*, 77.
[454] EA 138
[455] EA 131. Perhaps most famously argued in: William M. Flinders Petrie, *Syria and Egypt: From the Tell El Amarna Letters* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 99-100.

mystery.[456] Another controversial passage which may indicate that Phoenician monarchs did not hold complete authority over their cities, but shared power in some sort of broader political system, is a letter written by King Aziru, who complains about how the "magnates" of the Phoenician city of Sumur have been thwarting his political efforts.[457] The crux of the debate here is whether the "magnates" referenced in this passage should be understood to mean a group of local, Phoenician politicians who held sway over Sumur,[458] or if instead, it is simply referencing certain officials or administrators stationed in Sumur by the Egyptians themselves.[459] The last letter that is perhaps worth mentioning, is one that is written not by Tunip's king,[460] but by the "citizens of Tunip," who request military aid from the Egyptian pharaoh and claim to have written several other (now lost) letters as well.[461] The controversy surrounding this passage however, is that although many scholars have argued that Tunip was, in all likelihood, a city situated in northern Phoenicia,[462] its precise location remains unknown and is a topic of debate.[463]

As a whole, the abovementioned examples taken from the Amarna letters have been used by some scholars to argue that by the late Bronze Age, a few Phoenician city-states had even

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[456] Unlike Flinders Petrie, Moran doesn't even bother trying to translate the first six lines of this letter, in: William L. Moran, trans., *The Amarna Letters*, 212.
[457] EA 157.
[458] As argued in Stephen Stockwell, "Israel and Phoenicia," 76.
[459] As argued in n. 2 of William L. Moran, trans., *The Amarna Letters*, 243.
also see Marwan Kilani, *Byblos in the Late Bronze Age: Interactions between the Levantine and Egyptian World* (Boston, MA: Brill, 2020), 161.
[460] Tunip's king, Aki-Teshub is mentioned only briefly in this letter. See n. 6 of William L. Moran, trans., *The Amarna Letters*, 131.
[461] EA 59.
[462] Michael C. Astour, "Tunip-Hamath and Its Region: A Contribution to the Historical Geography of Central Syria," *Orientalia* 46, no. 1 (1997), 60.
Stephen Stockwell, "Israel and Phoenicia," 77.
[463] Michael C. Astour, "Tunip-Hamath and Its Region: A Contribution to the Historical Geography of Central Syria," 51.

developed broad, non-monarchical forms of rule.[464] This conclusion, however, is rather problematic. First of all, just because our surviving literary sources do not mention any kings ruling over certain Phoenician cities, like Arwad, does not mean that we can assume these cities, therefore, did not have monarchical governments, but more collective systems of rule. Secondly, even if one were to, for argument's sake, take the most charitable interpretation of a letter like EA 157 and assume that the Phoenician city of Sumur was indeed governed by a group of local 'magnates,' we still know absolutely nothing about *how* these officials attained their political positions to begin with. This is a crucial question that needs answering before any serious conclusions can be drawn about whether Sumur's government truly was a broad-based collective form of rule, as it is quite possible that these various 'magnates' were not elected by the city's citizenry or by the larger public at all, but were instead appointed by a very narrow group of aristocrats (which as we have already seen occurred in early archaic Corinth and Athens under the Bacchiadae and Eupatridae respectively).

While it is impossible to say whether the Amarna letters demonstrate the existence of broad non-monarchical governments in late Bronze Age Phoenicia, it is fair to say that they, at the very least, demonstrate that some Phoenician cities operated under political systems that were noticeably broader than any absolute monarchy.[465] Phoenician kings do not seem to have held complete control over their respective cities but could, in some cases, clearly face substantial opposition at home. Moreover, several letters appear to deliberately break convention and use broader, more collective language, which seems to indicate that some Phoenician cities had

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[464] As argued in: Stephen Stockwell, "Before Athens: Early Popular Government in Phoenician and Greek City States," 126-127. Or perhaps more infamously in: Martin Bernal, *Black Athena Writes Back*, ed. David Chioni Moore (London, England: Duke University Press, 2001), 356-357.

[465] Anson F. Rainey, "Amarna and Later: Aspects of Social History," in *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbors from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina*, ed. William G. Dever and Seymour Gitin (State College, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 172-173.

official governing bodies or councils that at times could make their own political decisions.[466] The precise nature of these councils, however, is left rather obscure or vague. It is only by examining later evidence from the Iron Age that our understanding of this topic becomes more clear. Nevertheless, the Amarna letters are worthy of consideration, especially since they were written at a time when the Greeks were still firmly under the rule of their Mycenaean kings or *wanakes*, indicating that the movement towards broader, more collective governments seems to have begun several centuries *earlier* in Phoenicia than in Greece.

One of the earliest pieces of evidence from the Iron Age that provides important insight into the structure of Phoenician governments is the so-called Report of Wenamun. This 11th century BC text recounts the travels of an Egyptian priest named Wenamun to the Phoenician city of Byblos in order to retrieve cedar wood. Along his way, Wenamun suffers a number of misfortunes that each delay or prolong his trip and when he finally arrives in Byblos his struggles continue there as well. The report claims that after Wenamun met with the Byblian king, Zakerbaal, and made his request for lumber, the king summoned a meeting of his 'assembly.'[467] The purpose of this 'assembly' meeting was to debate whether they should comply with Wenamun's solicitations or instead extradite him to the Tjekker, a neighbouring people demanding his arrest. During this meeting, King Zakerbaal reveals that he is rather hesitant to arrest Wenamun as he is, after all, a guest and the priest of a very powerful deity (Ammon). Nevertheless, King Zakerbaal appears to be forced into a compromise as he agrees to let

[466] This is, perhaps, not too dissimilar from the sort of collective language that we see appearing on Athenian inscriptions, following the creation of their democracy in 508 BC. For more on the topic of Athenian inscriptions and their emphasis on the fact that decisions were being made collectively by the Boule and people of Athens see: Anna Missiou, *Literacy and Democracy in Fifth-Century Athens* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 90-100.

[467] Report of Wenamun 2.71 found in: Miriam Lichtheim, ed*., Ancient Egyptian Literature Volume II: The New Kingdom* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2019), 567.

authorities pursue Wenamun immediately after departing from Byblos' harbour. The events recorded in the Report of Wenamun seem to demonstrate that at this time, the king of Byblos did not hold complete power over his city, but instead shared it in a broader, potentially oligarchical political system.[468] Kings like Zakerbaal appear to have been expected to consult their 'assembly' before making important political decisions and the members of this advisory body quite possibly held enough power to convince the king do something he really did not want to do.

The existence of this broader, potentially oligarchical political system in Byblos appears to be corroborated by the near contemporary coffin of the Byblian king, Ahiram. This 11th century BC sarcophagus contains an inscription that not only cautions any future kings from opening the coffin, but future 'governors' and 'commanders' of Byblos' army as well.[469] This inscription is worthy of consideration as it, like the Report of Wenamun, seems to indicate that the kings of Byblos at this time, did not hold complete authority over their city but shared it in a broader political system with various other important offices or magistracies.[470] Moreover, the fact that there appears to be three chief magistrates of the city, a 'governor' in charge of civic administration, a 'commander' in charge of the military, and a 'king' is noteworthy as it appears remarkably similar to the tripartite division of power that we later see in the oligarchy of archaic Athens, with its Eponymous Archon, Polemarch, and Basileus (which I have already discussed on pages 80-81).

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[468] Maria Eugenia Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies, and Trade,* 145-146.
[469] Ahiram inscription, as found in: John C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions Volume III: Phoenician Inscriptions* (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1982), 14.
[470] Sandro Filippo Bondì, "Political and Administrative Organization," 126.

Unfortunately, we have very little information about Phoenician political systems from the period immediately following the Report of Wenamun and Sarcophagus of Ahiram, specifically the 10th and 9th centuries BC. In fact, this lack of evidence has, in and of itself, led some scholars to believe that Phoenician monarchs were less important at this time as they, unlike most contemporary Near Eastern kings, seem to have made little effort to publicly flaunt their wealth or record their achievements.[471] If we are to trust our later ancient literary sources and what they have to say about this period of Phoenician history, we get a rather similar impression that kings grew increasingly less powerful or important over time. For example, even though the Tyrian king, Hiram I (980-947 BC) is described as a dominant and influential political figure,[472] we hear little to nothing about the exploits of any of his successors.[473] From this, scholars like Robert Drews have concluded that, "…after Hiram in the tenth century they [the kings of Tyre] are not imposing figures."[474]

The circumstances in Phoenicia at this time were perhaps not too dissimilar from neighbouring Syria, where there appears to have been a number of small Aramean polities throughout the early Iron Age, each of which were ruled by relatively minor kings, whose names and deeds are preserved, not so much in the inscriptions of the Arameans themselves, but in the scanty references of the nearby Assyrians and Luwians.[475] Moreover, these Aramean kings, like

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[471] Maria Eugenia Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies, and Trade,* 144-145.
[472] Josephus *Against Apion* 1.17-18, *Jewish Antiquities* 7.65, 8.50-57, 141, 160. Our biblical sources for King Hiram include 1 Chronicles 14:1, 1 Kings 5, 7, 9, 10:11, 2 Samuel 5:11.
[473] For example, see how much information Josephus (quoting Menander of Ephesus) provides about Hiram in contrast to the other Tyrian kings in *Against Apion* 1.18.
[474] Robert Drews, "Phoenicians, Carthage, and the Spartan Eunomia," *The American Journal of Philology* 100, no. 1 (1979), 47. This assertion is reiterated in: Stephen Stockwell, "Before Athens: Early Popular Government in Phoenician and Greek City States," 127. This opinion, however, is not universally accepted as others have argued that Tyre's kings only started losing their importance after the reign of King Luli in the late 8th century BC, as seen in: Maria Eugenia Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies, and Trade,* 145.
[475] K. Lawson Younger, *A Political History of the Arameans: From Their Origins to the End of Their Polities* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2016), 109, 157.

their Phoenician counterparts, do not seem to have held absolute power over their kingdoms, but shared it with other officials and governing bodies in broader systems of rule.[476] For example, inscriptional evidence suggests that throughout the 10th century BC, the city of Carchemish was ruled by its 'Great King' in conjunction with its 'Country Lords.'[477]

Be that is it may, the little information that we do receive about Phoenician kings from the early Iron Age, gives us the impression that their role in society was, in large part, religious or priestly. This, to a certain extent, is not surprising considering the long history of similar 'priest-kings' in the Ancient Near East, especially the various city-states of Mesopotamia.[478] In fact, some scholars such as Piotr Steinkeller have argued that the earliest kings of Uruk and the other Sumerian city-states of the late 4th millennium BC primarily drew their power and authority from serving as the priests of important local goddesses.[479] Thus, the sacerdotal function of Phoenician kings in the early Iron Age likely represents a much broader trend or older tradition of kings behaving in this way throughout the Bronze Age Near East.

At the Phoenician city of Byblos, we get the impression that early Iron Age kings served a priestly function in society, mainly from our surviving epigraphical evidence. For example, all four of the so-called Royal Byblian Inscriptions from the 10th century BC are epigraphs commemorating either a dedication or construction made by the king in honour of the city's patron deity, Baalat Gebal.[480] Out of these four epigraphs, the Yehimilk inscription is perhaps the

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[476] Dagmar Kühn, "Society, Institutions, Law, and Economy," in *The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria*, ed. Herbert Niehr (Boston, MA: Brill, 2014), 44.
[477] K. Lawson Younger, *A Political History of the Arameans: From Their Origins to the End of Their Polities*, 119.
[478] Marc van de Mieroop, *A History of the Ancient Near East Ca. 3000-323 BC,* 24-27.
[479] Piotr Steinkeller, "On Rulers, Priests, and Sacred Marriage: Tracing the Evolution of Early Sumerian Kingship," in *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East: Papers of the Second Colloquium on the Ancient Near East--the City and Its Life Held at the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan (Mitaka, Tokyo), March 22-24, 1996*, ed. Kazuko Watanabe (Heidelberg, Germany: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1999), 116.
[480] See the Yehimilk, Abibaal, Elibaal, and Shipitbaal inscriptions in: John C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions Volume III: Phoenician Inscriptions*, 17-23.

most noteworthy as it not only invokes Baalat Gebal, but her consort, the supreme sky god Baal Shamin, along with an "assembly of the holy gods of Byblos."[481] The reason why this could be of interest, is because the Byblians may very well be portraying their pantheon of gods – ruled not just by a divine king and queen but an 'assembly' of other deities – as operating in the same way as their own political system or government at this time. The tendency that people have for portraying their gods as ruling under the same power structures or social conditions as their own, is perhaps best summarized by Aristotle at the beginning of his *Politics* when he writes:

> [The reason] why all races speak of the gods as ruled by a king, [is] because they themselves too are some of them actually now so ruled and in other cases used to be of old; and as men imagine the gods in human form, so also they suppose their manner of life to be like their own.[482]

Leaving this topic aside, the close connection between the kings of Byblos and their city's tutelary divinity seems to have continued well into the 5th century BC, as evidenced by inscriptions like the Yehaumilk Stele, which likewise commemorates dedications made by the Byblian king in honor of Balaat Gebal.[483]

The circumstances surrounding Tyre and its monarchy during the early Iron Age, appear to have been much the same as its kings also seem to have served as the city's chief religious officials. For example, some of the major feats attributed to the aforementioned 10th century BC king, Hiram I, include constructing the temples of Tyre's patron deities, Melqart and Astarte, establishing Melqart's main festival, the *Egersis,* rebuilding several older temples in the city, and

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[481] John C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions Volume III: Phoenician Inscriptions*, 18.
[482] Aristotle *Politics* 1.1252b. Translation taken from: H. Rackham trans., *Aristotle's Politics,* Loeb Classical Library 264 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1932), 9.
[483] The Yehaumilk Stele, as translated in: John C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions Volume III: Phoenician Inscriptions,* 95.

making dedications to the god Baal.[484] Similarly, our sources refer to the 9th century BC Tyrian king, Ithobaal I, as a 'priest of Astarte'[485] and his grandson, Sychaeus (also known as Acerbus), as a 'priest of Melqart.'[486] Perhaps this also explains why Ithobaal's daughter, Jezebel, is portrayed in biblical accounts promoting the cult of Melqart so adamantly, especially to King Ahab and the Israelite royal family.[487] The connection between Tyre's monarchy and the cults of Melqart and Astarte seems to be corroborated by a 7th century BC treaty made between the Neo-Assyrian King Esarhaddon and King Baal of Tyre, which makes sure to invoke both of these deities in its closing lines.[488]

Finally, the kings of Sidon appear to have also had a close connection with their city's tutelary gods, Eshmun and Astarte. This is perhaps best demonstrated through the inscriptions found on the sarcophagi of Sidon's 6th century BC kings. For example, the epitaph found on the coffin of Eshmunazar II, boasts that he and his mother funded the construction of the city's main temple of Eshmun.[489] This construction project seems to have continued later under the rule of his successor King Bodashtart as well, according to our surviving epigraphical evidence.[490] What is perhaps more noteworthy, is the inscription found on the sarcophagus of King Tabnit, who not

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[484] Menander of Ephesus claims that Hiram constructed Melqart and Astarte's temples, as quoted in Josephus' *Against Appion* 1.18 and *Jewish Antiquities* 8.146. Both Menander of Ephesus and Dius also claim that Hiram was famous for rebuilding several temples in Tyre and making dedications to Baal, as quoted in Josephus' *Against Appion* 1.17-18 and *Jewish Antiquities* 8.145, 147.
[485] Menander of Ephesus as quoted in Josephus *Against Appion* 1.18.
[486] Justin *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Philippic Histories* 18.4.5. Although it is never said explicitly, it is strongly implied that Sychaeus was a priest in Virgil *Aeneid* 1.349 and Ovid *Heroides* 7.97, as he is described being killed in front of an altar (presumably while conducting his usual sacrifices).
[487] 1 Kings 16:32, Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 8.317-318. In these accounts, Melqart is called Baal of Tyre, a title for the god which is also found on several Phoenician inscriptions. For more on this topic see:
Richard J. Clifford, "Phoenician Religion," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 279 (August 1990), 59-60.
[488] ANET[3] 533-534, the translation of which can be found in: James B. Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts & Pictures* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 212-213.
[489]Eshmunazar II inscription as found in: John C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions Volume III: Phoenician Inscriptions,* 107-109.
[490] Such as the Bodashtart inscription found in: John C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions Volume III: Phoenician Inscriptions,* 117.

only refers to himself and his predecessor, King Eshmunazar I, as a 'priest of Astarte,' but even goes so far as to put this designation before their title of king.[491] Perhaps this indicates that the primary function of Sidon's kings was to serve as the city's chief religious official or act as an intermediary between the divine and human realms.

In addition to the abovementioned evidence, it is worth taking note of the fact that almost all Phoenician kings seem to have had theophoric names that denoted their roles as priests or religious officials. For example, we frequently come across kings with names like Adonibaal ('my lord is Baal'), Abdastartus ('servant of Astarte'), Eshmunazar ('helper of Eshmun'), and so on.[492] The Phoenician word for king (*mlk*) is even the same word used for the verb 'to sacrifice.'[493] Moreover, scholars believe that Phoenician kings served an important sacerdotal role during religious festivals and were particularly involved in the performance of a *hieros gamos* or 'sacred marriage' with the patron goddess of their city.[494] At Byblos, this ritual is alluded to in epigraphs like the 10th century BC Safatba'al inscription or the 5th century BC Yehaumilk Stele, where the king appears to address the goddess, Baalat Gebal as his wife or consort.[495] Meanwhile, in the city of Tyre, kings appear to have performed a 'sacred marriage' to Astarte during the *Egersis*, a springtime festival held in honour of Melqart's annual death and rebirth.[496] On the second day of this three-day celebration, the king and queen would assume the roles of Melqart and Astarte respectively and perform a *hieros gamos* which presumably involved having intercourse with one another as a way of ensuring the earth's fertility in the

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[491] Tabnit Inscription, as translated in: John C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions Volume III: Phoenician Inscriptions,* 103
[492] Glenn E. Markoe *Phoenicians*, 88.
[493] Francesca Stavrakopoulou, "The Jerusalem Tophet: Ideological Dispute and Religious Transformation," *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici* 29-30 (2012), 144.
[494] Glenn E. Markoe *Phoenicians,* 117.
[495] John C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions Volume III: Phoenician Inscriptions,* 22, 95.
[496] Maria Eugenia Aubet *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies, and Trade*, 154.

upcoming planting or sowing season.[497] It is quite possible that a rather similar festival was also held at the Phoenician city of Sidon in honour of its chief deities, Eshmun and Astarte.[498] Unlike at Tyre, however, it is impossible to say if this festival and its *hieros gamos* were practiced at Sidon already in the early Iron Age, as our best evidence for them only come from a Sidonian marble vase from the 4th century BC.[499]

The religious or priestly role of Phoenician kings is worthy of consideration as it appears remarkably similar to the function that Greek kings (*basileis*) served in their respective city-states, especially as the Archaic Period progressed. For example, I have already shown that, after the constitutional reforms of Lycurgus and Theopompus, Sparta's kings were increasingly relegated to a religious role in the city and became mainly in charge of things like holding certain priesthoods, performing sacrifices, and consulting oracles.[500] Perhaps an even closer comparison to Phoenician kings would be the Archon Basileis of Athens. These 'kings' like their Phoenician counterparts, not only served a priestly role in society, but appear to have been particularly involved in the performance of a *hieros gamos* during the *Anthesteria*, a festival that was perhaps not too dissimilar from the Phoenician *Egersis*. Like the *Egersis*, the *Anthesteria* was a three-day-long festival held in the spring that seems to have been closely related to agriculture and the growth of new vegetation (with the name of the festival itself, coming from the Greek verb ἀνθεῖν 'to blossom' or 'to flower').[501] The sacred marriage performed at this Athenian festival

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[497] For more information on this festival, its rites, and our ancient sources about it, see: Corinne Bonnet, *Melqart: Cultes Et Mythes De L'Heraclès Tyrien En Méditerranée* (Brussels, Belgium: Namur University Press, 1988) 104-112.
[498] Richard Miles, *Carthage Must Be Destroyed: The Rise and Fall of an Ancient Civilization* (New York, NY: Viking, 2011), 34.
[499] Rodrigo A. de Lima, "Herakles/Melqart: The Greek Façade of a Phoenician Deity," *Hélade* 5, no. 2 (2019), 190-191.
[500] For more on the sacerdotal role of Spartan kings see: Herodotus *Histories* 6.57.1-4, Xenophon *Constitution of the Spartans* 15.3-5, Aristotle *Politics* 3.1285a, Plutarch *Life of Lycurgus* 21.4, 22.2.
[501] For more on the Anthesteria see: Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical,* 237-242.
For the etymology of this festival see: *The Liddell-Scott-Jones Ancient Greek Lexicon* s.v. Ἀνθεστήρια.

required both the 'king' and 'queen' to play the roles of Dionysus and Ariadne respectively and presumably consummate the marriage through intercourse.[502] This is noteworthy as much the same has been said or argued about Phoenician kings and how they conducted their respective sacred marriages.

Finally, even though the Greek cities of Corinth, Athens, and Sparta are certainly the main focus of this thesis, it is worth briefly mentioning that similar priestly 'kings' or Archon Basileis appear elsewhere in the Hellenic world during the Archaic Period as well.[503] For example, in the so-called Constitution of Chios, a stele from the early 6th century BC that clearly describes a democratic system of government on the island (ruled by a council of *demarchoi*), we hear that there were certain 'basileis' in charge of collecting tithes and dedicating them to the goddess Hestia.[504] The religious role of these 'kings' seems to be confirmed by a later 4th century BC inscription from Chios that outlaws pasturing at the grove of a nearby sanctuary, as the inscription claims that all violations of this sacred space, should be reported to the local *basileis*.[505] Even in Rome, a city on the periphery of the Greek world, we can see a rather similar trend occurring. Although the Romans abolished their monarchy in 510 BC, they nevertheless made one of their republic's highest religious officials a 'king' of some sort, known as the *rex sacrorum*.[506] This priesthood was solely held by those belonging to Rome's noble families, the

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[502] For our ancient sources on this ritual marriage, see: Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 3.5, 57.1, Pseudo-Demosthenes *Against Neaera,* 73-76. For the scholarly debates surrounding this *hieros gamos* and how exactly it was carried out, see: Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion Archaic and Classical,* 109 & 239-240.
[503] This much can be inferred from Aristotle *Politics* 6.1322b.
[504] For a translation of this inscription see: James H. Oliver, "Text of the So-Called Constitution of Chios from the First Half of the Sixth Century BC," *The American Journal of Philology* 80, no. 3 (1959), 300. For more on the seemingly religious role of the *basileis* in this inscription see: Robert Drews *Basileus: The Evidence for Kingship in Geometric Greece,* 26.
[505] Wilhelm Dittenberger, ed. *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* Volume 3, (Leipzig, Germany: S. Hirzel, 1915), 986.
[506] For more on the regal origins of the Rex Sacrorum, see: Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* 2.2.1-2, Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Roman Antiquities* 4.74.4, 5.1.4, and T. J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the*

patricians,[507] who appear to have been the Roman equivalent to the Athenian Eupatridae (i.e. those who held the hereditary right to serve as Archon Basileus).[508] In sum, over the course of the Archaic Period, not only Athens and Sparta, but cities throughout the Greco-Roman world seem to have increasingly relegated their 'kings' to a religious role in society, a role that is not too dissimilar from the one we see Phoenician kings serving throughout the early Iron Age.

Fortunately, by the late 9th century BC, our sources for the Phoenicians and their political systems become more numerous thanks in large part to the growing influence of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Throughout the 9th century BC, the Phoenicians seem to have frequently interacted and traded with the Assyrians. We hear of several Phoenician cities giving gifts of valuable trade goods such as gold, ivory, and dyed textiles to Neo-Assyrian kings,[509] and we even hear that King Ashurbanipaal II invited 'delegates' from Sidon and Tyre to the opening of his new palace at the Assyrian capital of Nimrud in 879 BC.[510] Be that as it may, throughout the 9th century BC, the Neo-Assyrian Empire seems to have been kept relatively at arm's length and to have been only a looming presence for the Phoenicians.[511] It was only during the 8th century BC, after the defeat of the kingdom Aram-Damascus in 796 BC, that the Neo-Assyrian Empire's presence in the region became significantly more prominent.[512]

Late Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000-264 BC) (New York, NY: Routledge, 1995), 234-236. For the chief importance of this priesthood see: Festus *s.v. Ordo Sacerdotum*. In addition to the Rex Sacrorum, outside of Rome near lake Nemi, the chief priest of Diana was also a 'king' of sorts, known as the Rex Nemorensis, mentioned in: Strabo *Geography* 5.3.12, Ovid *Fasti* 3.271, Suetonius *Life of Caligula* 35, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 2.27.4

[507] Cicero *De Domo Sua Ad Pontifices Oratio* 39, 41, Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* 6.41.9.

[508] For examples where 'patrician' is directly translated as εὐπατρίδης in Greek, see: Plutarch *Life of Publicola* 18.2, *Life of Fabius Maximus* 16.6*,* Appian *History of Rome* 2.9.1, Herodian *History of the Empire* 7.10.4, Cassius Dio *Roman History* 46.45.3, etc.

[509] Sidon, Tyre, Byblos, and Arwad are all recorded to have given gifts to Ashurbanipal II in ANET 275-76. Tyre and Sidon are said to have given gifts to Shalamaneser III in ANET 277-81. For translations of both these inscriptions see: James B. Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts & Pictures,* 250, 257.

[510] ANET[3] 558-60, as found in: James B. Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts & Pictures,* 254.

[511] Maria Eugenia Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West*, 55.

[512] Glenn E. Markoe, *Phoenicians*, 40-41.

Some Phoenician cities, particularly in the north like Arwad and Irqata, seem to have initially been rather opposed to Assyrian rule as they allied themselves with the Arameans and openly fought against the Neo-Assyrians.[513] Other Phoenician cities however, like Sidon, Tyre, and Byblos, seem to have put up little no resistance against the Neo-Assyrians, for which they were allowed to remain relatively autonomous and self-governing under this empire.[514] Despite this, by the early 7th century BC we start to see a number of Phoenician revolts against the Neo-Assyrians. The Tyrians, under their king, Luli revolted against the Assyrians in 701 BC[515] and the Sidonians under their king, Abdi-Milkutti led a rebellion from 680 to 677 BC.[516]

It is perhaps from our sources on these events and its aftermath, that we get the most insightful information about the Phoenicians and their political systems at this time. For example, we hear that when Sidon's revolt was squashed in 677 BC, the Neo-Assyrians not only beheaded the city's king, Abdi-Milkutti, but brought back a number of Sidon's 'chief officials' whom they paraded throughout the city of Nineveh during their victory celebrations.[517] This seems to suggest that at the time, the Sidonians were ruled not only by their king, but by a variety of other magistrates who also played a leading role in their city's politics and decision-making. Similarly, in a treaty made between King Esarhaddon of Assyria and King Baal of Tyre around 675 BC which stipulates where the Tyrians were allowed trade and what they were to do if a Tyrian merchant vessel ever gets shipwrecked along the shores of the Neo-Assyrians'

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[513] ANET 277-81, as found in: James B. Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts & Pictures,* 256.
[514] Glenn E. Markoe, *Phoenicians*, 40, 42.
[515] ANET 287-88, as found in: James B. Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts & Pictures,* 269. King Luli's revolt is also recorded in Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 9.14.2.
[516] ANET[3] 290-291, as found in: James B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament: Third Edition with Supplement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), 290-291.
[517] ANET[3] 290-291, as found in: James B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament: Third Edition with Supplement*, 290-291.

territories, there are noticeable distinctions drawn between the 'ships of Baal' and the ships of 'the people of Tyre.'[518] This seems to suggest that Tyre's king did not hold complete control over the city's trade or naval fleet, but instead shared authority in some sort of broader political system.

One governing body that we frequently hear of and that appears to have shared power with Phoenician kings is a council of elders. This political body appears to be referenced in the abovementioned treaty between King Esarhaddon of Assyria and King Baal of Tyre, as it stipulates that an Assyrian 'royal deputy' was to oversee the running of Tyre, which was apparently done by both "you [King Baal] and the elders of your country."[519] Many scholars believe that this very same council of elders is what is being alluded to in a passage from the book of Isaiah (composed in the 8th century BC)[520] which states Tyre's "merchants were all princes" and their "traders were nobles."[521] Furthermore, in the book of Ezekiel, Tyre is described as being ruled by "princes of the sea."[522] Not only does Tyre appear to have had an oligarchic council of elders, but Byblos as well. This can be inferred from a passage in the book of Ezekiel, which claims that "the elders and wisemen of Byblos"[523] ruled over the city.[524] Many scholars believe that the 'assembly' that appears in the aforementioned Report of Wenamun is

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[518] ANET[3] 533-34, as found in: James B. Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts & Pictures,* 212-213.
[519] ANET[3] 533-34, as found in: James B. Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts & Pictures,* 212.
[520] For the scholarly dating of the Book of Isaiah, see: Jacob Stromberg, *An Introduction to the Study of Isaiah* (New York, NY: T&T Clarke International, 2011), 2-4.
[521] Isaiah 23:8. Translation taken from: *Holy Bible: The New Living Translation,* (Carol Stream, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1996).
[522] Ezekiel 26:16. Translation taken from: *Common English Bible,* 1st edition (Nashville TN: Abington Press, 2013). See also: Ezekiel 27:35. For scholarly discussion on these passages and its relation to Tyre's council of elders, see: Maria Eugenia Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West,* 145.
[523] Ezekiel 27:9. Translation taken from: *Common English Bible,* 1st edition (Nashville TN: Abington Press, 2013).
[524] For scholarly discussion on this passage and its relation to Byblos' council of elders, see: Sandro Filippo Bondì, "Political and Administrative Organization," 126.

also a reference to this governing body at Byblos.[525] In at least some Phoenician cities, a council of elders can even be dated as far back as the late Bronze Age, as this seems to be strongly implied in the Amarna Letters when "Irqata and its elders" write to the Egyptian Pharoah.[526] Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that a council of elders is reported in the late Bronze Age texts of Ugarit, a city which, although not Phoenician, was inhabited by very closely related Western Semitic peoples.[527] As a whole, the abovementioned evidence has been used by scholars to argue that the governments of Phoenician cities during the Iron Age were, in truth, not monarchies but 'merchant oligarchies.'[528]

The presence of these councils of elders in a variety of Phoenician cities is noteworthy as they appear remarkably similar to the institutions that developed in Greece over the course of the Archaic Period. Perhaps the most obvious example is how in the 8th century BC under Lycurgus, the Spartans founded the Gerousia, a council of elders that would advise their kings on important matters of state and would serve as jurymen during trials.[529] Similarly, in the early 7th century BC, the Athenians created the Areopagus council, a board of former Archons who would advise Athens' leaders in political matters and would serve as judges during important legal proceedings.[530] The Areopagus council, like the Gerousia, is also commonly believed to have originally functioned as a sort of council of elders for Athens' kings.[531] Another, perhaps less

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[525] Stephen Stockwell, "Before Athens: Early Popular Government in Phoenician and Greek City States," 127.
[526] EA 100.
[527] Wilfred H. van Soldt, "The City-Administration of Ugarit," in *City Administration in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the 53rd Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Volume 2,* ed. Leonid E. Kogan (Moscow, Russia: Russian State University for the Humanities, 2010), 256.
[528] Maria Eugenia Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West,* 145. Ronald M. Glassman, *The Origins of Democracy in Tribes, City-States, and Nation-States,* vol. 1 (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2017), 497-499.
[529] Herodotus *Histories* 5.40.1, Aeschines *Against Timarchus* 180, Plato *Laws* 3.692a, Plutarch *Life of Lycurgus* 26.1.
[530] For the dating of the Areopagus Council, see: Robert W. Wallace *The Areopagus Council to 307 BC*, 29-30.
[531] T.J Cadoux and P.J. Rhodes "Areopagus," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th ed. (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2012). Isocrates *Panathenaicus* 158.

obvious, institution resembling the Phoenicians' council of elders is the Boule of Corinth established in 582 BC. This advisory body mostly consisted of Corinthian aristocrats and only had a total of 80 members,[532] which was evidently narrower than Athens' Boule of 500 members.[533] Moreover, there are instances where ancient authors like Diodorus Siculus refer to this Corinthian council not as a Boule but as a Gerousia,[534] which likewise suggests that it functioned as a sort of council of elders.[535]

While the Greek cities of Corinth, Athens, and Sparta are certainly the main focus of this thesis, it is worth briefly mentioning that similar councils of elders appear elsewhere in the Greek world during the Archaic Period as well. For example, Aristotle claims that a Gerousia existed not only in Sparta, but on Crete and in the city of Elis too.[536] It is also noteworthy that certain political titles in Greek, like that of an ambassador 'πρέσβυς' ultimately derive from the word for an 'old man.'[537] Moreover, it seems likely that the council of elders that is described advising King Priam of Troy in the *Iliad*, would have been a familiar or recognizable institution to much of Homer's 8th century, panhellenic audience.[538] Finally, over the course of the Archaic Period Rome, a city on the periphery of the Greek world, is said to have developed its senate, a governing body which also seems to have functioned as a council of elders, since the word

[532] Nicolaus of Damascus *BNJ* 90 F 60.
[533] Herodotus *Histories* 5.66.2-69.2, Aristotle *Politics* 6.1319b, *Constitution of the Athenians* 21.2-3, Pausanias *Descriptions of Greece* 1.29.6.
[534] Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* 16.65.6, 9.
[535] J. B. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth: A History of the City to 338 BC*, 231.
[536] Aristotle *Politics* 2.1272a, 5.1306a.
[537] *The Liddell-Scott-Jones Ancient Greek Lexicon* s.v. πρέσβυς.
[538] Homer *Iliad* 3.146-160.

'senatus' itself is often translated to 'Gerousia' in Greek, and appears to have ultimately derived from the Latin word 'senex' meaning 'elder.'[539]

At this point, I should mention that not all scholars are of the belief that councils of elders first appeared in the Greek world over the course of the Archaic Period. Some have argued that councils of elders were instead established centuries earlier, in the Mycenaean kingdoms of the late Bronze Age, as our surviving Linear B tablets appear to refer to an institution called the *ke-ro-si-ja* (Gerousia?).[540] I, however, disagree with this argument and believe that it can mostly be ignored or treated as negligible. Firstly, it is worth pointing out that out of all of the discovered Linear B tablets, only one of them, known as PY An 261, mentions the *ke-ro-si-ja*.[541] So, we have no indication that this institution was widespread in Greece at the time, only that it existed somewhere in the late Bronze Age kingdom of Pylos. Secondly, it is important to bear in mind that while some scholars have argued (mostly on etymological grounds) that the *ke-ro-si-ja* was some sort of council of elders, others believe that it was nothing more than a guild of local bronzesmiths.[542] As a result, there is no clear-cut scholarly consensus on the meaning of *ke-ro-si-ja* or its function. Even if one were to, for argument's sake, assume that the *ke-ro-si-ja* was some kind of governing body, we still have no indication that this council advised the king (*wanax*). In fact, all of our evidence suggests that the *ke-ro-si-ja* was closely associated with the *qa-si-re-u*, an official of relatively minor importance at this time, who helped govern a village or small

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[539] For examples of the Roman senate being referred to as a Gerousia, see: Plutarch *Life of Romulus* 24.2, Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Roman Antiquities* 2.14, Julian *Orations* 2.97b. For the etymology of 'senate,' see: *Lewis and Short's Latin Dictionary* s.v. 'senatus.' For the Roman senate's origins in the regal period as a council of elders, see: Cicero *De Re Publica* 2.15-16, Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Roman Antiquities* 2.14, Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* 1.8.7, 2.1.10-11, Plutarch *Life of Romulus* 24.2.

[540] James T. Hooker, "Linear B as a Source for Social History," in *The Greek World*, ed. Anton Powell (London, England: Routledge, 1995), 22. Rodney Castleden, *Mycenaeans*, 81.

[541] James T. Hooker, "Linear B as a Source for Social History," 22.

[542] Dimitri Nakassis, *Individuals and Society in Mycenaean Pylos*, 93. John T. Killen, "Bronzeworking at Knossos and Pylos," *Hermathena*, no. 143 (Winter 1987), 66. George E. Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966), 207.

community on the *wanax*'s behalf.[543] Thus, we have no reason to believe that the *ke-ro-si-ja* advised Mycenaean kings (*wanakes)* or that they played a major role in the administration of the kingdoms and palatial economies of late Bronze Age Greece. Because the function of the *ke-ro-si-ja* remains ambiguous and this institution is only mentioned once, in a tablet dating almost two centuries after 'Irqata and its elders' had already written to the Egyptian pharaoh, I believe that it is fair to say that the Phoenicians, in all likelihood, developed their councils of elders several centuries *before* such advisory bodies ever appeared in Greek city-states like Sparta, Athens, and Corinth. From this, perhaps we can assume that the councils of elders that existed in the ancient Greek world were in some ways inspired by these Phoenician precursors or counterparts.

While the Neo-Assyrians appear to have held sway over Phoenicia throughout much of the 8th and 7th centuries BC and provided a number of important written sources on Phoenician political systems at this time, by the early 6th century BC the might of the Neo-Assyrian Empire had waned and given rise to a new power in the region, the Neo-Babylonians. It is somewhat unclear when the Neo-Babylonians began to assert their authority over the Phoenicians. The 1st century Jewish historian Josephus claims that Tyre fell under the hegemony of King Nebuchadnezzar II after a 13 year-long siege against the city, which began in the seventh year of his reign.[544] This would mean that the Neo-Babylonians started besieging Tyre in 598 BC and finally concluded hostilities with the Tyrians in 585 BC. The Book of Ezekiel, on the other hand, claims that the Neo-Babylonian siege of Tyre was foretold in the 11th year of King Zedekiah's reign and was finally concluded in the 27th year after Zedekiah's ascension to the throne.[545] This

[543] Michael Ventris and John Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 39, 409.
[544] Josephus *Against Apion* 1.21, *Jewish Antiquities* 10.11.1.
[545] Ezekiel 26:1-21, 29:17-20.

would suggest the siege began sometime after 587 BC and ended around 571 BC.[546] In more recent years however, scholars have viewed these dates with increasing scepticism. Scholars have cast doubt on whether the Neo-Babylonians truly besieged Tyre for as long as thirteen years, since our earliest manuscripts of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* often state that the siege of Tyre lasted for, instead, only three years and ten months.[547] Moreover, scholars have noted that in the surviving chronicles of the Babylonians themselves, Phoenician cities like Tyre, Sidon, and Arwad are mentioned paying tribute to Nebuchadnezzar II as early as 603 BC.[548] This has led some scholars to suggest that the siege of Tyre, in reality, occurred as early 603 BC.[549]

Although Tyre and the other Phoenician city-states had fallen under the hegemony of the Neo-Babylonians by the early 7th century BC, they appear to have been allowed to maintain a degree of autonomy and self-governance. The Babylonians likely granted the Phoenicians these privileges, not out of compassion or altruism, but for pragmatic reasons as they wanted to stabilize the region and decrease the chances of revolt while they were preoccupied with extensive campaigns in Arabia and in dealing with the growing threat of the Medes to the northeast.[550] Moreover, by leaving the Phoenicians relatively independent, the Neo-Babylonians could reap the benefits of the Phoenicians' flourishing economies and trade networks. Under the reign of King Nebuchadnezzar II (605-562 BC), cedar wood from Phoenicia was used in a number of major building projects, including for the construction of Nebuchadnezzar's own palace in Babylon.[551] The high functionary (*rab tamkari*) in charge of Nebuchadnezzar's palace

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[546] Josette Elayi, *The History of Phoenicia*, trans. Andrew Plummer (Nottingham, England: Lockwood Press, 2018), 197.
[547] Helen Dixon, "Re-examining Nebuchadnezzar II's 'Thirteen-Year' Siege of Tyre in Phoenician Historiography," *Journal of Ancient History* 10, no. 2 (2022), 176-177.
[548] Josette Elayi, *The History of Phoenicia*, 190-191.
[549] Josette Elayi, *The History of Phoenicia*, 199.
[550] Glenn E. Markoe, *The Phoenicians,* 48.
[551] Glenn E. Markoe, *The Phoenicians,* 48.

merchants, Hanon, also appears to have been of Phoenician origin and shows, one again, just how important the Phoenicians were for the Neo-Babylonians and their economy at this time.[552]

The relative autonomy or independence of Phoenician cities at this time is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that, just ten years after the Neo-Babylonian siege of Tyre, the citizens of Tyre are said to have abolished their monarchy. In its place, they established a new system of government where they would elect a suffete or 'judge' to rule over Tyre for a limited term.[553] This political development in the early 6th century BC is noteworthy as even scholars like Sandro Fillipo Bondi, who is generally rather skeptical of the existence of Phoenician oligarchies in antiquity, concede that this is one clear example of a non-monarchical form of Phoenician government with elected magistracies.[554] Over the subsequent years, similar forms of collective rule appear to have sprouted elsewhere in the Phoenician world as well. A 5th century Phoenician inscription from Sarepta, for example, seems to suggest that the city was ruled by a board of ten councillors.[555]

It is also worth noting that a number of later ancient Greco-Roman sources, produced either during the Classical Period or beyond, portray Phoenician cities as operating under broadly-based forms of rule. For example, in Diodorus Siculus' *Library of History*, Sidon is portrayed as being ruled at least in part, by a group of more than four hundred of the city's aristocrats (ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν πολιτῶν), who functioned as 'councillors' (σύμβουλοι) and appear to have regularly convened at 'public assemblies' (κοινός σύνοδος).[556] Furthermore,

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[552] Maria Eugenia Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West,* 119.
[553] Josephus *Against Apion* 1.21. This political development appears to be corroborated by contemporary Neo-Babylonian records, as they only mention "the chiefs of the town of Tyre" and not any kings ruling over the city. For more on this topic see: Robert Drews, "Phoenicians, Carthage, and the Spartan Eunomia," 48.
[554] Sandro Filippo Bondì, "Political and Administrative Organization," 126.
[555] James B. Pritchard, *Recovering Sarepta, A Phoenician City: Excavations at Sarafand, Lebanon, 1969-1974, by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), 103.
[556] Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* 16.45.1

Diodorus claims that the people of Sidon, Tyre, and Arwad regularly convened in a 'council' (συνέδριον) at the city of Tripoli to vote and deliberate on important political matters regarding these three respective city-states (from which 'Tripoli' received its name).[557] Our surviving Greco-Roman historians of Alexander the Great and his conquests also seem to portray Phoenician cities as oligarchies. For example, Arrian claims that the inhabitants, not the kings of Phoenician cities like Byblos and Sidon, were the ones who ultimately negotiated their surrender to Alexander.[558] Quintus Curtius Rufus on the other hand, slightly differs in his account as he mentions a king of Sidon, Straton, who was apparently responsible for surrendering his city over to Alexander, albeit claims that this was done "rather at the desire of the people [*popularium*] than of his own accord."[559] Later on, our ancient Greco-Roman historians claim that Alexander was met by delegates sent by the people (τοῦ κοινοῦ) of Tyre, who had decreed in an assembly that their city should negotiate its surrender.[560] These negotiations however, were ultimately unsuccessful, for which Alexander later besieged and destroyed the city.

Finally, our surviving inscriptional evidence from the Greco-Roman period also seems to indicate that Phoenician cities operated under broad-based forms of government. For example, a bilingual Attic inscription from the 3rd century BC claims that the citizens of Sidon had an 'assembly,' which could apparently make important political decisions.[561] Similarly, a Hellenistic inscription from Tyre dating to the 3rd century BC provides both the year of the

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[557] Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* 16.41.1.
[558] Arrian *Anabasis of Alexander the Great* 2.15.6, Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* 17.40.2.
[559] Curtius Rufus *History of Alexander the Great* 4.1.15-16. Translation taken from: J. C. Rolfe, trans., *Quintus Curtius' History of Alexander, Volume 1: Books 1-5,* Loeb Classical Library 368 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1946), 165.
[560] Arrian *Anabasis of Alexander the Great* 2.15.6, Quintus Curtius Rufus *History of Alexander the Great* 4.2.2, Justin *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Philipic Histories* 11.10.10. A citizen assembly at Tyre is also mentioned later on in Quintus Curtius Rufus *History of Alexander the Great* 4.3.21.
[561] John C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions Volume III: Phoenician Inscriptions*, 149.

contemporary Ptolemaic king's reign and the year of the reign of the 'people of Tyre' as a whole.[562] While it is certainly noteworthy that various ancient Greco-Roman sources portray Phoenician cities in this way, it is also important to bear in mind that these works were produced, for the most part, long after the Archaic Period. As a result, even though these sources may reflect, to some degree, the political institutions that we hear of already in the Archaic Period, they also likely reflect developments in Phoenician political systems or constitutions that occurred sometime between the late Archaic Period and when these sources were produced. Therefore, it is unfair to assume that after the Archaic Period, Phoenician governments remained relatively unchanged or stagnant in their development and to treat these later Greco-Roman sources without any caution or scrutiny.

Not only do the Phoenician cities of the ancient Near East appear to have developed broader, non-monarchical forms of government over the course of the Archaic Period, but the Phoenician colonies of the western Mediterranean appear to have done so as well. The best example of this is, of course, Carthage, a city that was ruled by two suffetes who, although often called 'basileis' in Greek,[563] were elected officials appointed annually by Carthage's citizens and,[564] according to Aristotle, were usually selected on the basis of their wealth and merit.[565] These two suffetes appear to have been primarily in charge of managing local civic affairs and were not permitted to lead Carthage's military as this was a responsibility that was instead,

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[562] John C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions Volume III: Phoenician Inscriptions*, 119. See also: pages 135-138 for a similar inscription from Phoenician Cyprus.
[563] Such as in: Aristotle *Politics* 2.1273a, Polybius *Histories* 6.51, Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* 13.43.5, 14.54.5, Cornelius Nepos *Life of Hannibal* 7.4.
[564] Plato *Laws* 2.674a-b, Aristotle *Politics* 2.1272b, Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* 30.7.5, Cornelius Nepos *Life of Hannibal* 7.4, Seneca *De Tranquillitate Animi* 9.4.5, Diogenes Laertius *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 3.82.
[565] Aristotle, *Politics* 2.1273a

allotted to Carthage's generals, another annually elected position.[566] In addition to these offices, we hear that Carthage had a council of around one hundred magistrates who served as the city's judges during important legal proceedings.[567] We also hear of a Carthaginian 'senate' or 'council of elders' (*senatus*/γερουσία) that advised the suffetes on important matters of state and would conduct diplomacy with foreign powers.[568] Lastly, we hear that Carthage had a citizen assembly that held considerable power over the city's political decision-making,[569] even more than the assemblies in contemporary Greek city-states did.[570] For these reasons, Aristotle calls Carthage a 'democracy' (δημοκρατουμένῃ),[571] Eratosthenes lauds the Carthaginian political system for being 'marvelous'(θαυμαστῶς) and 'civilized' (ἀστείους),[572] Polybius claims that the masses (τὸ πλῆθος) possessed supreme authority in Carthage,[573] and a number of other ancient authors compare Carthage's constitution to contemporary Greco-Roman ones, particularly the diarchic systems of Sparta and Rome.[574]

In addition to Carthage, various other Phoenician colonies in the western Mediterranean seem to have also developed broader, non-monarchical forms of government over time. The Roman historian Livy, for example, tells us that during the Second Punic War (218-201 BC), the Phoenician city of Gades (modern-day Cadiz, Spain), like Carthage, relied on a system of

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[566] Aristotle, *Politics* 2.1273a, Appian *Punic Wars* 5.25, Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* 13.43.5, 13.80.2, 15.15.2, 16.81.3.
[567] Aristotle *Politics* 2.1272b 3.1275b, Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* 33.46.1-8, Justin *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Philippic Histories* 19.2.5.
[568] Aristotle *Politics* 2.1273a, Q. Fabius Pictor *BNJ* 809 F21 (as quoted in Polybius *Histories* 3.8), Polybius *Histories* 1.87, 6.51, Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* 14.47.1, 20.59.1, Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* 30.16.2, Justin *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Philippic Histories* 21.4.1, 22.3.6.
[569] Polybius *Histories* 6.51, Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* 33.46.5, 33.47.2.
[570] Aristotle *Politics* 2.1273a.
[571] Aristotle *Politics* 5.1316b.
[572] Eratosthenes as quoted in Strabo *Geography* 1.4.9.
[573] Polybius *Histories* 6.51.
[574] Aristotle *Politics* 2.1272b, Isocrates *The Cyprians* 24, Cicero *De Re Publica* 2.41-42, Cato the Elder as quoted in Servius *Commentary on the Aeneid* 4.682.

government ruled by two suffetes.[575] Similarly, a 2nd century BC inscription from Roman Sardinia claims there were two annually elected suffetes ruling there as well, a likely remnant of a Phoenician political system that existed prior to Rome's invasion of the island in the 3rd century BC.[576] Outside of Spain and Sardinia, archaeologists have discovered a number of inscriptions ranging from the 2nd century BC to the reign of Roman Emperor Commodus (177-192 AD), which, likewise, suggest that the chief magistrate in more than 40 Punic cities in North Africa as well at Eryx on the island of Sicily, continued to go by the title of 'suffete' throughout this period.[577] From these inscriptions, perhaps we can conclude that the Phoenician cities of the western Mediterranean, for the most part, operated under oligarchical political systems in antiquity, headed by their two annually elected 'judges.'

While it is known that Carthage and other Phoenician colonies in the western Mediterranean eventually developed broader, non-monarchical forms of government, it is somewhat unclear when these political systems were first introduced. A number of Greco-Roman authors recount the story of the legendary Queen Dido (also known as Elissa), who was supposedly driven from her hometown of Tyre by her tyrannical brother Pygmalion and, after wandering throughout the Mediterranean, eventually founded the city of Carthage to become its first monarch.[578] However, even if one were to, for argument's sake, believe everything our ancient sources say about Dido, then one could still question whether these legends truly portray early Carthage as a sort of monarchy. This is because, our most detailed account of Dido's life, Justin's *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Philippic Histories,* claims that she founded Carthage

[575] Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* 28.37.2
[576] Andrew Erskine, "Encountering Carthage: Mid-Republican Rome and Mediterranean Culture," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 120 (2013), 119.
[577] Josephine C. Quinn, *In Search of the Phoenicians* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018), 165-166.
[578] Strabo *Geography* 17.3.15, Virgil *Aeneid* 1.335-370, Ovid *Metamorphoses* 14.75-81, *Heroides* 7, Tacitus *Annals* 16.1, Appian *Punic Wars* 1.1.

along with a number of Tyre's leading men (*principibus in societatem*) and senators (*senatorum*).[579] Later on, when the Numidian king, Iarbas asks for Dido's hand in marriage, it is not the queen herself who negotiates with this foreign ruler, but a board of ten Carthaginian councillors.[580] When these 'legates' (*legati*) return from their diplomatic mission, they are described initially being rather hesitant to tell Dido the truth of what Iarbas requested. However, after Dido demanded that all Carthaginians must do whatever they can for their newly founded city, these magistrates eventually reveal the truth. Upon realizing that she, in accordance with her own advice, must now marry Iarbas, Dido decides to construct a funeral pyre and kill herself upon it, choosing to honour her dead husband Acerbas over remarrying (unlike in Virgil's more famous account of Dido's death, where she commits suicide after her failed love affair with Aeneas).[581] Thus, it seems that our ancient Greco-Roman sources, in truth, portray early Carthage as a sort of oligarchy, ruled by the city's queen in conjunction with a senate and a number of other magistrates (perhaps not too dissimilar from the political system of archaic Sparta). Moreover, our ancient sources claim that Dido died childless and do not mention anybody succeeding her as Carthage's monarch.[582] As a result, if one were to believe our ancient Greco-Roman sources and what they say about early Carthage, then it seems that the city was ruled by a monarchy for, at best, one generation and even then, the queen's powers were circumscribed by various other officials.

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[579] Justin *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Philippic Histories* 18.4.9-15. See also: Virgil *Aeneid* 1.426, 4.682 and Cato the Elder as quoted in Servius *Commentary on the Aeneid* 4.682.
[580] Justin *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Philippic Histories* 18.6.1.
[581] Justin *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Philippic Histories* 18.6.5-7. Our earliest account of Dido, written by Timaeus of Tauromenion (*BNJ* 566 F82) also claims that she dies in this way, after being pressured by her fellow citizens to marry Iarbas. For Virgil's account of Dido's death see: *Aeneid* 4.642-666.
[582] Virgil *Aeneid* 4.31, 4.329 implies that Dido died childless and Ovid *Fastii* 3.523-710 claims that Anna (Dido's sister) fled Carthage soon after her death and did not become queen.

With that said, in practice, one should treat the story of Dido with great caution in terms of its historical value. She is not mentioned in a single Carthaginian source and the earliest known reference to Dido was written by the Greek historian, Timaeus of Tauromenion around 300 BC, more than five centuries after the city of Carthage was founded.[583] Therefore, our earliest sources for this monarch were written very late, even later than say Aristotle's *Politics,* where Carthage is clearly described as an oligarchy and is said to have never been ruled by a tyrant or to have suffered from any major political upheavals.[584] Some scholars have suggested that instead of having monarchies, Phoenician colonies in the western Mediterranean were ruled from the very beginning by a collection of aristocratic families who had taken part in the city's foundation.[585] If this is true, then it would mean that the Phoenicians of the western Mediterranean developed broader, non-monarchical forms of government even before the ancient Greeks did, as Carthage is typically thought to have been founded around the late 9th century BC,[586] whereas the city-states of Greece, such as Corinth and Athens, seem to have abolished their monarchies in the mid 8th to early 7th centuries BC.[587]

Other scholars have suggested that at first, Phoenician colonies like Carthage were ruled by a governor who acted on behalf of the king of Tyre (i.e. its parent city).[588] This may be evidenced by an 8th century BC inscription from Cyprus, which claims that the Tyrian colony of Kition was ruled by a certain 'governor' who represented the contemporary Tyrian king, Hiram

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[583] Timaeus of Tauromenion *BNJ* 566 F82.
[584] Aristotle *Politics* 2.1272b.
[585] Sandro Filippo Bondì, "Political and Administrative Organization," 128.
[586] Dexter Hoyos, *Carthage: A Biography,* 1st ed. (London, England: Routledge, 2020), 2-3.
[587] As previously mentioned, some scholars have alternatively dated the abolishment of Athens' monarchy to slightly earlier, in the 8th century BC, such as: Dexter Hoyos, *Carthage: A Biography,* 32. Ron Owens, *Solon of Athens: Poet, Philosopher, Soldier, Statesman* 39-40. J. B. Bury, *A History of Greece,* 170. Jonathan M. Hall, *A History of the Archaic Greek World, Ca. 1200-479 BCE*, 135.
[588] Glenn E. Markoe *Phoenicians*, 89.

II.[589] Moreover, we hear that around 708 BC, Tyre led an expedition against Kition because the city had apparently stopped paying its regular tribute and revolted.[590] Perhaps Carthage, like Kition, was also initially under the suzerainty of Tyre, but over time as the Tyrians became increasingly occupied in dealing with Neo-Assyrians and Babylonians at home, their grip over the city was loosened and Carthage's leaders began to represent, more and more, the interests of the local inhabitants. For the proponents of this theory, Carthage's system of government ruled by its two annually elected suffetes should not be dated much before the 6th century BC.[591]

Regardless of which theory is true, it seems fair to say that by the 6th century BC, Carthage had already developed its oligarchy. The earliest Carthaginian political figure that our ancient Greco-Roman sources mention, apart from Dido, is Malchus, a general (*imperator*) who had apparently earned a name for himself by leading several successful campaigns in Sicily and Libya during the mid 6th century BC.[592] After experiencing mixed success in his expeditions on the island of Sardinia, however, Malchus is said to have been exiled by the people of Carthage. In response to this, Malchus led his army against Carthage and besieged the city. Upon capturing it, Malchus is said to have executed ten of the 'senators' (*senatoribus*) who had contributed the most to his banishment and gave pardon to those who requested clemency during an assembly of Carthage's citizens. Malchus then left the city to be governed in its usual way, but soon afterwards, was tried and executed by his political opponents on the grounds that he was aspiring to make himself king (*rex*).[593]

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[589] See the Baal Lebanon Inscription, as found in: John C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions Volume III: Phoenician Inscriptions*, 66-68.
[590] Nadav Na'aman, "Sargon II and the Rebellion of the Cypriot Kings against Shilta of Tyre," *Orientalia* 67, no. 2 (1998), 243. Menander of Ephesus as quoted in Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 9.284.
[591] Glenn E. Markoe *Phoenicians,* 89.
[592] Justin *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Philippic Histories* 18.7.2, Orosius *History Against the Pagans* 4.6.7.
[593] Justin *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Philippic Histories* 18.7.3-18, Orosius *History Against the Pagans* 4.6.8-9.

The story of Malchus seems to clearly suggest that at this time, Carthage did not have a monarchy but was ruled by a much broader, non-monarchical form of government. Furthermore, scholars believe that the story of Malchus, unlike Dido, holds a degree of historical truth to it.[594] This is because, it appears that it was indeed during the mid 6th century BC that Carthage began to expand its sphere of influence to include larger portions of North Africa as well as the Mediterranean islands of Sicily and Sardinia. Herodotus, for example, tells us that around 540 BC, the Carthaginians fought a naval battle against the Phocaeans in the 'Sardinian Sea' (τὸ Σαρδόνιον καλεόμενον πέλαγος) in order to prevent these Greek settlers from founding a colony on the nearby island of Corsica.[595] Similarly, from a treaty signed between Carthage and the Roman Republic in 509 BC, we get the impression that by this time, the regions of Sardinia, western Sicily, and Cape Bon, were firmly under Carthaginian hegemony.[596] The expansion of Carthage's influence in the western Mediterranean during the mid 6th century BC seems to be further corroborated by archaeological evidence. At this time, the Phoenician strongholds at Monte Sirai and Cuccurredus appear to have been violently destroyed along with the Nuragic settlement at Su Nuraxi, which suggests that there were growing conflicts between the native Sardinian and Punic peoples.[597] Moreover, the increasing prevalence of Carthaginian pottery and funerary practices on Sardinia in the mid 6th century BC seems to coincide with Carthage's imperialistic efforts in the region.[598] It may also be worth pointing out that in the first half of the 6th century BC, more than 50% of Carthage's food appears to have been imported from overseas.

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[594] Dexter Hoyos, *Carthage: A Biography,* 40-41.
[595] Herodotus *Histories* 1.166. It is perhaps also worth mentioning the Carthaginians efforts to prevent the Spartans from founding colonies in Libya and western Sicily around 520-510 BC, discussed in: Herodotus *Histories* 5.42.2-3, 5.46 Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* 4.23.3.
[596] Polybius *Histories* 3.23.
[597] Richard Miles, *Carthage Must Be Destroyed: The Rise and Fall of an Ancient Civilization,* 75.
[598] Giampaolo Piga et al., "A Funerary Rite Study of the Phoenician-Punic Necropolis of Mount Sirai (Sardinia, Italy)," *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 20, no. 2 (2008), 145.

From the mid 6th century BC onwards, however, our archaeological evidence suggests almost all of Carthage's food was produced locally in North Africa.[599] Having said that, it is important to bear in mind that this piece of evidence does not necessarily prove by default that at this time, Carthage acquired more land in North Africa through military action as it could also be an indication of new treaties or alliances between Carthage and the neighbouring Libyan kingdoms.

Even if one were to doubt the historical reliability of Malchus, then it, nevertheless, seems fair to say that Carthage had developed its oligarchy by the 6th century BC. The Carthaginian ruler Hasdrubal I, who was active from around 530-510 BC, is said to have held the office of 'dictator' eleven times throughout his reign, which seems to be a clear indication that he was not a king, but an elected official of some sort.[600] Likewise, when Herodotus claims that the Magonid ruler, Hamilcar I (510-480 BC), was made king (βασιλεύσαντά) of the Carthaginians on account of his manly virtue (κατ᾽ ἀνδραγαθίην),[601] he does not seem to be implying that Hamilcar I was a dynastic monarch who inherited his position,[602] but rather some sort of elected military leader.[603] For these reasons, Diodorus Siculus calls Hamilcar I a 'general' (στρατηγός) who was elected (προκρίναντες) by the Carthaginians because he was held in very high esteem (τὸν μάλιστα θαυμαζόμενον) amongst them.[604] Finally, on an inscription from Carthage itself dating to the late 6th century BC, there are 'suffetes' mentioned ruling over the city.[605] The inscription may even provide a date for how long the Carthaginians had been ruled by their

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[599] Richard Miles, *Carthage Must Be Destroyed: The Rise and Fall of an Ancient Civilization,* 75, 78.
[600] Justin *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Philippic Histories* 19.1.7.
[601] Herodotus *Histories* 7.166.
[602] Compare with Herodotus *Histories* 5.39.1, where the Spartan King Cleomenes I, is said to have held the kingship, (τὴν βασιληίην), not on account of his manly virtue (οὐ κατ᾽ ἀνδραγαθίην σχὼν) but his birth (ἀλλὰ κατὰ γένος).
[603] See: W. W. How and Joseph Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus: with Introduction and Appendices*, vol. 2 (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1957), 7.165 *s.v.* βασιλέα.
[604] Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* 11.20.1
[605] Dexter Hoyos, *Carthage: A Biography,* 32.

elected suffetes at this point, one hundred and twenty years, which if true, suggests that the city developed its oligarchy sometime around the second half of the 7th century BC. With that said, because this inscription is highly fragmentary and poorly preserved, there are debates over this date and some scholars tend to prefer an interpretation where the inscription does not tell us at all about when this political system began.[606]

If Carthage did indeed develop a non-monarchical form of rule prior to the 6th century BC, then this would mean its – to use Aristotle's classification – 'democratic' government was established even before Athens' was in 508 BC.[607] It would also mean that Carthage's political system predates the Roman Republic (founded in 509 BC) and our earliest evidence of a democratic government on the Greek island of Chios (the so-called constitution of Chios, dated to 575-550 BC). Even though Corinth is said to have abolished its monarchy in the mid 8th century BC, we have already seen that its early oligarchy was incredibly narrow and remained in the hands of only the limited few who belonged to Corinth's former royal family, the Bacchiadae. For these reasons, a number of ancient literary sources treat the Bacchiad oligarchs of Corinth as though they, in truth, were not all that different from the hereditary monarchs who ruled beforehand.[608] As a result, even if one were to, for argument's sake, assume that Carthage initially operated under a monarchy, ruled by kings in conjunction with the city's council of elders and other magistrates until the 6th century BC, then one could still question whether this

[606] Dexter Hoyos, *Carthage: A Biography,* 32.
[607] Aristotle *Politics* 5.1316b.
[608] Herodotus *Histories* 5.92β.2, Nicolaus of Damascus *BNJ* 90 F57 (as quoted in Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Excerpts on Ambushes* 22), Diodorus Siculus *The Library of History* 7.9.3-6, Strabo *Geography* 8.6.20.

system of government was truly narrower or more restrictive than the early oligarchies of contemporary Greece.[609]

Moreover, as previously mentioned, the Bacchiad oligarchy of Corinth lasted for less than a century before it was overthrown and replaced by yet another monarchy, this time under the leadership of the Cypselid tyrants. It was only in 582 BC, after overthrowing their tyrant, Psammatichus, that the Corinthians truly established a much broader, more collective system of rule where all adult male citizens were, at least in theory, permitted to take part in government.[610] Thus, it seems that Corinth too only established a much broader, non-monarchical system of government *after* Carthage had already done so (at some point prior to the 6th century BC). The overthrow of Corinth's tyranny in 582 BC, the composition of the constitution of Chios around 575-550 BC, and the creation of the Solonian reforms that broadened Athens' oligarchy in 594/3 BC, would have all occurred *after* Carthage had already developed its political system and at around the same time that Tyre was establishing its oligarchy ruled by its elected suffetes, just ten years after the Neo-Babylonian king, Nebuchadnezzar II's invasion of Phoenicia. The creation of the Peloponnesian League and the trend throughout Greece of abolishing tyrannies and replacing them with oligarchies (typically pro-Spartan ones) would have all occurred *after* non-monarchical systems of rule had already been established both in the Phoenician colonies of the western Mediterranean and in Tyre.

In sum, the Phoenicians, like the ancient Greeks, appear to have gradually reduced the powers of their kings and replaced them with broader oligarchical governments. However, unlike the Greeks, the Phoenicians appear to have begun this process long before the Archaic Period.

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[609] For more information on early Greek oligarchies and their resemblance to narrow authoritarian regimes, see: Matthew Simonton, *Classical Greek Oligarchy: A Political History*, 71-73.
[610] Nicolaus of Damascus *BNJ* 90 F 60.

Our first indication that some Phoenician cities began developing broader, more collective political systems comes from the Amarna Letters of the late Bronze Age. As we have seen, a number of documents from the Iron Age show that this trend appears to have continued in Phoenician cities during this period as well until the end of the Archaic Period. Thus, the trend of adopting broader oligarchical governments appears to have begun several centuries *earlier* in Phoenicia than in Greece and eventually ran concurrently with the events of the Archaic Period. Moreover, this chapter has shown that many of the oligarchical institutions that existed in Phoenician cities, such as their councils of elders and the priestly role of their kings, are remarkably similar to what we can see in archaic Greece. From this, I would argue that it is quite possible that the political developments of archaic Greece were in some ways inspired by these various Phoenician precursors or counterparts.

Chapter 8
Conclusion

In conclusion, the Archaic Period (800-480 BC) was, without a doubt, an important era in the history of ancient Greece, where Greek society underwent a number of major changes or advancements. This period saw an increased wave of urbanization in Greece, the reemergence of literacy and long-distance trade, the development of various new art forms, and above all, an abandonment of the traditional monarchies that had been ruling over the region from time immemorial, in favour of newer, more collective political systems. As this thesis has clearly shown, at the dawn of the Archaic Period, most Greek city-states were ruled by narrow, monarchical regimes headed by a local chieftain or 'basileus,' whose dynasty claimed descent from a legendary hero of the distant mythical past (Chapter 3). As the Archaic Period progressed, however, these city-states seem to have gradually reduced the powers of their kings and, in many instances, outright abolished their monarchies in favour of broader oligarchical governments, where power could be more evenly distributed. This trend of establishing broader, more collective forms of rule over the course of the Archaic Period can perhaps best be seen in the histories of Corinth (Chapter 4), Sparta (Chapter 5), and Athens (Chapter 6) as these three city-states each appear to have undergone a series of constitutional reforms that left them, more or less, under oligarchical political systems by the end of this era.

The political developments of the Archaic Period remain to this day a popular topic in scholarship and political discourse as the governments of the ancient Greeks are routinely viewed as the direct precursors to modern western democracies. Books written on the history of democracy often begin by discussing the ancient Greeks and their political developments over

the course of the Archaic Period, especially the reforms of Cleisthenes in 508 BC.[611] Likewise, a number of contemporary world leaders and politicians continue to reference the ancient Greeks and their political institutions, when delivering speeches on the nature or origins of democracy.[612] While the history of the ancient Greeks and the abolishment of their monarchies in favour of broader, more collective systems of government is a much-discussed topic in modern scholarship and political discourse, researchers rarely contemplate whether the Greeks were truly unique in this regard or if other civilizations in antiquity were also developing oligarchies at around this time. These Hellenocentric oversights are unfortunate as it seems that, in truth, the ancient Greeks were not alone or exceptional in the way they organized their city-states.

My research here has attempted to amend some of these oversights in modern scholarship and demonstrate that instead of myopically focussing on the ancient Greeks and their political developments in isolation – as though this civilization existed in a vacuum – it is far more fruitful to study them in their appropriate context and in conjunction with the other civilizations of the ancient Mediterranean. I have achieved this, in large part, by exhibiting that the Phoenicians were another people in antiquity who, like the Greeks, developed broad-based oligarchical forms of government over time (Chapter 7). From as early as the 14th century BC, we have evidence to suggest that Phoenician kings did not hold complete authority over their cities, but shared power with other governing bodies or officials. From the early Iron Age onwards, we have a number of sources written either by the Phoenicians themselves or their neighbours (the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Israelites, etc.) which suggest that the Phoenicians continued limiting the powers of their kings throughout this period and to operate

[611] For examples, see: Luciano Canfora, *Democracy in Europe: A History of an Ideology*. Kurt A. Raaflaub, Josiah Ober, and Robert Wallace, eds., *Origins of Democracy in Ancient Greece*. Jim Miller, *Can Democracy Work?: A Short History of a Radical Idea, from Ancient Athens to Our World*.
[612] Peter Jones, "Boris's Periclean Optimism," 23.

under broader, more collective systems of government. By the 5th century BC, several Phoenician cities in the Levant, such as Tyre and Sarepta, appear to have even abolished their monarchies in favour of governments ruled by elected magistrates who served for limited terms.

Of course, it was not only in the Levant that the Phoenicians developed broader, non-monarchical forms of government, but in the western Mediterranean as well. Some scholars have suggested that instead of having monarchies, the Phoenician colonies of the western Mediterranean were ruled from the very beginning by a collection of aristocratic families who had taken part in the city's foundation.[613] If this is true, then it would mean that the Phoenicians of the western Mediterranean developed broad non-monarchical forms of government even before the ancient Greeks did, as Phoenician colonies like Carthage are typically thought to have been founded in the late 9th century BC,[614] whereas the city-states of Greece, such as Corinth and Athens, appear to have abolished their monarchies around the mid 8th to early 7th centuries BC.[615] With that said, it is important to bear in mind that other scholars have argued that the Phoenician colonies of the western Mediterranean were initially ruled by 'governors' who acted on behalf of the king of Tyre and his interests.[616] For the proponents of this theory, it was only shortly before the 6th century BC that these political systems were eventually abandoned in favour of broader oligarchies, led by locally elected rulers.

Regardless of which theory is true, it seems fair to say, based on our surviving evidence, that by the dawn of the 6th century BC, Carthage along with a number of other Punic cities in the

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[613] Sandro Filippo Bondì, "Political and Administrative Organization," 128. Robert Drews, "Phoenicians, Carthage, and the Spartan Eunomia," 51, 54.
[614] Dexter Hoyos, *Carthage: A Biography,* 2-3.
[615] As previously mentioned, some scholars have alternatively dated the abolishment of Athens' monarchy to slightly earlier, in the 8th century BC, such as: Dexter Hoyos, *Carthage: A Biography,* 32. Ron Owens, *Solon of Athens: Poet, Philosopher, Soldier, Statesman* 39-40. J. B. Bury, *A History of Greece,* 170. Jonathan M. Hall, *A History of the Archaic Greek World, Ca. 1200-479 BCE*, 135.
[616] Glenn E. Markoe *Phoenicians*, 89.

western Mediterranean, had likely developed broad non-monarchical forms of government.[617] These political systems were led by two annually elected suffetes or 'judges' as well as a number of other officials, governing bodies, and councils. Our surviving sources on the history of Carthage, for example, often praise the Carthaginian political system for the rights it provided to citizens and the many striking similarities it had to the contemporary governments of the ancient Greeks and Romans.[618] In fact, Aristotle even went so far as to call Carthage's government a 'democracy' (δημοκρατουμένῃ).[619]

Not only do our various ancient sources on the history of the Phoenicians suggest that their cities operated under broad-based – potentially even 'democratic' – forms of government, but in recent years, modern scholars have been coming to rather similar conclusions.[620] For example, in his 2010 article "Before Athens: Early Popular Government in Phoenician and Greek City-States," Stephen Stockwell boldly declared:

> It is clear from this historic arc that the Phoenician cities commenced as strong monarchies and ended with relatively weak kings. It is also clear that all along the way, from the fifteenth century BC to the fourth, the leaders were advised by councils or assemblies which gradually took greater power. There are questions as to how broadly those institutions represented the populace and how free and unconstrained their deliberations were but on the balance, it may be concluded that the active role that the assembly took on the few occasions we see it in operation suggests that the Phoenicians had something more than an autocracy or even oligarchy and that it earns categorization as a proto-democracy, at least, if not full recognition as a democracy.[621]

With that said, other scholars have preferred a more reserved approach than Stockwell and have decided, instead, to classify the political systems of the ancient Phoenicians as 'merchant

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[617] Glenn E. Markoe *Phoenicians*, 89. Dexter Hoyos, *Carthage: A Biography,* 32.
[618] Eratosthenes as quoted in Strabo *Geography* 1.4.9, Polybius *Histories* 6.51, Aristotle *Politics* 2.1272b, Isocrates *The Cyprians* 24, Cicero *De Re Publica* 2.41-42, Cato the Elder as quoted in Servius *Commentary on the Aeneid* 4.682.
[619] Aristotle *Politics* 5.1316b.
[620] Simon Hornblower, "Creation and Development of Democratic Institutions in Ancient Greece," 2.
[621] Stephen Stockwell, "Before Athens: Early Popular Government in Phoenician and Greek City States," 129.

oligarchies.'[622] In this thesis, I have perhaps taken 'the middle-road' between these two arguments. On the one hand, I agree with scholars like Maria Aubet, who suggest that Phoenician cities operated, by and large, under oligarchical political systems in antiquity. On the other hand, however, I agree with Stockwell's assertion that we might even classify Phoenician governments as 'democracies' or at the very least, 'proto-democracies' in so far as we recognize that in antiquity, Greek 'democracies' (Athens, Chios, etc.) were really rather oligarchical in nature.

As I have clearly shown (in Chapter 6), by the late Archaic Period, Athens' 'democracy' resembled more of an oligarchical political system, than anything. Around 90% of Athens' population would have been excluded from politics as women, children, slaves, and resident foreigners were all strictly prohibited from voting and holding offices.[623] Out of the 30,000 to 50,000 property-owning adult men who did, in fact, qualify for Athenian citizenship, only around 6,000 of them, at any given point, could have feasibly attended the city's assembly meetings on the Pnyx and taken part in their government's decision-making.[624] Moreover, under Athens' new 'democracy' the same aristocratic families that had been dominating the city's politics for centuries, such as the Philaids and Alcmaeonidae, would continue to hold the highest positions of power and to rule over the city. Although the word 'democracy' (δημοκρατία) itself implies that this was a system where the masses (*demos*) held supreme authority (κράτος) over political matters, the use of this term in reference to the government established by Cleisthenes in 508 BC appears to be a euphemism or misnomer. In truth, it was only after the Archaic Period, in the second half of the 5th century BC, that Athens' government became increasingly 'democratic'

[622] Maria Eugenia Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West,* 145. Glenn E. Markoe, *Phoenicians,* 87. Ronald M. Glassman, *The Origins of Democracy in Tribes, City-States, and Nation-States,* 497.
[623] John Thorley, *Athenian Democracy*, 74.
[624] Mogens Herman Hansen, "The Athenian 'Ecclesia' and the Assembly-Place on the Pnyx," 241-242.

in nature as the property requirements to run for the archonship were lowered, the Areopagus council's powers were reduced, and citizens were granted the right to receive daily wages for serving as jurors.[625] Even then, some scholars have preferred to suggest that during the Classical Period, oligarchies and democracies were, for the most part, indistinguishable from one another and were far more similar than our ancient sources indicate.[626]

Having said all that, if scholars have no qualms about calling Athens' political system by the late 6th century BC a 'democracy,' then I see no reason why they should hesitate to use the same terminology when describing the governments of contemporary Phoenician city-states. If, however, we acknowledge that ancient Greek democracies were really not so 'democratic' in practice, then perhaps we should refrain from using the term 'democracy' altogether and strictly limit ourselves to 'oligarchy,' when describing the political institutions of the ancient Greeks and Phoenicians (especially during the Archaic Period). Whichever side of this argument one takes could have larger ramifications over what kinds of conclusions, one can draw from the evidence. If we, like Aristotle and Stephen Stockwell, are able to call the political systems of the ancient Phoenicians 'democracies' and can recognize that such systems were established in Punic cities already by the start of the 6th century BC, then this would lead us to conclude that the Phoenicians invented 'democracy' before the Athenians (508 BC), Chians (575-550 BC?) or any other Greeks had ever done so. If we, however, wish to refrain from using this sort of terminology, then we, at the very least, can say that the Phoenicians began the process of broadening their governments several centuries before the Greeks (starting as early as the 14th century BC). We can also say that the broad-based, non-monarchical forms of government that

[625] Aristotle *Constitution of the Athenians* 27, Isocrates *On Peace* 130, Plutarch *Life of Pericles* 9.3-4.
[626] Hartmut Leppin, "Unlike(ly) Twins? Democracy and Oligarchy in Context," in *A Companion to Ancient Greek Government*, ed. Hans Beck (London, England: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013),146-147. Paul Cartledge, *Democracy: A Life,* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016), 1-2, 8.

existed in Phoenician cities like Carthage, appear to have been established before the Greeks made significant strides in broadening their oligarchies (e.g. the Solonian reforms of 594/3 BC, Corinth's political reforms of 582 BC, etc.) and in getting rid of the various monarchical governments or tyrannies that prevailed throughout the region (which were, for the most part, overthrown by the Spartans in the latter half of the 6th century BC).

Of course, my research has not only shown that the Phoenicians began the process of developing broader, more collective systems of government *before* the ancient Greeks did, but that the Phoenicians and Greeks shared a number of remarkable similarities in the ways their societies were organized. Both the Phoenicians and Greeks were divided into a number of city-states in antiquity. These cities often began as monarchies, but over the course of the early Iron Age, increasingly circumscribed the powers of their kings. One way this was achieved was by establishing a senate or 'council of elders' to advise the king on important political matters and to serve as judges during legal proceedings. Another way this was achieved was by relegating the 'king' (whether *mlk* or *basileus*) to a primarily religious and symbolic role in society, while distributing his former duties to various other magistracies. When considering these close similarities between the political systems of the ancient Greeks and Phoenicians in combination with the fact that our evidence suggests the Phoenicians established broader oligarchical forms of government *before* the Greeks did, it seems likely that the Phoenicians and their oligarchies had at least some influence over the political developments of archaic Greece.[627] This seems even more likely when one considers the close contact the Greeks and Phoenicians had with one another throughout the Archaic Period and the numerous innovations the Greeks are known to

[627] As scholars have been increasingly arguing in recent years, such as: Simon Hornblower, "Creation and Development of Democratic Institutions in Ancient Greece," 2. Stephen Stockwell, "Before Athens: Early Popular Government in Phoenician and Greek City States," 129. Robert Drews, "Phoenicians, Carthage, and the Spartan Eunomia," 57-58.

have adopted from the Phoenicians at this time (such as their written script, shipbuilding techniques, pottery styles, and more). Thus, my thesis has mainly argued that as the Archaic Period progressed and the Greeks started to experience growing social unrest in their cities, they quite possibly turned to the Phoenicians and their political institutions for inspiration on how to solve this infighting and establish broader, more collective systems of rule that could appease the demands of their cities' citizens.

While my research has shown that the Phoenicians started developing broader forms of government several centuries before the ancient Greeks and that there were a number of similarities between these two peoples' political systems in antiquity, I have not, unfortunately, provided direct evidence of the Greeks receiving inspiration from the Phoenicians and their oligarchies. I have not quoted from any source, whether Greek or Phoenician, that overtly claims the political developments of archaic Greece were inspired by the contemporary city-states of Phoenicia. Nevertheless, I hope I have shown that, in many ways, this lack of a 'smoking gun' from our surviving literary sources, is not surprising. The Greeks of the early Classical Period (from whom we get most of our information about the political developments of archaic Greece) appear to have had, at best, only a vague or obscure understanding of their cities' histories. These ancient authors often provided semi-legendary accounts of Greece's early history that were quite oversimplified, attributing almost all of a city's political institutions to the deeds of a single famous lawgiver, like Lycurgus of Sparta or King Theseus of Athens. When compared to the archaeological record, these accounts often run into serious issues or are disproven entirely. Therefore, if our ancient sources had this tendency of glossing over important historical events and misattributing various laws or institutions to semi-legendary figures, then I see no reason

why it would be hard to believe that in doing so, these authors failed to mention the role of the Phoenicians and their governments over this period's political history.

Be that as it may, even without a direct reference to the influence of the Phoenicians over the Greeks' political developments during the Archaic Period, one could still argue that the origins of broad-based non-monarchical forms of government ultimately lie in Phoenicia. This is because one of the major driving forces behind the political developments of the Archaic Period, as my thesis has clearly shown, were growing social conflicts between a polis' traditional aristocracy and the *nouveaux riches* who were emerging from its merchant class.[628] We have already seen this phenomenon, for example, in Corinth, where the tyrannies of the Cypselids appears to have received strong support especially from the city's wealthy traders who had grown dissatisfied with their marginal role in politics under the previous Bacchiad oligarchy.[629] Similarly, we have seen that in early 6th century Athens, the Solonian reforms attempted to shift the city's oligarchy away from a system that prioritized the status of one's birth (i.e. the members of the Eupatridae) towards a timocracy or system where wealth was what ultimately determined one's political rights and social standing.[630] Later on, Athens' *nouveaux riches* seem to have earned an even greater degree of political autonomy as they backed the tyrannies of the Peisistratids, who in return, appear to have pursued a number of commercial policies that benefited their mercantile supporters. This phenomenon appears to have occurred not only in the oligarchies of ancient Greece but of the Phoenicians as well. When the Book of Isaiah declares that Tyre's "merchants were princes,"[631] when our other ancient sources mention the

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[628] Robert Drews, "The First Tyrants in Greece," 131. Pavel Oliva, "The Early Tyranny," 363. Robert K. Fleck and F. Andrew Hanssen, "How Tyranny Paved the Way to Democracy: The Democratic Transition in Ancient Greece," 396-397.
[629] Terry Buckley, *Aspects of Greek History 750-323 BC: A Source-Based Approach*, 2nd edition, 49-51.
[630] Kurt A. Raaflaub, "Athenian and Spartan Eunomia, or: What to Do with Solon's Timocracy?," 422-423.
[631] Isaiah 23:8. Translation taken from: *Common English Bible,* 1st edition (Nashville TN: Abington Press, 2013).

Phoenicians' governing bodies deliberating especially over matters of trade,[632] and when modern scholars call the Phoenicians' governments 'merchant oligarchies,'[633] the implication seems to be that the movement towards broader, more collective systems of government arose particularly from Phoenicia's merchant class. Stephen Stockwell perhaps summarizes it best, when he claims that "as trade increased [among the Phoenicians], the power of the king became constrained by the wealth of merchant families keen to influence public affairs."[634]

The reason why the merchant class and their role in broadening the governments of ancient city-states is so significant, is because the Phoenicians can, in many ways, be seen as the cause of this emerging merchant class in archaic Greece. As the famous Roman orator, Cicero once said, "the Phoenicians were the first, through their trading and merchandise, to import into Greece greed and grandiosity and the insatiable desire for all things."[635] This statement appears to be corroborated by our archaeological evidence, which suggests that the Phoenicians played a crucial role in reestablishing trade between the Aegean and broader Mediterranean throughout the so-called Greek Dark Ages.[636] From as early as the 10th century BC, Phoenician merchants appear to have travelled to the Aegean and traded various goods with the Hellenes both on the Greek mainland and on numerous islands. Furthermore, in some locations such as Crete, Cos, and Rhodes, Phoenician merchants appear to have resided permanently, where they played a key role in developing these regions' commercial industries. Some of the Greeks earliest colonial efforts, such as the founding of Ischia just off the coast of Italy in the late 8th century BC, seem

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[632] Such as: Report of Wenamun 2.71 and ANET[3] 533-34.
[633] Maria Eugenia Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West,* 145. Glenn E. Markoe, *Phoenicians,* 87. Ronald M. Glassman, *The Origins of Democracy in Tribes, City-States, and Nation-States,* 497.
[634] Stephen Stockwell, "Before Athens: Early Popular Government in Phoenician and Greek City States," 127.
[635] Cicero *De Re Publica* Fragment 3.3 (quoted in Nonius Marcellus 431M). Translation taken from: James E. G. Zetzel, *Cicero: On the Commonwealth and On the Laws*, 78.
[636] Walter Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, 21. Carolina López-Ruiz, *The Phoenicians and the Making of the Mediterranean,* 1-3, 27-28.

to have been accomplished with the help of a number of Phoenician colonists.[637] The Greeks' ability to engage in maritime trade throughout the Archaic Period was likely only further facilitated by their adoption of Phoenician shipbuilding and navigation techniques, weights and measures,[638] as well as the Phoenicians' written script, which appears to have been first used by the Greeks to record commercial activity.[639] The major role the Phoenicians played in developing Greek trade and in reconnecting the Aegean with the broader Mediterranean over the course of the early Iron Age, is a topic that has been covered thoroughly by many scholars in recent years,[640] but perhaps Carolina López-Ruiz summarizes it best, when she writes:

> As the Iron Age progressed, especially during the eighth century, a burst of economic dynamism produced a global transformation, with the effect of setting the central and western Mediterranean into direct contact with the Levant. Access to cultural assets as well as new markets, with their opportunities and risks, was now in the grasp of local kings, artisans, merchants, farmers, sailors, and soldiers. New forms of writing facilitated a growing dynamic merchant class. Fast, high-capacity sailing boats transported not just goods but people and new cultural models. And at the helms of those boats were, above all, Phoenician mariners, settlers, traders, and explorers… it was these Phoenicians who set in motion the new connectivity networks and to a great degree created a first, truly interconnected Mediterranean.[641]

In sum, even without a 'smoking gun' from our surviving ancient literary sources, one could still argue that the Phoenicians were ultimately the cause of the political developments of archaic Greece, in so far as one recognizes that these political developments were often instigated by the disgruntled local merchant class and that the Phoenicians played a critical role in developing trade and the rise of this merchant class in Greece over the course of the early Iron

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[637] M. W. Frederiksen, "Archaeology in South Italy and Sicily, 1973-76," *Archaeological Reports* 23 (1977), 44.
[638] John C. Scott, "The Phoenicians and the Formation of the Western World," *Comparative Civilizations Review* 78 (2018), 34.
[639] Paola Ceccarelli, Ancient Greek Letter Writing: A Cultural History (600-150 BC), 1st ed. (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2013), 28.
[640] Susan Sherratt, "Greeks and Phoenicians: Perceptions of Trade and Traders in the Early First Millenium BC" in *Social Archaeologies of Trade and Exchange: Exploring Relationships among People, Places, and Things*, edited by Alexander A. Bauer and Anna S. Agbe-Davies (New York, NY: Taylor & Francis Group 2010), 124-131. John C. Scott, "The Phoenicians and the Formation of the Western World," 25-31.
[641] Carolina López-Ruiz, *The Phoenicians and the Making of the Mediterranean*, 1-2.

Age. By reconnecting the Aegean to the wider Mediterranean and engaging in extensive trade with the Greeks, the Phoenicians quite possibly gave rise to the social tensions in Greek cities that led its inhabitants to turn to outsiders and their systems of government for inspiration, in the first place. Therefore, the fact that the Phoenicians began developing broader political systems *before* the Greeks, the fact that the Phoenicians and Greeks shared a number of remarkable similarities in the ways their city-states were organized, and the fact that the Phoenicians extensively traded and communicated with the Greeks throughout the early Iron Age, can in and of itself, be seen as enough evidence to conclude that the Phoenicians were one of the major causes behind the political developments of archaic Greece. The purpose of this thesis has not been to lessen or discredit the Greeks' role in developing democracy, but rather to demonstrate that the history of broad-based governments is far older and more complicated than is generally assumed. With my research now complete, perhaps we can say that significant strides have been made in determining the Phoenicians' influence over the ancient Greeks and their political institutions, an area of research where Simon Hornblower once said, "scientific study… has hardly begun."[642]

[642] Simon Hornblower, "Creation and Development of Democratic Institutions in Ancient Greece," 2.

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SARAH P. MORRIS - JOHN K. PAPADOPOULOS

Phoenicians and the Corinthian Pottery Industry

»The success of this colonial venture and of wider trading in the west was one of the factors which transformed Corinth in a short space of time from a not very significant city to the leading state in Greece and the first to develop its trade and industries on a large scale. For over a century Corinth controlled the whole colonial area economically, and in that time the colonies made Corinth what she was.«[1]

In this passage from "The Western Greeks", Dunbabin points to a paradox: how Corinth, a small and relatively undistinguished settlement in the Early Iron Age,[2] rose to become not only a leading city - "wealthy Corinth"[3] - but one of the few settlements in Greece to enjoy such prominent archaeological visibility in the seventh century B.C.[4] Dunbabin's reasons for this prominence lacked a certain specificity, as they applied to many other Greek states. The Corinthians were not the only Greeks to enjoy success in their colonial ventures and wider trading activities in the west, nor were they the first. The "first" western Greeks - the Euboians, as it is often insisted[5] - did not develop

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[1] We are grateful to Kees Neeft for receptively listening to an earlier, oral presentation of the ideas presented here and for urging us to publish it. We are also grateful to Nancy Bookides for expediting the photographs presented in this paper and to the editors of this volume for their initial invitation for us to contribute. In preparing this paper we acknowledge - like all students of the Early Iron Age Mediterranean - our enormous debt to Hans Georg Niemeyer on matters Phoenician.

T.J. DUNBABIN, The Western Greeks: The History of Sicily and South Italy from the Foundation of the Greek Colonies to 480 B.C. (1948) 18, with reference to H. PAYNE, Perachora I (1933) 33 f. For a more recent overview of Greek trade see G. KOPCKE, ArchHom M (1990) 100 ff.

[2] For Corinth in the Early Iron Age see, in particular, S.S. WEINBERG, Corinth VII: 1. The Geometric and Orientalizing Pottery (1943); ID., Hesperia 6, 1937, 487 ff; ID., AJA 45, 1941, 30 ff. For further references see C.A. PFAFF, Hesperia 57, 1988, 21 ff. J.B. SALMON, Wealthy Corinth: A History of the City to 338 B.C. (1984) 38-54.

[3] Cf. ibid.

[4] Witness the discussion concerning Athens and Attika in, for example, R.G. OSBORNE, BSA 84, 1989, 297 ff; ID. in: S.E. Alcock - R. Osborne (eds.), Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece (1994) 143-160. For the early urbanization of Corinth see C.K. WILLIAMS, II, ASAtene 60 (n.s. 44), 1982 [1984], 9 ff.

along lines similar to their Corinthian counterparts, and whatever ceramic priority the Euboians enjoyed in Magna Graecia in the later Geometric period is not pushed to advantage in the seventh century, and the "omnipresent" Euboian pottery sherds of an earlier era fade into obscurity.[6] The success of the Corinthian venture may well be skewed or overemphasized by the indestructibility of pottery and its tenacity to survive most archaeological contexts, to the neglect of other commodities - such as textiles, metal ores, human slaves and other "soft things," as Osborne calls them, like grain and oil[7] - that do not fare so well and in which Corinthians and others traded. In the words of Salmon: "common sense demands that pottery played only a small role in the total productive and export capacity of the Corinthia; but other items are far more difficult to trace."[8] Nevertheless, it is the Corinthian ceramic industry, its quantity of output and its distribution, that provides a glimpse as to what may have been at the very core of its success.[9] The purpose of this paper is to suggest that the Corinthian pottery industry - both the production and distribution of the pottery itself and of the commodities that it contained - were, to a large extent, determined and defined by Phoenicians.

The essential elements of the Early Iron Age Corinthian pottery industry are well summarized by Coldstream.[10] After the end of the local Late Geometric phase, described as a "quiet and delicate style," the potters of Corinth embarked on their first bold experiments in orientalizing ornament,[11] a few

[5] D. RIDGWAY, The First Western Greeks (1992) 3, boldly begins: "The first Western Greeks were the Euboians." See also ID. in: J.-P. Descœudres (ed.), Greek Colonists and Native Populations. Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology, Sydney 9-14 July 1985 (1990) 61-72. For a view which questions the early colonial prowess of the Euboians, see J.K. PAPADOPOULOS, OJA 15, 1996, 151 ff.

[6] This fact cannot be simply explained by the so-called Lelantine War, see S.C. BAKHUIZEN, Chalcis-in-Euboea, Iron and Chalcidians Abroad (1976) 34 ff; ID., Studies in the Topography of Chalcis on Euboea (A Discussion of the Sources) (1985) 31, n. 70, 131 f. For early Corinthian involvement in the West see RIDGWAY, op. cit., 62; ID. in: G. Kopcke -I. Tokumaru (eds.), Greece Between East and West; 10th - 8th Centuries B.C. Papers of the Meeting at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, March 15-16th, 1990 (1992) 85 ff; D. RIDGWAY - F.R. SERRA RIDGWAY in: R.D. De Puma and J.P. Small (eds.), Murlo and the Etruscans: Art and Society in Ancient Etruria (1994) 6 ff.

[7] Cf. R. OSBORNE, Antiquity 70, 1996, 31 ff.

[8] SALMON, op. cit. 117.

[9] See especially H. PAYNE, Necrocorinthia. A Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic Period (1931) passim; D.A. AMYX - P. LAWRENCE, Corinth VII: 2. Archaic Corinthian Pottery and the Anaploga Well (1975); D.A. AMYX - P. LAWRENCE, Studies in Archaic Corinthian Vase Painting (Hesperia Supplement 28) (1996); C.W. NEEFT, Protocorinthian Subgeometric Aryballoi (1987); D.A. AMYX, Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period (1988); W.R. BIERS, Hesperia 63, 1994, 509 ff. See also SALMON, op. cit. especially 101-127.

[10] J.N. COLDSTREAM, Greek Geometric Pottery (1968) 91 ff.

[11] Ibid. 91.

decades earlier than in any other centre in Greece.[12] Moreover, Corinthian pottery was distributed in ever-widening circles: Early and Middle Geometric I pots are found only in Corinth and the Corinthia, Middle Geometric II is exported to Delphi and Ithaka and Late Geometric reaches Thera, Smyrna, Dodona and, in small quantities, Magna Graecia, but it is only in the Early Protocorinthian phase that Corinthian products are found in quantity in virtually every major centre within the Greek world, as well as in Etruria and Carthage.[13] In quantity as well as in range of distribution, Corinthian pottery is not matched by any other contemporary Greek ware. There is also an important shift in emphasis in Early Protocorinthian: whereas throughout the Geometric era the shapes of Corinthian pottery served normal consumption needs (eating, drinking, ritual, death), the onset of Protocorinthian sees the introduction of the fully-fledged commodity container. After a lull in its production during Late Geometric, the globular aryballos is not only re-introduced, but manufactured in large quantities and widely exported,[14] although other standard shapes continued to be produced.[15] It is no coincidence that the first pots to be decorated in the new Orientalizing style are the same round aryballoi.[16]

Another important aspect of Early Protocorinthian lies in the overall figurative style, not only the appearance of stylized oriental animals, such as lions, griffins and sphinxes, along with various floral patterns, but the rendering of the ornament in friezes, in addition to the use of incision for outline and for picking out details. As Payne and others have observed, the origin of this "peculiar method of drawing" lies in the techniques of engraving on metalwork.[17] In searching for oriental models that may have furnished the prototypes for this innovative technique and style in ceramics, many scholars have pointed to Phoenician silver and bronze bowls.[18] The innovation of the black-figure style, the use of incision, and the adoption of floral motifs and figural themes,

[12] T. RASMUSSEN in: T. Rasmussen and N. Spivey (eds.), Looking at Greek Vases (1991) 63.

[13] COLDSTREAM, op. cit. 91; see also C. DEHL, Die Korinthische Keramik des 8. und frühen 7. Jhs. v. Chr. in Italien (1984), who notes (pp. 154 ff.) that the earliest Corinthian imports to the west rarely coincide closely with Corinthian colonies; C. MORGAN, BSA 83, 1988, 313 ff. In a more recent paper, Morgan, in discussing Pithekoussai, concedes that the quantity of Corinthian pottery on the island may have been the result of Phoenicians or Pithekoussans, see C. Morgan in: Corinto e l'occidente (1994) 340 f. On Carthage. C.W. NEEFT, TALANTA forthcoming.

[14] COLDSTREAM, op. cit., 106 f; C.W. NEEFT, Protocorinthian Subgeometric Aryballoi (1987).

[15] This discussion does not include the importance of Corinthian coarse-ware storage and transport amphorai, for which see C.A. PFAFF, Hesperia 57, 1988, 29 ff.; I.K. WHITBREAD, Greek Transport Amphorae: A Petrological and Archaeological Study (1995) 255 ff.

[16] Referred to as "small flasks designed as dispensers for perfume or scented oils" by RASMUSSEN, art. cit., 65 f., who also argues that their oriental decoration may have been designed to draw attention to the "exotic" substances within.

[17] PAYNE, op. cit., 7; cf. W.A. HEURTLEY and M. ROBERTSON, BSA 43, 1948, 57.

many of them drawn directly from the Syro-Phoenician pictorial repertoire, reveal, in the words of Markoe: "a direct knowledge of Oriental models; such an awareness can only have been gained from direct contact with and observance of imported Near Eastern goods."[19] In a similar vein, Rasmussen considers the "influence", "impact" or "transmission" of Eastern ivories, metals, terracottas, even textiles, though he admits that the mechanisms of influence are far from clear.[20]

Indeed, the impact of Levantine art on the emerging figural tradition of Protocorinthian is profound, but it demands more than a mere acquaintance with oriental models. Moreover, the orientalizing phenomenon in Corinth is not only unlike that of Athens and other Greek centres of the Late Geometric period,[21] but for the first time in its history it is the pottery of Corinth that exerts its influence on other Greek wares, including Athens, thereby reversing previous trends.[22] In such a context, the whole question of the agency by which an artisan in Corinth not only came into direct contact with a quantity of oriental luxury goods, but had the desire and ability to copy or to transform, adapt or apply individual motifs and iconographic schemes into another medium, has not received adequate discussion. Modern scholarship has been fixated too long on the movement of individual objects - those assumed "prototypes" instantly appreciated and slavishly imitated or adapted - to the neglect of the producers.[23] The processes behind innovations and imitations require actual people, much more than objects.[24]

In addition to the production of Corinthian pottery, there is the whole question of its distribution: who marketed the goods and who carried them? With regard to this question, Culican's warning - that there is a certain naiveté in the expectation that colonial Phoenicians or Greeks can be recognized always in

[18] See, most recently, G.E. MARKOE, BASOR 301, 1996, 53; cf. ID., Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean (1985).

[19] G.E. MARKOE, AJA 96, 1992, 339.

[20] RASMUSSEN, art. cit., 63 f., who also speaks of monumental sculpture which the Greeks would have noticed in the Neo-Hittite states of north Syria, although he is quick to concede that vase-painters were unlikely to have seen this at first hand. A similar argument, that Protocorinthian pottery imitated Assyrian reliefs, was put forward by A. GUNTER, in: H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg - J. Drijvers (eds.), Achaemenid History V. The Roots of European Tradition (1990) 131 ff.

[21] MARKOE, art. cit. (1996), 47 ff.

[22] T.J. DUNBABIN, BSA 45, 1950, 193 ff.; generally, COLDSTREAM, op. cit.

[23] On this aspect see especially J.K. PAPADOPOULOS in: R. Laffineur and P.P. Betancourt (eds.), TEXNH. Craftsmen, Craftswomen and Craftsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 6th International Aegean Conference, Philadelphia, Temple University, 18-21 April 1996 (1997) 449 ff.

[24] Here is it worth mentioning Rasmussen's discussion of individual human agency: "... the adoption of Orientalizing at Corinth must have been a conscious decision on the part of a particular potter (or his client or an entrepreneur) ..." RASMUSSEN, art. cit. 65.

terms of the pottery of the motherland[25] - has not been generally heeded, despite some strong attempts to show that ceramics do not necessarily equal history.[26] From an Aegean perspective, it is most often assumed that an Athenian or Corinthian pot must have been carried by an Athenian or Corinthian.[27] In summing up his conclusions on the Greek pottery found at Al Mina, Descoeudres states: "If the various origins of the [Greek] pottery found at Al Mina are direct reflections of its trade relations one would expect sailors from Rhodes, Samos, Euboia and Athens to have been the first Greeks to visit the port at the mouth of the Orontes."[28] Elsewhere he writes: "Thus, after a short interruption at the end of the eighth century, Greeks resume their activities at Al Mina probably not later than around 700 B.C. Again they are sailing under Rhodian, Samian and Euboian colours, with a clear predominance of the latter two."[29] Here the argument is explicitly stated: a Rhodian or Euboian pot found at a site such as Al Mina must have been carried there by a Rhodian or Euboian. Despite the fact that Perreault and others have dispelled the myth that Al Mina was ever a Greek emporion or colony,[30] the possibility that the Greek pottery found there was carried by non-Greek merchants is still often denied. A number of Aegean archaeologists have tempered such a view by conceding that various Greek pottery fabrics may have been carried by compatriots other than those who made the pottery. Cook, for example, argued that the bulk of Lakonian pottery in the 6th century B.C. may have been carried to the West by other Greeks, but again, the possibility that the carriers were non-Greek is ignored.[31] With regard to pottery specifically, Salmon states: "Corinthian vases need not have been exported by Corinthian traders or in Corinthian ships."[32] Nevertheless, Salmon is reluctant to imagine alternative carriers, even though he admits the presence of citizens, metics, foreigners and slaves at Corinth.[33] In the case of Greek pottery found in the southern Iberian peninsula, specifically SOS amphorai, Shefton persuasively argued that it was most

[25] W. CULICAN in: H.G. Niemeyer (ed.), Phönizier im Westen. Die Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums über 'Die phönizische Expansion im westlichen Mittelmeerraum' in Köln vom 24. bis 27. April 1979, MB 8 (1982) 46.

[26] A.J. GRAHAM, Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne 12, 1982, 51 ff; PAPADOPOULOS, art. cit. (1996), 151 ff.

[27] Most recently restated by OSBORNE, art. cit. 31.

[28] J.-P. DESCOEUDRES, in: Eretria VI. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen (1978) 15.

[29] Ibid.

[30] See especially J.Y. PERREAULT in: A. Bresson and P. Rouillard (eds.), L'Emporion (1993) 59 ff.

[31] R.M. COOK, JHS 99, 1979, 152 ff.

[32] SALMON, op. cit. 101.

[33] Ibid. 159 ff. See also SALMON, BSA 67, 1972, 159 ff.

probable that the Greek commodity was carried by Phoenicians.[34] In taking this line of reasoning to its logical conclusion, Shefton went on to ask: "where did the Phoenician traders obtain their SOS amphorai?"[35] Similarly, growing quantities of Greek Early Iron Age pottery in the early levels at Carthage or Tyre cannot be taken as evidence for Greek expansion, whether trade or colonisation.[36] Perhaps the most elegant evidence for the export of Greek ceramics is offered by the Late Archaic shipwreck off the coast of Massalia, carrying East Greek, Attic and other Greek wares bound for the West, showing conclusively that a variety of Greek fabrics could be exported by a single merchantman.[37] During the Classical era, the presence of tons, literally, of Punic amphorai at Corinth prompted Williams to speculate as to whether such cargo was carried by Corinthian or Carthaginian merchantmen.[38]

The organization of the Corinthian export business was impressive, as it dealt with an immense volume of material. How this market developed remains something of an historical mystery. For Salmon, the Corinthian "export market must have originally developed purely by chance..."[39] But chance is a very nebulous agency, particularly in the case of Corinth. In echoing Shefton's question for the most widely exported of all Greek Orientalizing fabrics, we point to the presence of Phoenicians, both in the production and distribution of Corinthian pottery. This represents a classic case of input, in the form of maritime expertise and capital concentration, from the east, especially Phoenicia, discussed by the Sherratts.[40] But the level and extent of Phoenician involvement in Greek affairs, which was more profound than the influence of the East on Greek handicrafts, goes back to an older generation of scholarship.

In the same year in which The Western Greeks appeared, Dunbabin published a paper in which he seriously questioned that the process of orientalization took place by means of material influences alone.[41] In turning his gaze towards processes involving cultural and religious ideas, Dunbabin pointed to the most direct form of human agency. Building on the foundations laid by Maass, Wade-Gery, Farnell and Zimmermann,[42] Dunbabin went on to state:

"An older generation, accustomed to seeing Phoenicians everywhere, regarded them as the bearers of Oriental culture to Greece. For them, Melikertes, the hero whose tomb was shown at the Isthmus, was Melkarth; the cult of Aphrodite, with its sacred prostitutes, was of Phoenician origin; Medea also and the cult of Hera Akraia, with its human sacrifice implied in the slaughter of Medea's children, were Phoenician. Athena was worshipped at Corinth with the title Phoinike [Schol. Lyc. 658; Steph. Byz. s.v. Φοινίκαιον], for what that is worth; and there was a month Phoinikaios at Corinth and in Corinthian colonies. These oriental elements, more strongly concentrated at Corinth than elsewhere in the Greek world, must have been introduced now, in the second half of the eighth century, when Corinth's commerce expands and orientalizing influences appear in her art. Whether they imply that men from Phoenicia or Syria settled at Corinth may be debated."[43]

Dunbabin also drew attention to the view of Herodotos, that the Corinthians, more than other Greeks, had an individual way in which they recognized craftsmen, a feature itself clearly recognized by their contemporaries: "ἥκιστα δὲ Κορίνθιοι ὄνονται τοὺς χειροτέξνας".[44] The lack, however, of large quantities of Phoenician or North Syrian objects at Corinth itself troubled Dunbabin and he went on to speculate: "... it may be that the Corinthians who set up at Posideion and elsewhere at the eastern end of the Mediterranean learnt there to use these cults, and brought them home together with a number of myths and legends."[45] In dealing with myths and legends, however, we are constrained by the literary evidence, and here it is worth repeating that our main literary sources for Greek trade and colonization are Greek, just as our primary sources for Phoenician trade and colonization are also Greek. In these sources there is unabashed hostility towards the Phoenicians, not least in Greek poetry, especially in Homer,[46] and precisely at the time when Greeks adopted and adapted the Phoenician alphabet to their own ends. In her attempt

[34] B.B. SHEFTON, in: Niemeyer, op. cit. 337 ff.

[35] Ibid. 339.

[36] For Greek pottery in Carthage see, among others, M. VEGAS in: Lixus: Actes du colloque organisé par l'Institut des sciences de l'archéologie et du patrimoine de Rabat avec le concours de l'Ecole Française de Rome, Larache 8-11 novembre 1989 (1992) 181 ff. For Tyre see P.M. BIKAI, The Pottery of Tyre (1978); J.N. COLDSTREAM - P.M. BIKAI, RDAC 1988, 35 ff. Indeed, many scholars have tended to downplay the direct contacts between Carthage and Corinth, as C.K. WILLIAMS, II, has recently noted in Corinto e l'occidente (1994) 37, n. 10.

[37] L. LONG - J. MIRO - G. VOLPE in: M. Bats et al. (eds.), Marseilles grecque et la Gaule. Actes du colloque international d'histoire et d'archéologie du Ve congrès archéologique de Gaule méridionale (Marseilles, 18-23 novembre 1990) (1992) 199 ff.

[38] WILLIAMS, art. cit. (1994), 43.

[39] SALMON, op. cit., 112.

[40] S. and A. SHERRATT, World Archaeology 24, 1993, 361 ff.

[41] T.J. DUNBABIN, JHS 68, 1948, 59 ff.

[42] E. MAASS, Griechen und Semiten auf dem Isthmus von Korinth (1903); H.J. WADE-GERY, CAH II, 538; L.R. FARNELL, The Cults of the Greek States I (1896) 201 ff.; Vol. II, 668; R. ZIMMERMANN, PhW 1931, 1417 ff.

[43] DUNBABIN, art. cit. 66. See also Corinth VIII: 1, nos. 1-2; cf. S. DOW, AJA 46, 1942, 69 ff. A.E. SAMUEL, Greek and Roman Chronology. Calendars and Years in Classical Antiquity (1972). A fuller study of the Corinthian calendar by K. Hadzis is forthcoming.

[44] Herodotos II.167; DUNBABIN, art. cit. 59.

[45] Ibid. 66.

to reconcile the literary evidence with the archaeological, Winter concluded: "'Homer's Phoenicians' ... do not represent the world of the Phoenicians; rather they present a masterful literary construct, at once produced by and working to produce the broader social, political, economic, and symbolic fabric of the early state in Archaic Greece."[47]

Despite this hostility towards the Phoenicians in Greek literature, the Phoenician complexities of early Corinth - both subtle and blatant - have been steadily mounting, in addition to the evidence presented by Dunbabin. In his discussion of the cult of Aphrodite Ourania as official protectress of Corinth, Williams postulated that the cult originally came directly from Phoenicia; he further noted that a "Phoenician goddess was selected because she supported the major and most powerful maritime state of the time."[48] A related element of Corinthian cult that has never been adequately addressed are the numerous stelai shrines.[49] One of the most interesting of these shrines - Stelai Shrine A (pls. 21, 1-2) - dates to around 500 B.C. and was built within the "no-man's-land" between the earlier and later fortification walls of the city, in the very heart of the Corinthian Potters' Quarter.[50] Although referring to Carthaginian *comparanda* for the Corinthian stelai, as well as parallels from Cagliari and Nora in Sardinia and the Phoenician colony of Motya in Sicily, the excavator of the Potters' Quarter was loth to accept the Phoenician pedigree of the Corinthian examples.[51] The fact that one of the two deposits associated with Stelai Shrine A yielded a bronze phiale, with the dedicatory inscriptio τᾶς 'Αφροδίτας ἐμί,[52] not only bolsters the link to the Phoenician protectress of Corinth, but the rarity of such shrines elsewhere in the Greek world and their similarity to the Canaanite *masseboth* underlines their origin. As Carter has summarized, the sweeping reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah abolished from Israelite worship the use of *masseboth* (erected stones) and *asherah* (tree or wooden staff), as well as other elements of Canaanite religion.[53] Carter goes on to state: "Although forbidden in the worship of Yahweh, masseboth survived among the Phoenicians, and through the Phoenicians they passed in various mutations to cities of Cyprus and the Punic west."[54] As late as the second century A.D. Philo of Byblos speaks of στήλας καὶ ῥάβδονς (stelai and wooden staffs) used in Phoenician cults,[55] and the importance of "oaks and rocks" in early Greek ritual, especially as reflected in Hesiod, and their Levantine origins were recently reviewed and re-stated by O'Bryhim.[56] Carter gathers and discusses numerous examples of sanctuaries in Middle and Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Palestine containing a stone *massebah*,[57] as well as related sanctuaries in Cyprus (Kition, Enkomi and Kourion), with especial reference to Late Bronze Age Hazor in Palestine and Sarepta on the Phoenician coast.[58] One of the most noteworthy features of these sanctuaries is the association of *masseboth* with extensive industrial installations, whether pottery workshops (Hazor and Sarepta) or metallurgical establishments (Kition and Enkomi). In 14th century B.C. Hazor, moreover, several large buildings, including potters' workshops and a small shrine were built against the inner wall of the earthen rampart that enclosed the Lower City.[59] In these respects the parallel situation at Corinth is striking and the presence of so many stelai shrines in the Corinthian Kerameikos[60] - the Potters' Quarter - provides an evocative glimpse of an industry largely composed of metics.[61]

More subtile is the evidence preserved in the very foundation myths of Corinth, not least the fact that the Corinthians themselves were dissatisfied with the obscurity of their past.[62] For their founder - Aletes - the Corinthians claimed an independent descent from Herakles and his very name implies "Wanderer", this independent origin is evoked in Thucydides' account (IV.42.2) of the first Dorian settlement on the Solygeian ridge.[63] That Corinth

[46] G. KOPCKE in: Kopcke and Tokumaru, op. cit. 103 ff; I.J. WINTER in: J.B. Carter - S.P. Morris (eds.), The Ages of Homer. A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule (1995) 247 ff.

[47] Ibid. 264.

[48] C.K. WILLIAMS II in: M.A. Del Chiaro and W.R. Biers (eds.), Corinthiaca: Studies in Honor of Darrell A. Amyx (1986) 20.

[49] For a discussion of these shrines see WILLIAMS, ibid.; ID., Hesperia 50, 1981, 408 ff. (including Stele Shrines in other areas of Corinth outside the Potters' Quarter).

[50] WILLIAMS, art. cit. (1986) 22 f; Corinth XV: 1, pls. 5, 23a, 51.

[51] Corinth XV: 1, 65, n. 7. For a useful overview of stelai in the Punic west see S. MOSCATI in: The Phoenicians (1988) 304 ff, especially illustrations on pp. 308 f. 314. 317 f.

[52] Corinth XV: 1, pl. 47:1; WILLIAMS, art. cit. (1986), 23, fig. 2c.

[53] J.B. CARTER, AJA 91, 1987, 375.

[54] Ibid. 376.

[55] Ibid. 377.

[56] S. O'BRYHIM, Hermes 124, 1996, 131 ff; cf. M.L. WEST, Hesiod: Theogony (1966) 169.

[57] CARTER, art. cit. 376, n. 108.

[58] Ibid. 370 ff.

[59] Ibid. 370; see further Y. YADIN, Hazor (1972) 71; for the connection of potters' workshops and temple at Arad see Y. AHARONI, BiblArch 31, 1968, 21.

[60] Including Stelai Shrine A, Stelai Shrine B, the "Erosa Shrine" the "Circular South Shrine," the "Shrine of the Terracotta Factory" and the "Shrine of Double Stele," see Corinth XV: 1, 72 ff.

[61] The bibliography on the relocation of potters in the Greek world and the presence of resident aliens in the pottery industries of a number of Greek cities, including Athens, is becoming extensive; see references in J.K. PAPADOPOULOS, art. cit. 454 f., ns. 40-50. Moreover, in Phoenician Motya, a group of stelai was found in connection with Corinthian pottery of the late 7th and early 6th centuries B.C., see Corinth XV: 1, 65, n. 7 (with reference to WHITAKER, Motya, 271, fig. 50).

[62] DUNBABIN, art. cit. 66.

[63] Ibid. 63.

was founded by sea, not by Dorians from the Argolid, is supported by Thucydides' account and further echoed in a version of the tradition reconstructed by Huxley.[64] It is not coincidental that in much later generations the only Corinthian colony in Sicily and South Italy - Syrakousa - along with Thapsos, have names which are not obviously Greek or Sikel, but for which plausible Phoenician etymologies have been proposed.[65] Moreover, in Thucydides I.13.2 the Corinthians are said to have been the first to adopt the "modern" plan for ships and shipping, and Corinth was the first place in all Hellas where triremes were built.[66] This passage assigns to Corinth what is more often ascribed to Phoenicians.[67] According to Aristotle,[68] the quadrireme was invented by Carthaginians and the Athenian trireme may have been a lesson learned from Phoenician nautical specialists, just as Rome designed its first warship on the basis of a captured Carthaginian vessel.[69] As one of us, Morris, has stated elsewhere: "An irony central to Greek and Roman history is the contribution made by this Oriental enemy to Western navies and their empires ..."[70] Even Demaratus, the "Corinthian" merchant *par excellence*, set up shop in Etruria, a region of contact already exploited by Phoenicians.[71] As an expatriate "fictor" who made things in his new home and taught others to make them, Demaratus, like Eucheir, Diopos and Eugrammos, was, in the words of Ridgway, an heir "to a long tradition that was not wholly Greek."[72] Indeed, the story of Demaratus the entrepreneur, the way he transferred his wealth and residence, married a noble Etruscan lady and sired the fifth king of Rome, with a name -

[64] Ibid.; SALMON, op. cit., 49; G.L. HUXLEY, Philologus 119, 1975, 140 ff. The version as reconstructed by Huxley is well-known and involves the Malian boat: Hippotes, Aletes' father, lays a curse on the Malians, because they refused to join him on a colonizing expedition, to the effect that their ships would always leak. Although the fragment of Aristotle (fr. 554) does not preserve Hippotes' destination, Corinth seems the inevitable answer.

[65] DUNBABIN, op. cit., 20 f.; cf. A. HOLM, Geschichte Siziliens im Altertum (1979 ed.) 80 ff.; G. BUSOLT, Griechische Geschichte bis zur Schlacht bei Chaeroneia (1893) 373f; F.K. MOVERS, Die Phönizier (1967 ed.) 324 ff. Dunbabin names Thapsos and Syrakousa as among the very few along the entire east coast of Sicily which answer to Thucydides' description of a Phoenician settlement, though the lack of eastern imports led Dunbabin to question Phoenician involvement.

[66] See further M. WEDDE in: R. Laffineur - L. Basch (eds.), Thalassa. L'égée prehistorique et la mer. Actes de la troisième rencontre égéenne internationale de l'Université de Liège, Station de recherches sous-marines et océanographiques (StaReSO), Calvi, Corse, 23-25 avril 1990 (1991) 73 ff., esp. 75, n. 8.

[67] See especially, Pliny, NH VII. lvi. 206-210.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Polybius I. 20. 150.

[70] S.P. MORRIS, Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art (1992) 376.

[71] For Demaratus see above, n. 6; for Etruria as an important Phoenician "zone of contact" see MARKOE in: Kopcke - Tokumaru, op. cit. 80.

[72] RIDGWAY in: Kopcke - Tokumaru, op. cit., 92. Ridgway adds: "... and I do not believe that they were the first foreign craftsmen in the West to learn a lot from the native ingenuity of their hosts."

Lucius Tarquinius - that bears no ethnic or etymological resemblance to the father's identity, may well provide one model of Eastern penetration of the Aegean.

To what extent any one piece of Phoenician evidence at Corinth can be pressed remains moot, but the basic pattern is revealing. The most archaeologically visible sites of the Early Iron Aegean, such as Lefkandi, Knossos, Athens, as well as Corinth later on, are prominent exactly for their eastern complexities. The Phoenician aspects of Corinthian cult - such as sacred prostitution and child sacrifice reflected in the story Medea and her children - are overwhelming and unique,[73] and these are strengthened by the presence at Corinth of various proper names with the root *Phoinik-*.[74] The greater area of Knossos, described recently as an urban nucleus in the "Dark Age,"[75] witnesses an interesting mixture of "native Subminoan" elements with a plethora of ideas that flowed in from the eastern Mediterranean, whether, in Coldstream's words, "through bronze heirlooms of Cypriot origin, or through artifacts imported from the Levant, or through Oriental imagery introduced by immigrant eastern craftsmen."[76] Tekke near Knossos has added a Nuragic jug from an Orientalizing tomb in association with material of a "Phoenician jeweller."[77] More "easterners" have recently come to light from Eleutherna[78] and Kommos;[79] the latter also producing evidence of "westerners," especially Sardinians.[80] Kommos has also yielded a cult focusing on a shrine with stelai, once described as "a curious structure with three tapering stone pillars" (that is, *masseboth*), similar to the Stelai Shrines of Corinth.[81] The quantity of eastern imports and influences in Athens can be attributed to more eastern immigrants, especially craftsmen, the progenitors of the metics of historic Athens and the Piraeus, who played their part in the formation of early Greek society.[82] Our new look at Corinthian stelai recommends a closer look at the upright stone slabs that are an integral part of the so-called "altar" of Aphrodite

[73] WILLIAMS, art. cit. (1986). For child sacrifice in Carthage see L.E. STAGER in: Niemeyer (ed.), op. cit. 155 ff.; S.S. BROWN, Late Carthaginian Child Sacrifice and Sacrificial Monuments in their Mediterranean Context (1991).

[74] S. DOW, AJA 46, 1942, 69 ff.; SALMON, op. cit. 146 f.

[75] J.N. COLDSTREAM in: D.A. Musti et al. (eds.), La transizione dal Miceneo all'Alto Arcaismo: Dal palazzo alla città. Atti del Convegno Internazionale a Roma, 14-19 marzo 1988 (Rome) 287 ff.

[76] J.N. COLDSTREAM in: J.H. Betts et al. (eds.), Studies in Honour of T.B.L. Webster, II (1988) 30.

[77] L. VAGNETTI, BSA 84, 1989, 355 ff.

[78] N. STAMPOLIDES, BSA 85, 1990, 375 ff.; ID., BICS 37, 1990, 99 ff.

[79] J.W. SHAW, AJA 93, 1989, 165 ff.; L.V. WATROUS, Kommos III. The Late Bronze Age Pottery (1992) 156-163.

[80] Ibid. 163 ff.

[81] SHAW, art. cit. 165 ff., especially figs. 1-10.

Ourania in the Athenian Agora, a monument so far restored with a superstructure and crowning elements which hide the stelai.[83] Were they inspired by, or part of, a Semitic installation for a Near Eastern goddess?

Perhaps the closest analogy to direct Phoenician involvement in the production and distribution of Corinthian pottery - and the commodity or commodities this pottery was carrying - is the situation in Rhodes, especially the Phoenician unguent factories.[84] Beyond the actual production and bottling of the liquids on Rhodes, the so-called *Kreis- und Wellenband*, or "spaghetti style" of pottery that was probably made by Phoenicians living on Rhodes, has been found in ever-increasing quantities in Magna Graecia, not least at Pithekoussai.[85]

Of all of the Aegean sites discussed so far, Lefkandi has not only produced the earliest known imports from the east since the end of the Mycenaean era,[86] but is the site topographically closest to the ideal Phoenician trading settlement, as described by Thucydides (VI.2.6) for Sicily. Rather than representing a spontaneous Greek self-generation, as is often assumed by Aegean archaeologists,[87] the precept of Lefkandi - like Corinth later on - is one inspired by eastern traders and settlers. If Lefkandi and Corinth are places where Greeks and Phoenicians/eastern Mediterraneans co-existed, the sort of place from where a "joint venture" to the west may have been mounted, then the ramifications for Greek and Phoenician expansion in the West are profound. From such a perspective, the "joint venture" or Phoenician and Greek "common interests," as discussed by Aubet,[88] as well as Niemeyer and Docter,[89] even Burkert's "mutual competition,"[90] or the "few Phoenicians and a lot of Euboians" of Ridgway,[91] takes on a very different meaning, through a shift in focus from the exclusively regional to the more broadly Mediterranean.[92]

[82] W. BURKERT, Die orientalisierende Epoche in der griechischen Religion und Literatur (1984); MORRIS, op. cit. See also V.R.d'A. DESBOROUGH, The Greek Dark Ages (1972) 133-147; J.N. COLDSTREAM, Geometric Greece (1977) 55 ff. 73 ff.

[83] The monument was originally published in T.L. SHEAR, Jr., Hesperia 53, 1984, 1 ff., especially 24 ff. See also J.M. CAMP, The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens (1986) 56 f., figs. 37 f.; C.M. EDWARDS, Hesperia 53, 1984, 59 ff. The faunal remains associated with the monument are discussed in G.V. FOSTER, Hesperia 53, 1984, 73 ff.; D.S. REESE, Hesperia 58, 1989, 63 ff.

[84] J.N. COLDSTREAM, BICS 16, 1969, 1 ff.; ID. in Niemeyer, op. cit., 261 ff.; cf. B.B. POWELL, Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet (1991) 13; the Phoenician unguent factories of Early Iron Age Greece are most recently, and comprehensively, discussed by D.W. JONES, OJA 12, 1993, 293 ff.

[85] RIDGWAY, op. cit. 62.

[86] M.R. POPHAM et al., Lefkandi I (1980) 350; the wealth of orientalia at Lefkandi is ever growing, see M.R. POPHAM - I.S. LEMOS, OJA 14, 1994, 151 ff.; and especially Lefkandi III: Plates (1997).

[87] See especially W. DEONNA, BCH 50, 1926, 319 ff.; most recently J. BOARDMAN, OJA 9, 169 ff; ID., The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity (1994) esp. 21 f.; M.R. POPHAM in: G.R. Tsetskhladze - F. De Angelis (eds.), The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation: Essays Dedicated to Sir John Boardman (1994) 11 ff.

[88] M.E. AUBET, Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies and Trade (1993) 314 f.

[89] R.F. DOCTER - H.G. NIEMEYER in: B. d'Agostino - D. Ridgway (eds.), A.I.O.N. Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica. APOIKIA. I piu antichi insediammenti greci in occidente: funzioni e modi dell'organizzazione politica e sociale. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner (1994) 101 ff.; see also the paper by J. BOARDMAN in the the same volume, pp. 95 ff.

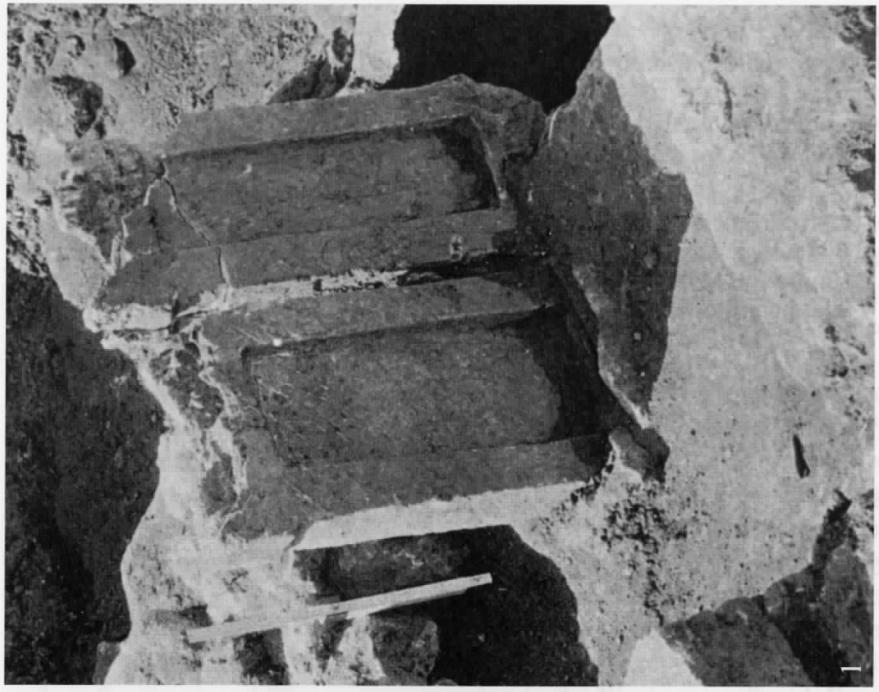
[90] Op. cit., 21.

[91] D. RIDGWAY, in: Tsetskhladze - De Angelis, op. cit., 35 ff., esp. 39. Even more recently, RIDGWAY, ArchRepsLondon 1994-1995 [1995], 80 f., in reviewing the distribution map of pendent semi-circle skyphoi, particularly in the west and the new evidence from Sant'Imbenia, turns around Coldstream's earlier statement of "Euboian merchants who also had Levantine contacts," to read: "Levantine merchants (or prospectors? or miners?) who also had Euboian contacts."

[92] SHERRATT - SHERRATT, art. cit.; cf. A. and S. SHERRATT in: N.H. Gale (ed.), Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean (1991) 351 ff. See also M. HUDSON in: Kopcke - Tokumaru, op. cit., 128 ff.; N. PURCELL in: O. Murray - S. Price (eds.), The Greek City from Homer to Alexander (1990) 29 ff.; BURKERT, op. cit.; MORRIS, op. cit.; see also S.P. MORRIS in: Kopcke - Tokumaru, op. cit., xiii-xviii.

LIST OF PLATES

- Plate 21, 1 *Masseboth* (stelai) *in situ* in Stelai Shrine A, the Potters' Quarter, Corinth. (Courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations)
- Plate 21, 2 *Masseboth* from Stelai Shrine a (as above) in Corinth Museum. (Photo by I. Ioannidou and I. Bartziotou, courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations)



Robert S. P. Beekes

KADMOS AND EUROPA, AND THE PHOENICIANS

1. The discussion in Der Neue Pauly (by K. Meister) of the Phoenicia-problem of the Kadmos-story is quite inadequate. Especially a mere reference to Edwards' monography on Kadmos the Phoenician is insufficient to settle the matter. (Vian interprets the story of Kadmos as containing traces of an Indo-European tripartite society. As I do not believe in Dumézil's theories on this point, I shall not discuss them.)

2. Kadmos and Europa

The story of Europa is quite straightforward: While she was on the shore with her companions, Zeus approached her in the shape of a bull. She mounted the bull, it went into the sea and took her to Crete. There it mated with her. The children were Minos and Rhadamanthys. Afterwards she married king Asterios.

There is in her story nothing about Kadmos. He would have gone to continental Greece, not to Crete, to search for her. And so he did not find her and instead founded Thebes. He would have been her uncle. So there is no story about his search: it is only said that he went the wrong way and did not find her. It is clear, then, that there was no (story of the) search. It would have been a story that did not begin. So it becomes clear that Kadmos' adventures were only later linked to the story of Europa, and that originally he had nothing to do with her. This means that his connection with Europa cannot be used as an argument to show that Kadmos came from Phoenicia.

Also there is a story parallel to that of Europa, the story of queen Pasiphae. This makes clear that it was expected that the queen 'married' the supreme god, in the shape of a bull. The cult of the bull was essential in Crete – one need only think of the ceremonial games, sports around the bull. The conclusion is that the story of Europa is a typically Cretan story, which has nothing to do with Phoenicia.

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Further, the name of Europa is remiscent of names beginning with Εὐρωπ- or Εὐροπ-, found in Greece north of the Gulf of Corinth. This name cannot be Indo-European, and as it is well established in northern Greece, must be of Pre-Greek origin. (The word cannot contain εὐρυ-, of which the second -υ- would have been preserved.) On these names see Sommer 1937, 185 n. and 255ff. (Krahe's Balkan-illyrische geographische Namen 73f. is insufficient; see Beekes 1995/6, 18–21). There are two towns called *Eurōpos* in Macedonia (one in Almōpia) and a third on the Peneios (see the map in Ninck 1946, 16); there is a river Eurōpos (that flows into the Peneios; Ninck 17).[1] Cf. further the Κασσωποί.

It has been suspected that she was a supernatural being, perhaps an earth goddess (Berve 1966, 468). This is rather uncertain, as our data are very meagre. However, they make it clear that she was not merely a human being. We find a Demeter Europia and a Hera Europia (Ninck 1946, 17). It is told that Europe was hidden by Zeus in a grotto near Teumessos, east of Thebes (id. 17). Less clear Bühler 1968, 44f.

The conclusion is clear: Europa was an old, supernatural figure in Greece, a goddess or semi-goddess, probably of Pre-Greek date. And her story fits completely with what we know of Crete. There is no basis for a Phoenician origin. Several things remain unclear, however. First, we do not know what exactly she was. Then, her provenance is uncertain. She seems at home north of the Corinthian Gulf. How she came to be associated with Crete is not known. Perhaps she was a Pre-Greek figure which was also venerated in Crete. I am very sceptical about theories on peoples moving to Crete. In spite of the unanswered questions, however, it remains clear enough that she was a Greek, rather a Pre-Greek figure which had nothing to do with Phoenicia.

As to the question how Europa came to be associated with Phoenicia, I think that it is not too difficult to imagine a possible origin. Her father was called Phoenix in Homer (Ξ 321), which may have been one reason to suppose a Phoenician origin. Then, the question may have arisen from where she came, carried by the bull. If one imagines a shore from where she could have come, one may think of Greece, or Anatolia, Phoenicia, or Egypt. The connections of Phoenicians with Crete, which have been demonstrated by archaeology,

[1] Dura-Eurōpos in Syria, well known from the excavations, got its name when the town was re-founded by Seleukos Nikator in 280, from the Macedonian Eurōpos (Ninck 1946, 251 note 17: 1).

may have been a factor that made it natural for Greeks/Cretans to think of Phoenicia. (In fact, of course, it is hardly possible to assume a Phoenician origin, or how did she come to Crete; few shall be willing to consider the possibility, suggested in Antiquity, that she was abducted from there.) Returning to Kadmos, we conclude that the connection with Europa was not original, and that Europa did not come from Phoenicia.

As to Kadmos and Europa, I would keep open the possibility that they were associated because both would have lived in Boeotia. But this cannot be verified.

3. The continent Europa

The name for the continent was originally also a country in Macedonia; Hdt. 6, 43; 7, 8 β1. In hAp. 251, 291, it is Central Greece. This fits exactly with the origin of the names with -ωπ/οπ-. It is, then, a Pre-Greek name, the name of a country. A direct connection with the goddess Europa does not seem to exist (though it is possible that the name, of which the meaning is unknown to us, was ultimately the same). It is improbable, then, that the word had a Semitic etymology. On names of countries in -η see Sommer 1937, 254.[2] See Ninck 1946, 17–19 (who still tries an IE etymology).[3] (Very daring speculations in Andrews 1969.) Iustinus writes that east of the Thracian mountains, in Europe, a king Europs ruled (Iust. VII.1). Ammianus Marcellinus puts the Roman province of Europe south of Constantinopel, on the Sea of Marmara, with the town of Perinthos (XXVII. 4. 12).[4] In Byzantine times there was a diocese Europa on the eastern coast of Thracia. (See Gommers 32, without reference.)

4. West's alternative

The idea that the hero Kadmos was secondarily derived from *Kadmeioi/Kadmeia* is quite possible. The idea has been advanced earlier; see Edwards 1979, 188. The last to do so was M. L. West (1997, 448ff.). He explains *Kadmeioi* from *Qadmiyūma* ('peoples of the east', Ugaritic *qdmym*) or **Qadmiyyîm* (a plural, I think, but West does not indicate what form it is). The words would mean either 'the men from the east' or 'the men of old'. He then argues that Phoeni-

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[2] The gloss Εὐρώπη· χώρα τῆς δύσεως H. is understandable (it has the addition ἡ σκοτεινή); a second gloss εὐρῶπις· ἡ πατρίς H. is called *obscurum* by Latte.

[3] The idea of the European Union to take Europa on the bull, generally known as a Phoenician princess, as a symbol for the union, was not a happy one.

[4] This Europa is indicated on the (second) map XII of Kiepert.

cians in Greece might have called themselves 'Men of the east', just like the Norsemen called themselves Norsemen. In n. 33, however, he mentions that the Phoenicians, where we know it, did not call themselves thus, but 'Canaanites'. He himself prefers a different theory: "seeing the impressive ruins of the Mycenaean citadel, they attributed them to 'the men of old', the **qadmiyyîm*. They might also have applied the word to those occupants of ancient graves who in the eighth century were beginning to be the object of hero cults: we recall its use [of the word *qdmym*] of the Ugaritic Healer-heroes. Its ambiguity, together with the immigrants' natural desire for status, might then have encouraged the notion that those **qadmiyyîm* were actually *bnê qadm*, sons of the east – or sons of Kadmos." I find this such a complicated and improbable series of assumptions that it hardly deserves further discussion.

Luisa Prandi (1986, 46f.) comes close to the idea of West. She assumes that "a group of people" travelling from east to west reached the coast of the Aegaean (first in Thracia). She does not specify their exact origin, but they must have spoken West-Semitic, for she accepts the Kadmos etymology. Nor does she say explicitly that they came by ship, though I think that this is what she means. What we see, then, is that she does no longer simply say that the Phoenicians settled in Boeotia (in the same way as in the case of their other settlements in the Mediterranean).

West's hypothesis too is more vague than about the usually assumed arrival of Phoenicians (449). He says that "a group of Semitic-speakers, presumably Phoenicians" lived in Boeotia. He adds: "We need not think in terms of an invading horde: a peaceful trading colony is much more likely." West apparently does not reject the possibility of an invasion.

Now if both authors assume Phoenicians coming in the well-known way, we are back to the traditional conception. But they clearly want to leave open the possibility of a different scenario. I discuss here very shortly this proposal: they were Semites, but perhaps no Phoenicians, migrating toward the Greek mainland, by ship or even over land.

West defends the presence of a Semitic people by saying (p. 449) that "it is no more out of the way than the well-attested settlements of (1) Achaeans in Crete or Cyprus, (2) of Assyrians in Anatolia, or (3) of Phoenicians in Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and North Africa." (The numbers are mine.) This looks imposing, but it is not convincing.

Nr. (3) refers to the well-known Phoenician settlements and is not now under discussion. (1) concerns Greeks, but we are looking for a

Semitic people travelling to Europe. (2) shows the maximum range of migration (though in this case again it concerns only a settlement of merchants) of a Semitic people. But Anatolia is not very far from the home of this Semitic people; it can be reached overland; it is an adjoining country. So the conclusion is that there is no evidence for a Semitic people migrating to Europe, other than the Phoenicians through their trade-settlements. An even better parallel are the Etruscans migrating from north-western Asia Minor to Italy. However, they are not Semitic, nor coming from the area of the Semitic peoples. The point is not whether the supposed migration is in itself imaginable, but that no Semitic people is known ever to have made such a migration. This means that the alternative is without any support and therefore quite improbable. The traditional view thus is replaced by a more improbable one.

5. Kadmos from Kadmeioi

In her 1986 article, p. 42f., Luisa Prandi discusses the occurrences of the name Kadmeioi in Homer.[5] She draws a conclusion I cannot agree with.

Kadmeioi and its derivative Kadmeiōnes occur seven times in the Iliad; in the Odyssea only in λ 276; that is eight times in all. Kadmos is mentioned only once, ε 333, as the father of Ino. Now, Prandi concludes from the frequency of the term Kadmeioi and the near-absence of the name Kadmos that the name of the hero was later derived from Kadmeioi. The passages in book Δ recount the story how Tydeus visited Thebes and in athletic games won the victory of all his opponents. Furious, fifty Kadmeioi laid an ambush, but Tydeus killed them all (except one). So in fact these three passages can be reduced to one, where the Kadmeioi are mentioned. There was no reason to refer to Kadmos. It would have been much too long, and out of place in the context. In Ψ too, a hero is mentioned who defeated the Kadmeioi in games; again this is a very short remark, where a mention of Kadmos would be out of place. The place in the Odyssea mentions the reign of Oidipous, where mentioning Kadmos would be hardly possible. So what we find is that Kadmos is not mentioned because Homer had no need to mention him. No conclusion on the origin of the name Kadmos can therefore be drawn from Homer, though it is quite possible of course that Kadmos was derived from Kadmeioi or Kadmeia.

[5] Europa e i Cadmei: la 'versione beotica' del mito. The title just means the part of the myth that is situated in Boeotia; we do not have a Boeotian version.

6. The name Kadmos

Above we mentioned the etymology that connects the name with West-Semitic *qdm* 'east'. This idea is very old; e.g. Movers 1841, 516f., but it is even older (see Edwards 1979, 58 n. 60). We saw it in section 4 above. This etymology can easily be wrong. Further the name has been connected with κέκασμαι 'excel', 'be equipped' (on its etymology see García-Ramón 1988/90; he does not discuss the name, and I do not know what to conclude from it, perhaps he found it too uncertain; I see no proper names in -μος). Given the evident Pre-Greek etymology, there is no reason to consider an Indo-European origin. (The connection with Armenian *kazm-* 'equipment, ornament' is impossible, as Greek should then have a voiced stop.) The note in Hesychius κάδμος· δόρυ, λόφος, ἀσπίς. Κρῆτες does not help much.

It has long since been observed that the name is found as the name of a mountain and a (nearby) river in Caria; e.g. Fick, 1905, 24, 84, 128 and 135. This is very important, as it shows that the name is a Pre-Greek element. I call 'Pre-Greek' the substratum language of Greek (German 'Vorgriechisch'). See my discussion in 2003b. The basic study of these elements is Furnée 1972. We know that this language was also spoken in western Anatolia, as is shown most clearly by the geographical names; see the study by Haley and Blegen 1928. Further see Krahe 1954, 143–180, and Katičić 1976, 16–97. As to these names, Haley says (in Haley and Blegen, 1928, 142): "Certainly it is not likely that places so far inland as Hermos, Kadmos, ... owe their names to Greek influence." Thus also Sakellariou (1958, 370). Fick (24) further mentions Καδύανδα in Lycia and Κάδηνα in Lycaonia, but we cannot be sure that these forms are related. One might object to the comparison of a personal name with geographical names, but we know that, in Anatolia, the same name can be used for a mountain, a river or a person. See on the point Sundwall 1913, 271 and my note on Pylaios in 2002, 236 n. 42. Note further the presence in Asia Minor (in the north-west) of Καδμῖλος, one of the Cabires; it is generally accepted that the form is derived with the well known suffix -ιλ- from Κάδμος (on the name see Beekes, 2004, 466); this suffix clearly shows that the word is of Anatolian origin. A further important indication is a gloss of Stephanus of Byzance which says: Καμμανία· μοῖρα Θεσπρωτίας· ἐξ ἧς Κάδμος ὁ ποταμός. The area and the river have not been identified with certainty, as the Barrington Atlas does not give it. Kiepert gives the river as flowing north into the Thyamis, with a question mark.

The structure of the word as a whole also fits well, compare the island Πάτμος, the mountain Λάτμος, and the mountain Λάκμος in Athamania, east of Ioannina. All these forms have *CaC-m-(os)*, and we find them over the whole area (from Greece to Asia Minor).

The sequence -δμ- is rare in Greek. It is hardly found outside derived or inflected forms, as in σκυδμαίνω. But we find it in Pre-Greek forms. Cf. Ἰάδμων of Samos, which is clearly Pre-Greek (with ἰα-, cf. Ἰάπετος). Further there is ἀδμωλή, ἀδμενίδες.

There is also a form Κάσσμος. The development -δμ- > -σμ- is problematic in Greek. The treatment by Schwyzer 208 does not give a solution. Furnée 1972, 248ff. notes that τ/σ (or δ/σ) is a well known phenomenon in Pre-Greek. Note that we also have Κάσμιλος.

The conclusion is that the name is either derived from Καδμεία 'the Theban citadel' (or Καδμεῖοι 'its inhabitants', as we saw in section 5), or a name that is evidently identical with the name (of the mountain and river) Κάδμος, which means that in both cases we are concerned with the same Pre-Greek word.

7. The improbability of Phoenicians

There are several reasons which make the story that Phoenicians founded Thebes improbable.

1. As far as we know, no other Greek city was founded by Phoenicians, i.e. the assumed occurrence is without parallel in Greece.
2. Thebes is not a probable place to be founded by foreigners; it lies in the heart of the country, and not on the water. It may well be said to be the most improbable place one could think of to have been founded by foreigners.
3. There is no trace whatever of Phoenicians in the town or its surroundings.
4. The Phoenician expansion to Europe begins around 1000 B.C., not earlier. A date like 1400 or earlier, as is supposed for Kadmos, is therefore impossible.
5. In the course of the discussion I have not seen any separate argument in favour of the Phoenician hypothesis. One thinks of such arguments as those proposed by Astour (1965, 113–224) about "mythical" aspects, where he argues that the stories about Kadmos originated in West-Semitic myths. Edwards refutes the arguments

one by one, and concludes that none of them can be maintained; they are unreliable (139–159).[6]
6. The Greeks had no idea about these dates and about the possibility of foreign peoples entering Greece; thus they accepted that the Danaoi came from Egypt.

The most problematic point is the date. If the story that the Kadmeioi were Semites who settled in Boeotia is true, when could this have happened? The myth is usually dated (several generations) before the Trojan War, on the basis of which modern scholars think of about 1400 BC. West (1997, 449f.) e.g. adds: "It seems to me just as plausible a hypothesis, however, that our immigrants were Phoenicians of the Iron Age, say in the ninth or eighth century, . . ." Against such a late date can be argued that there would be a lively remembrance, and that it would be archaeologically recoverable.

The early date seems hardly possible for two reasons. First, it is most improbable that Semites settled in Greece, except the Phoenicians. There is not the slightest evidence that other peoples than the Phoenicians ever settled in Europe. Second, even if this were so, it is improbable that the Greeks would have any remembrance of it. In general they have only few and vague or incidental recollections of the Mycenaean Age (I think of such things as the boar's tusk helmet). The fact that one assumed that Phoenicians could have arrived before the Trojan War proves that they had no idea about the chronology: if it is true that the Trojan War occurred in or near the thirteenth century, this is far from the ninth or eighth century which are the probable dates for Phoenicians (as indicated by West).

The conclusion seems simple: the high date is impossible for the Phoenicians.

Several negative comments have been given. I mention Emily Vermeule who wrote (1971): "it appears that there is no early connection, in the Greek mind at least, between Kadmos and the Near East". Phoenicia was popular after the notorious 'Medizing' of Thebes in the Persian Wars. "His genealogy is late and confused." "Pindar the Theban has no idea of any eastern connections in the history of his city's founder." The finds from the east found in Thebes are what one might expect, it is nothing spectacular, it is like elsewhere (p. 185).

It is also remarkable that no other persons around Kadmos are known. Most often mentioned is Membliaros (e.g. Hdt. 4, 147). Now

[6] The conclusions of Edwards' research are often 'negative'. As a result, the reader is quite surprised that she gives at the end often a 'positive' comment on the possibility that the Kadmos story has a historical background. See also on section 10.

we know that this was the name of an island, Anaphe, east of Thera. It was also called Bliaros. This means that the name was reduplicated: **Me-mliaros* > Μεμβλίαρος, beside **Mliaros* > Βλίαρος. This is no doubt a Pre-Greek name, reduplication in geographical names of (Indo-European) Greek origin are unknown. (Fick 57 added: "aber die Namen haben eher karischen als phönizischen Klang". I don't know whether here again the man has the same name as an island, or whether this was just due to a wrong interpretation.) (I assumed that Pre-Greek did not have the phonemes *e* and *o*; so the reduplication vowel may have been *i*, with *e* as a (phonetic) variant. Cf. Μεμβλίς· Μῆλος ἡ νῆσος H. and Μίμαλλις.) So it is strange to see that people said to have belonged to Kadmos' group had a Pre-Greek name. It is remarkable that nothing has been found that could confirm a Phoenician origin of Kadmos. On the other hand, there is no problem to assume that the story is Greek fiction.

8. Edwards' treatment

I shall now discuss the arguments of Edwards' book more in detail. I shall follow her sections (pp. 45–204; ch. I and II, pp. xii–44, are introductory).

III. Phoenician origin (45–65). There is a long list of scholars who have rejected Phoenician origin or assumed that Kadmos was derived from Kadmeia (which means that the figure is fictitious). There are now two groups, one that interprets 'Phoenicians' as Minoans, or Carians, or Illyrians, or Pelasgoi; and another one that considers Kadmos as a real Phoenician, supported by the etymology of his name (p. 57). Archaeology came to show that there have been no Phoenicians in Thebes or Thera. Then, with the discovery of Ugarit, a parallel to the story of Europa was found. Edwards is rather negative on scholars who accepted Phoenician origin, as Graves, J. Bérard (who connected the Hyksos), Huxley (who connected the Luwians), Stubbings, Astour; Dussaud and Schaeffer were impressed by the discovery of the new texts from Ugarit. So no clear positive argument is given.

IV. How ancient is the Phoenician element? She refers that Gomme and Vian opposed to a Phoenician origin. Gomme (1913) pointed out that the oldest sources do not mention a Phoenician relation. Edwards answers that this is an argumentum e silentio. The oldest source is Pherekydes, who stresses Kadmos' Egyptian origin (!). She then states (74): "We must agree with Gomme that Kadmos and Europa may not have been originally related, as is suggested by the fluctuation

in the later tradition about their precise blood-relationship (...) as well as by the silence of the earliest sources, which however may not be quite so complete as Gomme argued" (referring to a fragment of Stesichorus). She then concludes that it has not been proven that Kadmos did not come from Phoenicia (86).

V. Kadmos, Minoan Crete and the meaning of Φοῖνιξ (87–115). There was no colonisation of Greece by the Cretans, but there were settlements on the islands (Rhodes, Thera). She then points out that there are indications for the presence of Cretan settlements. There is no firm conclusion of this section, but Cretan presence in Boeotia is not a point of discussion.

VI. Bronze Age Phoenicians at Thebes? Edwards notes two problems: the date of the Phoenician expansion, and the position of Thebes (not on the sea). She points out that there was not much contact in the 9th and 8th centuries, but that there was contact in the period 1600–1100, as seen in objects and in Mycenaean pottery (in 1365 Ugarit was destroyed but it soon recovered; when it was destroyed for the second time at the end of the 13th cent., it did not recover). However, what we need is Phoenicians (at least Semites) coming to Greece, not the other way round (which may have made little difference for the Greeks). Edwards calls this "not at all implausible" (128), but the fact remains that this presence has not been demonstrated.

She gives much attention to Ugarit. She points to a text where the king of Ugarit says that "all his ships now happen to be in Lycia". Another ship is said to have been in Kptr = Kaphtor, i.e. in Crete. Elsewhere is spoken about 150 ships (Edwards 126–129). Though she admits that only a handful of ships is mentioned in the relevant journeys, it must be admitted that the Ugaritians apparently sailed to the Aegaean. However, essential is for our problem that we have no evidence pointing to settlements made by the people of Ugarit in these regions.

As to the position of Thebes, Edwards refers to Mycenaean material in the Gulf of Euboea and farther, and to Aulis from where the Homeric fleet departed. She further refers to trade goods found in Thebes. But Emily Vermeule stated that this is nothing particular: this is what you may expect in a rich town. Edwards concludes (134ff.) that there was contact. However, the essential point is not made: there is no evidence for Phoenicians coming to Boeotia or Greece; there is no evidence for expeditions so far away from the Syrian coast.

VII. Oriental parallels to the Kadmos legend. Influence of West-Semitic religion is open to grave criticism. She then points to the

etymology (*qdm* 'the man from the east'). This etymology of course may be simply rejected: it could well be a look-alike. Astour's connection with the Cabires is rejected (as I did above). She ends with: "this would not rule out the possibility of an oriental presence in Mycenaean Boeotia". Again: it might have been, but there is no evidence.

VIII. Chronological problems. The founding of Thebes is dated to around 1400. Here we return to what was said above: the founding would have been long before the expansion of the Phoenicians, so the Kadmos story is next to impossible. (Edwards repeats the point of the introduction of the alphabet, which is generally considered post-Kadmos.)

So the conclusion is that the objections have not been removed: the story is too early for the arrival of the Phoenicians, and there is no evidence for another origin. We cannot just say that "it could have been". Combined with the position of Thebes, which is most improbable for a Phoenician settlement, the negative arguments are decisive. So Edwards' arguments fail to convince. My conclusion is that Edwards' book does not adduce any serious evidence for a Phoenician (or other oriental) group that settled in Greece. Therefore the Phoenician option must definitely be given up.

I combine this with the fact that the name Kadmos is most probably either (re)constructed from Kadmeia (and so purely fictitious), or Pre-Greek, like the mountain and river in Caria. Another man mentioned is Membliaros, which is the name of an island, which is also Pre-Greek.

It seems that there is more. It is stated that Kadmos was the son of the Boeotian king Ogygos. Edwards rejects this (p. 49), because the source is very late (it appears in Photius and in the Suda). But Ogygos is also mentioned in Pausanias (9.5.1), though he does not say that Kadmos is his son and duly relates that Kadmos is Phoenician. It is apparently an old story, as Pausanias adds: "from him the mass of poets have given Thebes the title Ogygian". Ogygos is known as a kind of Primeval Man, so when Kadmos lived in his time, he will have been there from The Beginning Of Time; he will have been there of old and will not have come from a far country. Here we may have an element of the original background of Kadmos in Boeotia. It shows him as an (extremely) old local figure.

More difficult is the following. "Der samothrakische Kadmos ist oft mit dem gleichnamigen phoinikischen Gründerheros von Theben verschmolzen" (Ch. Tsochos in DNP 11,27 s.v. Samothrake). The

relation between Kadmos and Harmonia is unclear. Kadmos would have married her in Thebes, or in Samothrake. She is sometimes called the daughter of Elektra, not of Ares and Aphrodite. Also, Kadmos would have abducted her, after which there was a (ritual) search for her. If one accepts this version that Kadmos was so much involved with religious conceptions, it is improbable that we have to do with a Phoenician. As to Harmonia, Roscher s.v. noted that her name may have been altered by popular etymology, which I find a very attractive idea. Vian (142 n. 4) mentions a reading Ἀρμενία, which he considers as a simple mistake (it is found in Schol. T on Il. Γ 189); but how can we know? (Vian also mentions a reading Hermioné, e.g. Hygin. Fab. 155.)[7]

The last point is not very strong, but we saw that there are no positive arguments, and that so early operations in Greece must be called impossible. This item of Greek imagination should now finally be forgotten.

9. How did they come to be 'Phoenicians'?

The most vexing point is the question how the relevant people came to be considered as Phoenicians.

Europa could easily have been made to come from Phoenicia. The essential part of her story seems to be that she was brought to Crete by a bull from the sea. The Cretan story just seems to be that a bull came from the sea . . . without any question being asked from where the bull came. When the question was asked, Crete was strategically positioned with respect to Phoenicia: apart from Rhodes, Crete is the part of Greece that lies nearest to Phoenicia. In Homer she is called daughter of Phoinix. This name may have induced her Phoenician origin.

As to Kadmos, Vian 56–69 argues for Miletus as the place where the change occurred, in the international port. This seems quite possible. (He suggests that it happened in the period 650–550, so rather late.) Of course, Kadmos may simply have followed Europa. The Greeks will have accepted the idea without difficulty, unaware of any problem; it was just 'interesting'.

10. Kadmos and the alphabet

This is not a real problem. Herodotus (V 59?) states that the Phoenicians who came with Kadmos brought writing to Greece. That the

[7] Such a 'speaking' name as Harmonia (taken as ὁμόνοια) I have always considered to be a mistake. If it was an older goddess, she will not have had such a Greek abstract as a name. Also, there can have been two names that resembled each other.

Greek alphabet derives from the Phoenician one is certain, but we do not know exactly when and where it was taken over. The earliest texts date from the end of the eighth century. The actual adoption may have been a century earlier, that is at the end of the ninth century. (Presently Ruijgh 1998 argues for a much earlier date, around 1000 BC, assuming that earlier texts were written only on perishable material.) But the suggestion is probable that the arbitrary choices made in the adaptation of the Phoenician alphabet prove that it was adapted by one man at one moment. Wachter in DNP (1, 537ff.) refutes earlier dates than the usual around 800.

The Greeks clearly remembered that they had their alphabet from the Phoenicians. For Herodotus all Phoenician activity in Greece was associated with Kadmos. So it is only evident that the introduction of the alphabet was also ascribed to him and his men, once Kadmos had become a Phoenician. Of course, it is unacceptable to base the date of the introduction of the alphabet on the dating of Kadmos. As the coming of Kadmos is generally dated to 1400 or earlier, the alphabet was not introduced by Kadmos. It can easily be a later addition to the story of Kadmos. The point, then, does not interest us here.

Edwards' treament is not too clear (174–179). She discusses the idea, sometimes proposed, that it was not the alphabet that Kadmos brought, but Linear B. She rejects this idea, but then remarks that "the possibility that Kadmos' association with writing goes back to the Bronze Age cannot be wholly excluded". Here, as in other places, she rejects an idea as improbable if not impossible, but then at the same time keeps the possibility open. This is a most unhappy way of presenting the issue.

11. Schachter's hypothesis

In 1985 Schachter, the author of the Cults of Boeotia, proposed quite a different interpretation of the myth of Kadmos. He points to movements of people from Asia Minor to Greece in the Geometric and early Archaic periods. The first is the advent of Hesiod's father from Aeolis (Kyme) to Askra in Boeotia. The second would concern those who brought the service of the Cabires to Thebes. (Here he suggests that the name Cabires may have been of Semitic origin. I have just shown conclusively that this name is Pre-Greek, i.e. not Semitic; Beekes 2004.) These immigrations might have been the example for the myth of Kadmos. One problem is that we are here concerned with Greeks, not with Phoenicians (as the author admits; though he points to the traces of a non-Greek language in the cult of

Samothrace). Also there is no indication that these movements were ever connected with the founding of Thebes. I don't think the facts mentioned had any impact on the myth of Kadmos. Also, to connect two facts with the Kadmos story, does not make the case stronger; it rather gives the reaction that one of them will not do.[8]

12. Kadmos in Cilicia

Nonnos (1. 154–2.634) has the story that it was Kadmos who saved Zeus in the struggle with Typhon, near Korykos in Cilicia. The monster, which had taken Zeus' weapons while he was after Europa, subdued him and took his sinews. Then Kadmos arrived in Cilicia, in his search for Europa. He gets from Pan a herd and a herder's flute. The monster is enticed by Kadmos' music. Then Kadmos asks Zeus' sinews, pretending that he will make a new musical instrument that will be even more beautiful. Zeus gets back the sinews and this time conquers the monster. As was suggested by Edwards (p. 41) and proven by Tanja Scheer (1993, 307–320, esp. 316f.), Nonnos himself invented this version. It is well known that the Typhon story originated in this corner of the world, as there is e.g. the Hittite story of Illuyankas who takes the god's (= Zeus') heart and eyes. We have two Greek versions of the Typhon story earlier than Nonnos, where Typhon takes Zeus' sinews, in Apollodorus (1.6,3) and Oppianus' Halieutika (3.7–15). In the first author Hermes and Aigipan get back the sinews, in Oppian it is Hermes with his son Pan of Korykos.

Now it is clear that Kadmos has been put in the place of Hermes and/or Pan; e.g. he gets his instruments from Pan. There are several circumstances that form a connection between Hermes and Kadmos. In the cult of Samothrake, Hermes was equated with Kadmilos, one of the Kabeiroi. And Kadmilos is easily connected with Kadmos, who can be well used in another dragon battle. Also, there is no confirmation anywhere that Kadmos played a part in this story, therefore it will be Nonnos' invention (Scheer, 316f.). Nonnos will have ascribed this feat to Kadmos, because he was the grandfather of Dionysos, who is honoured in his Dionysiaka. Further, a connection between Kadmos and Cilicia was suggested by the fact that Kadmos had a brother called Kilix. The story, then, is late fiction that is irrelevant to the Kadmos-myth.

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[8] Schachter analyses (151) Καδμεῶνες as Καδμε- plus the suffix -ων, which is impossible; Greek (and Indo-European) did not have stems in *-e*; see Beekes 1994.

Appendix. The name Phoinikes

We know that *Phoinīkes* is the Greek name for the people, who called themselves Canaanites. We have the mention by Herodian (FHG i 17, iv 627; fr. 358?) that Hecataeus used the form Χνα = ἡ Φοινίκη, and from Choeroboscus (Bekker, Anecdota fr. 254) ὁ Χνᾶς, τοῦ Χνᾶ. In the New Testament we find Χαναάν (see Aubet 1996, 5–12).

The first is that we find the name frequently as a geographical name. I base myself on the new atlas (the Barrington Atlas). Here we find names with Phoinik- sixteen times, four times as a river, twice for a mountain, thrice as a 'water' (once noted as 'gulf', sinus); the other nine occurrences are towns. The name is found nine times in (present-day) Greece (I include here the one in Albania, just across the border) and nine times in Turkey. They are the following (I give the number of the map and the sections and arrange them from northeast to southwest; fl(uvius), M(ons), no siglum is a town (unless stated otherwise); there are three forms: (*Phoinik*)-*s*, -*e*, -*ous*; question marks indicate uncertainty, as in the atlas):

In Greece:

54B2 -*e* in Epirus; and 54B2 -*e* in Epirus (two cities close to each other);
55C3 -*s*? fl.: near Thermopylae;
58B1 -*s* fl.: N of Peloponnese, W. of Aigion;
58B4 -*ous*: Gulf in the S. of Messenia;
60 B2 -*s*: S. coast of Crete, east of Tarra;
60B2 -*ous* Limen: water, ibid.;
60B2 -*s*?: S. coast of Crete, S. of Rhithumna.

In Turkey:

56C4 -*ous* Sinus: W. coast, N. of Erythrai;
61G4 -*s*: SE of Knidos;
61G4 -*s* M: ibid.;
65B5 -*e*: Lycia, S. of Xanthos;
65D5 -*s*: Lycia, S. of Limyra;
65D5 -*s* fl: ibid.;
65D4 -*ous* M: Lycia, E. of Phaselis;
65D5 -*ous* fl.: Lycia, S. of Phaselis.

So there is an almost continuous chain from Epirus to Phaselis. (This may be important for the origin of the name of Phoenicia: it was just the following step. Note that there are no instances found in Cilicia, map 66.) The word did not refer to (the presence of) Phoenicians, as we have no indication whatsoever that the Phoenicians founded

cities on the southern coast of Turkey; also they would have given their settlements names of their own (and the Greeks would have used these). Nor is it probable that the presence of a minority of Phoenician merchants would have been the reason to call all these places *Phoinik-*. As the word is of non-IE origin, i.e. a loan from the Aegean substratum, one might consider the possibility that the name (e.g. those on the south coast of Turkey), had been there before the Greeks settled in these regions. – Further, of course, Phoinix occurs as a personal name (e.g. the old friend of Achilles). (Athena Phoinike in Corinth is late, Lyc. 658 + schol.)

The second point is that peoples' names with the typical (non-IE) suffix *-īk-* are found in northwestern Greece, the *Aithīkes* and the *Temmīkes*. Chantraine Dict. s.v. 1. and 2. φοῖνιξ makes distinctions which I cannot accept. Thus he suggests that *Aithīk-* may contain the IE word for 'face', **-h_3k^w-*, but this would have given *p*, not *k*. Further, it is based on an interpretation of *Aithiops* which I consider wrong (see Beekes 1995/6, where I have shown that this word is non-IE., i.e. Pre-Greek). Further, Chantraine mentions that Bonfante assumes that Phoinike in Chaonia (in Albania) may be from a foreign language, perhaps Illyrian. I think that this Phoinike is not different from the other places in Greece, and must rather be a Pre-Greek form. Then he analyses *Phoinīk-* as *Phoin-īk-*. Essential is that Greek, or Indo-European, did not have a suffix *-īk-*. I agree completely with Chantraine's analysis in his Formation, 382f., where he gives a number of these words which are clearly all non-Indo-European (note βέμβιξ, πέρδιξ, σκάνδιξ, ῥᾶδιξ, σπάδιξ, κίμβιξ). After discussing forms with -ικ- and -ῡκ-, -υκ-, he concludes: "Les mots empruntés à des parlers méditerranéens mis à part, il existe de petits groupes sémantiques, peu productifs, composés de mots familiers désignant des animaux, des plantes, des termes techniques, des sobriquets ou des diminutifs. Les dérivés constitués en grec rejoignaient ainsi les noms empruntés." I doubt whether there are any words that originated in Greek, cf. my article on κῆρυξ Beekes 2003a, where I showed that the Indo-European etymology of this word must be abandoned and that it is Pre-Greek. In the introduction to this section Chantraine wrote: "A ces mots se sont associés des noms propres empruntés, Φοῖνιξ, d'où a été tiré φοῖνιξ 'pourpre'; 'dattier', etc." This treatment is rather different from that in the Dictionnaire. (Note also the different treatment by Frisk.) Thus, names of peoples like Phoinikes occur. Now Greek has an adjective φοῖνιξ 'dark red, brown-red'. Maybe the ethnonym had the same meaning; it is possible that a river (thus

Chantraine on the river near Thermopylae) has this meaning; for a mountain too it is possible (the earth containing iron?). Maybe the word had more than one meaning (cf. the meanings 'date-palm' and 'lyre, musical instrument'). Though the meaning 'dark-brown' seems quite possible for people(s), it may have had a different meaning. One reason for naming the Phoenicians thus may have been that they were the people coming along the south coast of Anatolia, always from the same direction, always rounding Lycia and entering the Aegean through the gap between Rhodes and Crete.

The only conclusion we can draw at the moment is that the name Phoinik- occurred in Greece, also in the neighbourhood of Boeotia, and that it may have been more widespread than we know; it may have facilitated the adoption of that qualification for Kadmos.

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Rethinking some aspects of trade in the Arabian Gulf

D. T. Potts

Introduction

Ever since the publication of A. L. Oppenheim's seminal review of UET V (Oppenheim 1954) the dynamics of Bronze Age trade in the Arabian Gulf have been a subject of endless fascination for both archaeologists and Assyriologists. The literature on this subject has become enormous, and I am only presuming to add yet another paper to an already swelling corpus because the ongoing excavations at Tell Abraq have brought to light what is in some cases unique material which, as my title suggests, calls for a reconsideration of certain ideas, both new and old, in this field. Tell Abraq (Fig. 1), a stratified mound covering c. 4ha and rising to a maximum height of 10m above the surrounding plain, is located near the coast of the United Arab Emirates in the emirate of Umm al-Qaiwain (Potts 1990a, 1991). Three seasons of excavation (1989; 1990; 1992) have revealed an apparently continuous sequence of occupation spanning the period between c. 2500 and 500 BC. While it certainly does not provide answers to all the questions which need rethinking in Gulf archaeology, it does provide a substantial amount of new data which help one to view certain problems in a new light. This essay, therefore, is inspired primarily by three years of excavation at Tell Abraq and secondarily by a consideration of the large quantity of recently excavated or published material from other sites in the Gulf region. It is concerned primarily with developments in south-eastern Arabia, ancient Magan, and only secondarily with Dilmun. Throughout the discussion, I accept the identification of the Oman peninsula with the land known in cuneiform sources as Magan (for further elaboration, see Potts 1990b: 133–50). Where absolute dates are given for the reigns of Mesopotamian rulers I follow J. A. Brinkman's chronology (Brinkman 1977).

Mesopotamia and Magan in the third millennium BC

> Magan, and perhaps even Meluḫḫa in the third millennium BC, received large amounts of barley from Mesopotamia . . . . despite Oman's own agricultural economy, third millennium Oman/Magan's grain production may not have been fully adequate to support the large numbers of workmen and artisans engaged in the copper-mining industry . . . . Southern Mesopotamia exported far more grain to Magan as return-cargo than has previously been realized.
>
> (During Caspers 1989: 14, 17)

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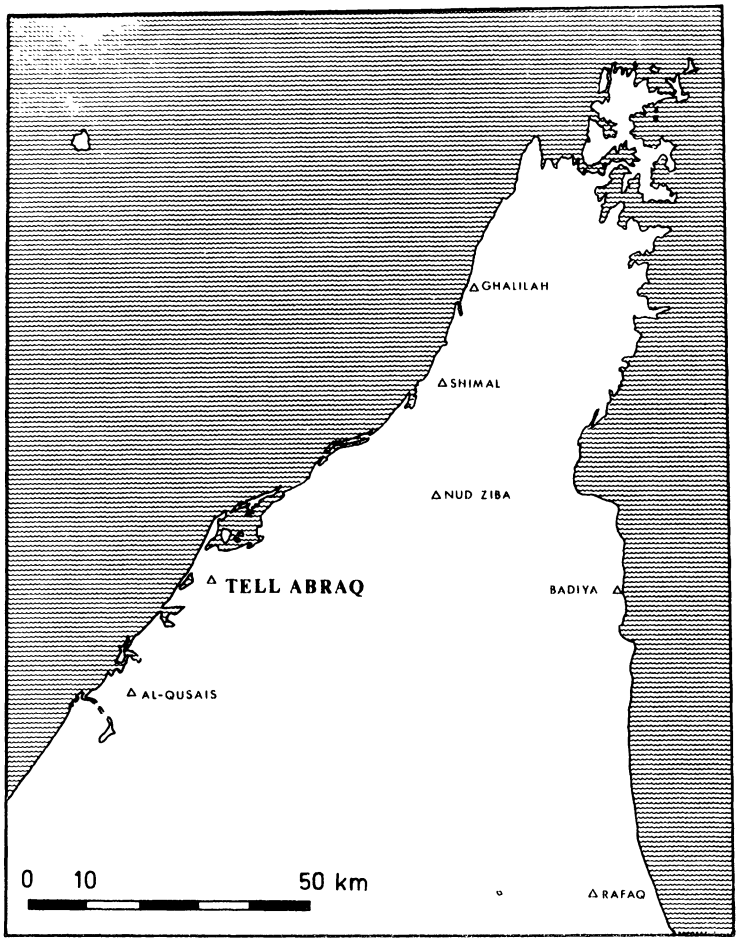

Figure 1 Map of Northern Emirates showing the location of Tell Abraq.

The author of the statement quoted above has followed a suggestion made some years ago by the eminent Assyriologist W. F. Leemans (Leemans and Kroll 1984: 25), who proposed that the large stocks of cereals generated by the agriculturally-based estates of southern Mesopotamia could have been used to pay for the regular import of foreign commodities such as copper. A similar suggestion has been made with reference to the acquisition of imports from the Iranian plateau (cf. Crawford 1973; Kohl 1978). What evidence is there that this took place?

No pre-Sargonic or Sargonic royal inscriptions or economic texts record any such movement of cereals between southern Mesopotamia and Magan, nor do any texts from the period of Gudea. There is, in fact, but one solitary text (ITT ii 776) from Tello (ancient Girsu) which is even vaguely relevant to the argument. In the year Šu-Sin 8 (2030 BC) the *ensi* of Girsu issued a consignment of 70 (or 600, the number is unclear, cf. Steinkeller 1982: 249, n. 40) bushels (**gur**) of barley to one B/Pudu (Heimpel 1987: 81, §48). This was qualified in Sumerian as **gú Má-gan^{ki} – šè**, which may be translated as 'cargo for Magan'.

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Nothing in this text compels us to see it in connection with the purchase of copper, however. In contrast, a slightly later text from Ur (UET III 1689) dating to the year Ibbi-Sin 4 (2025 BC), concerning the well-known merchant Lu-enlilla, explicitly notes that the goods which he received from the Nanna temple were **níğ-šám-ma urudu-Mágan**^{ki}, or 'goods issued for the purchase of Magan copper' (Heimpel 1987: 81, §46). Lu-enlilla, however, was never issued cereals for the purchase of copper. Rather, he paid for his purchases with textiles and wool, both abundantly produced by the gigantic textile 'factories' of southern Mesopotamia during the Ur III period (cf. Waetzoldt 1972). So much for the large-scale export of grain to Magan in the third millennium.

There is, however, another way of evaluating this hypothesis which its advocates have overlooked. By now, the excavation of numerous third millennium burials in the Oman peninsula has yielded the remains of hundreds of prehistoric Maganites. Dental anthropological studies, in particular, reveal a good deal about the diet of these people. If the kind of massive export of grain to the Oman peninsula envisaged by Leemans and During Caspers ever occurred, it would be recognizable in the acquired characteristics of the ancient population's teeth. K. Højgaard's investigations of the teeth recovered from third millennium (Umm an-Nar period) graves on Umm an-Nar island, located on the coast of the United Arab Emirates near Abu Dhabi (1980: 363, cf. 1984: 202) and in the Wadi Jizzi, near Sohar on the Batinah coast of Oman (1984: 202–3, 1985: 151–6), have shown that cereals played no role in the diet of these coastal populations, who were largely dependent on fish, turtle and dugong for their protein. On the other hand, cereals were at least in part responsible for the carious lesions and fractures visible on teeth from third millennium graves excavated at Jabal Hafit (Højgaard 1985: 151–5) and Maysar (Kunter 1983: 339–40) in the interior of the Oman peninsula. But the remains of cereals found, for example, at the third millennium inland settlement of Hili 8 (Cleuziou and Costantini 1980; Cleuziou 1989: 79–80), where wild wheat, wild barley, domesticated two-row barley, six-row hulled barley, emmer and sorghum are present, along with the date-palm (Potts 1990b: 130), show clearly that the interior of the Oman peninsula possessed a varied agricultural regime. This point, combined with the absence of any strong Mesopotamian influence in the third millennium assemblages of south-eastern Arabia and the lack of cuneiform references to grain export, suggests that the putative mass export of Mesopotamian cereals to Magan is illusory. The arguments raised against P. L. Kohl's suggestion that surplus grain was being exported *en masse* from Mesopotamia to the Iranian plateau in the third millennium (Potts 1982: 40–1; Carter 1990: 94) are just as appropriate in the case of alleged cereal exports from Mesopotamia to Magan.

What certainly did reach Magan, judging by the typical Early Dynastic III storage jars found in five of the third millennium burials on Umm an-Nar island (Frifelt 1991: figs 86–90, 125–8, 137, 179–81, 207), was something liquid. Provenience studies have demonstrated that the vessels analysed were actually manufactured in southern Mesopotamia (Mynors 1983). In this regard, it is interesting to recall that, in the second year of the reign of Ibbi-Sin (2027 BC), the text UET III 1511 informs us that Lu-enlilla was given, among other things, 6 **kúr** or 1515.6 litres of good sesame oil with which to purchase copper, and that the oil was on board a ship bound for Magan (Potts 1990b: 145). Several hundred years earlier, oil may likewise have travelled to Magan in the large, pear-shaped Mesopotamian storage jars found by the Danish expedition on Umm an-Nar.

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Magan and the Indus Valley in the late third millennium BC

> In historical perspective, it is worth stressing that during the critical phase of intense political confrontation between the Akkadian empire and the southern states of 2300–2200 BC, Oman was still culturally close to the Iranian east and included in the great Euphratic circuit of exchange. Only after the collapse of the Akkadian empire . . . do Harappan artefacts begin to be found.
>
> (Cleuziou and Tosi 1989: 43)

How tenable is this view?

To attempt to distinguish archaeologically an Old Akkadian context of 2300–2200 from an immediately post-Akkadian context of 2200–2000 BC in the Oman peninsula is probably unwise if not impossible. Both calendric dates would be classified as 'late Umm an-Nar period' by most scholars working in the area. This is not to deny the fact that, in historical terms, contemporaneity with the Old Akkadian period as opposed to the Ur III empire is an important distinction. In reflecting on whether the Harappan penetration of the Arabian Gulf began before or after the collapse of the Akkadian empire, one is immediately reminded of Sargon of Agade's boast that ships from Dilmun, Magan and Meluḫḫa moored at the quay of Agade (Gelb and Kienast 1990), suggesting that, if Meluḫḫan (= Harappan) ships reached Babylonia by the early Akkadian period, they are likely to have been visiting the coast of Magan at that time as well.

Confirmation of some form of contact between the Indus Valley and the Oman peninsula during the late Old Akkadian period is provided now by Tell Abraq, where two Harappan weights (Plate 1) weighing 14.20 and 53.95g respectively, and a quantity of unpainted sherds from one or more storage jars, made of a very hard-fired, finely levigated, orange paste which are almost certainly Harappan (Fig. 2), have been recovered in a fireplace located within a large, circular fortress-tower (I owe both the reconstruction of the vessel illustrated and the identification of this pottery as probably Harappan to Prof. Rita P. Wright, New York University, the ceramicist of the American expedition which has been excavating Harappa since 1986). Thus far, the earliest date (K-5582) from the fortress-tower is 2570–2510 cal. BC (± 1σ 2860–2460 cal. BC), and this probably signals the period in which the building was constructed. A corrected C14 date (K-5578) of

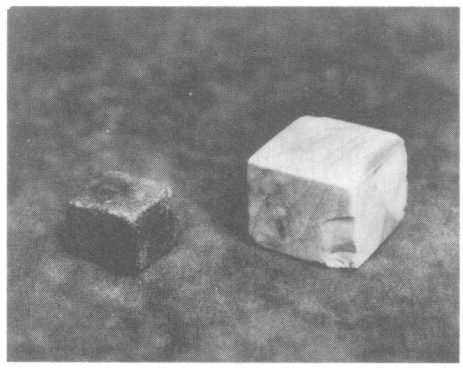

Plate 1 Harappan weights from Tell Abraq; left, TA 125 (14.20g, made of jasper (?), and right, TA 146 (53.95g), made of highly polished, banded chert.

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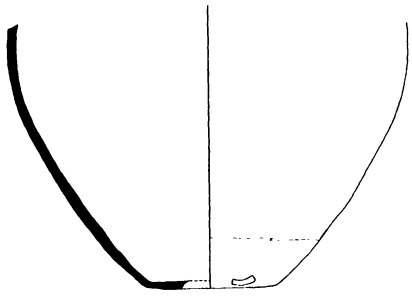

Figure 2 Reconstructed profile of TA 1811; very hard-fired red-orange, orange and cream wash; no visible temper; base diameter 12cm.

2170–2140 cal. BC (± 1σ 2280–2030 cal. BC) run on carbonized date stones has been obtained from the fireplace within which the weights and sherds just mentioned were found. From just outside the fireplace we have three more dates which all fall within the 2190–2140 cal. BC range. If we work on the basis of the calibrated dates, we are looking at a context that would be contemporary with the end of the Akkadian period (Brinkman 1977: 336). However, the weights were found in the fireplace as 'discards', and thus it is logical to assume that their use predates the C14 date by some years. This could easily push the date of their period of use back into the middle of the Old Akkadian period if not earlier. There seems, then, no justification for the view that Harappan contact with south-eastern Arabia was an exclusively post-Akkadian phenomenon.

The presence of Harappan storage jars at Tell Abraq is also intriguing. It is obvious that unpainted storage jar sherds are more likely to go unnoticed than the characteristic and more immediately recognizable black-painted Harappan pottery found at other sites in south-eastern Arabia (e.g. at Ras al-Junayz by the Joint Hadd Expedition). Once identified, however, the question arises what was being transported. While R. P. Wright has expressed some uncertainty as to whether the remains of Harappan vessels found on sites in the Gulf were imported for their innate value as ceramic containers or for their contents (Wright 1991: 72), P. Gouin has recently suggested that secondary dairy products, such as dried cheese (*qurut*) may have been travelling in jars of this sort to the Oman peninsula (Gouin 1990: 49). This is an interesting suggestion which could perhaps be confirmed by residue analysis. Was Harappan cheese a novelty to the Arabian palate which was so valuable that it was decanted and weighed using the Harappan weights recovered in the same context?

Mesopotamia and Magan in the second millennium BC

> After the collapse of the Dynasty of Ur, Telmun replaces Makkan in the Eastern trade of the city. The latter country is not mentioned any more . . . in our volume of tablets [UET V] of the Larsa Period . . . Telmun, as against Makkan, seems never to have completely lost contact with Mesopotamia.
>
> (Oppenheim 1954: 15)

. . . the modalities of copper trade became different. The Makkan boats were no longer

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> reaching the ports of Sumer, and everything seems at that time to have been in the hands of Dilmun merchants . . . We do not know if restricted oasis life continued, but 20 years of archaeological research have failed to locate anything before the second quarter of the first millennium BC, when the introduction of underground water systems from Iran again made oasis agriculture a valuable alternative economic pattern.
>
> (Cleuziou 1981: 292)

The above quotations typify a number of perceptions which are widely held and in need of some modification. To simplify the analysis of these views, it is best to enumerate the points embedded in them one by one.

1. Magan is not mentioned in cuneiform sources after the Ur III period.
2. Magan continued, however, to supply the copper being retailed by Dilmun during the Isin-Larsa and early Old Babylonian eras, even though it was not mentioned as such in the cuneiform sources.
3. Settled life in the Oman peninsula, i.e. Magan, ceased c. 1700 BC, roughly at the time when Dilmun stopped supplying copper to Babylonia, and did not resume until the early Iron Age.

That Magan is not mentioned in post-Ur III cuneiform sources until the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243–1207 BC; for the texts, see Grayson 1987: 237ff.) is well known, and no evidence, from Ur or any other site, has been discovered in the past four decades which invalidates Oppenheim's general point. It was purely coincidental, however, that the 'first' second-millennium assemblages discovered in the Oman peninsula dated to the early second millennium (Potts 1990b: 232–4), and that, as Cleuziou noted above, twenty years of searching failed to find anything which filled the gap between the Wadi Suq period, then put at c. 2000–1700 BC, and the Iron Age. This state of affairs fully justified his characterization of the people of the Wadi Suq period as 'the last known sedentary culture before the transition of eastern Arabia to full time nomadism' (Cleuziou 1981: 279), and indeed inspired C. Edens to add fuel to the fire by characterizing this interval as 'a thousand years of negative evidence' (Edens 1986: 204). But the coincidence between the cessation of Dilmun's role as Babylonia's southern supplier of copper, and the apparently short-lived nature of sedentary life in the Oman peninsula during the early second millennium, was more apparent than real. Sedentary life in the Oman peninsula did not cease altogether around the time when Dilmun stopped supplying Babylonia with copper. The 'great collapse' was an artifact of our archaeological ignorance, as excavations at both Tell Abraq and Shimal have shown.

Work on the settlement at Shimal (Ras al-Khaimah), which began in 1985 (excavations of graves there, discovered in 1968, had already begun in 1976–7), revealed a sedentary, coastal community which dated to the middle (c. 1600–1400 BC) of the second millennium (Velde 1991; Méry 1991; Potts 1989: 711–12; cf. Vogt and Franke-Vogt 1987: 34–6 for the similar dating of tomb SH 102). At Tell Abraq, on the other hand, we have a continuous sequence of sedentary occupation extending from the middle of the third millennium through the middle of the first millennium BC (Potts 1990a; 1991). The monumental fortification of late third-millennium date currently under excavation (for preliminary accounts, see Potts 1990a: 22–52; 1991: 21–5; note that excavations in 1992 confirmed that

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what had previously been considered two buildings are in fact two phases of one and the same building) was refurbished in the early second millennium, showing no signs of abandonment. Ceramically, we can distinguish three phases within the pre-Iron Age second millennium, i.e. the period c. 2000–1200 BC (Potts 1990a: 60–77; Velde 1992).

From the newly discovered second-millennium assemblages at Tell Abraq come a number of sherds which, by virtue both of their shape and paste, are clearly foreign. I have divided these into sherds which can be parallelled largely in the Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian period (Fig. 3 and Table 1), and those which are more at home in the Kassite and post-Kassite era (Fig. 4 and Table 2; see also the discussion of Elamite parallels below). Their presence stands in stark contrast to the impression given by the cuneiform sources in which Magan seems to do a disappearing act between the demise of the Third Dynasty of Ur (c. 2000 BC) and the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I in the second half of the thirteenth century BC, and suggests that indeed there was some contact between the upper

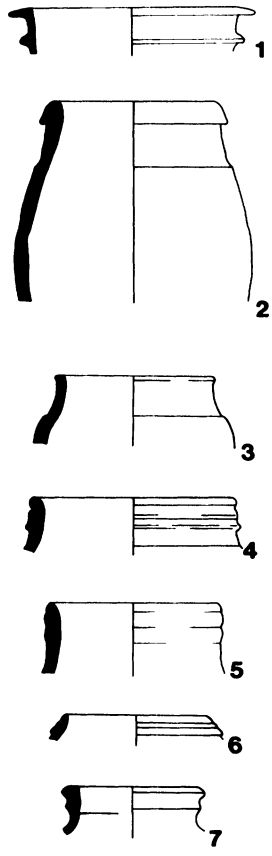

Figure 3 Mesopotamian forms, largely of the earlier second millennium BC, from Tell Abraq (cf. Table 1).

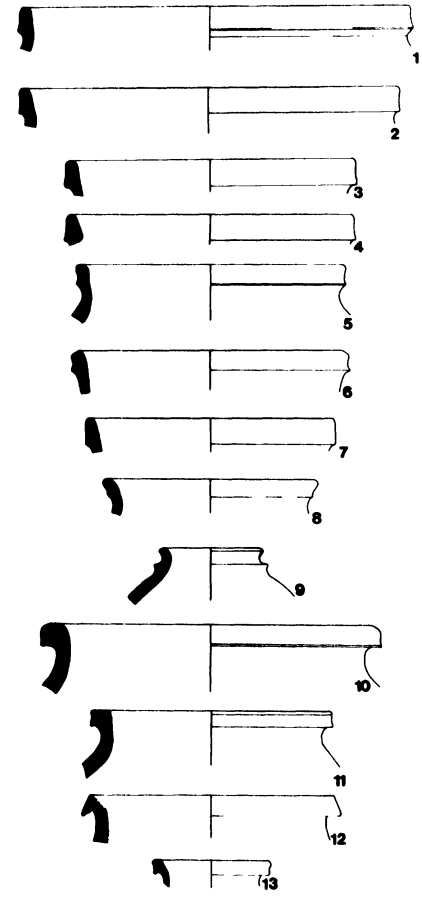

Figure 4 Kassite and Middle Elamite forms from Tell Abraq (cf. Table 2).

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Table 1 Notes to Figure 3.

Fig 3.	*Reg. no.*	*Reference*	*Description*	*Brief comparanda and date range*
1	TA 379	Potts 1990a: fig. 115.1	Finely levigated orange/tan; rim dia. 14cm	Old Babylonian Nippur (Ayyoub 1982: 46)
2	TA 2177	Potts 1991: figs 43.5, 44	Green-buff, chaff and some grit; rim dia. 12cm	Late Isin-Larsa Diyala (Ayyoub 1982: 61); cf. Failaka (Højlund 1987: figs 187–91), Khor-Ile (Edens 1981: fig. 6)
3	TA 1620	Potts 1991: fig. 73.4	Hard tan chaff, black slipped; rim dia. 11cm	Late Isin-Larsa/Old Babylonian Diyala (Ayyoub 1982: 84–6); Failaka (Højlund 1987: figs 238, 240)
4	TA 2875	unpublished	Porous green buff, no visible temper; rim dia. 14cm	Old Babylonian through Kassite Mesopotamia, Failaka, Bahrain (Højlund 1987: figs 206–18)
5	TA 1565	Potts 1991: figs 47.5, 48	Soft green-buff; rim dia. 12cm	As Fig. 3.4
6	TA 991	Potts 1990a: fig. 105.6	Yellow-buff; rim dia. 10cm	Old Akkadian (?) through Isin-Larsa Mesopotamia (Ayyoub 1982: 49, 53; Barbar temple III, early Kassite Failaka (Højlund 1987: fig 212)
7	TA 2828	unpublished	Sandy tan, fine shell (?) and chaff, grey core; rim dia. 9cm	Old Babylonian through Kassite Mesopotamia, Failaka (Højlund 1987: fig. 195)

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Table 2 Notes to Figure 4.

Fig 4.	*Reg. no.*	*Reference*	*Description*	*Brief comparanda and date range*
1	TA 2964	unpublished	Fine tan chaff and grit, grey core; rim dia. +40cm	Middle Elamite Susa (de Miroschedji 1981: fig. 13.13; Carter and Stolper 1984: fig. 11.9) and Tal-i Malyan (Carter and Carrothers 1980: fig. 1); Kassite Hamrin (Boehmer and Dämmer 1985: Taf. 42.167, 47.194–6, 198, 126.297–9,. 127.306–9, 311–12); Failaka (Højlund 1987: fig. 196)
2	TA 2976	unpublished	Buff chaff and grit; rim dia. 40cm	As Fig. 4.1
3	TA 2077	Potts 1991: fig 73.5	Pink buff grit and fine chaff; rim dia. 30cm	As Fig. 4.1
4	TA 982	Potts 1990a: fig. 105.8	Tan-orange grit, grey interior, smooth exterior; rim dia. 30cm	As Fig. 4.1
5	TA 1535	Potts 1991: fig. 46.1	Red-orange grit and fine chaff, grey core; rim dia. 28cm	As Fig. 4.1
6	TA 531	Potts 1990a: fig. 87.1	Heavy brown grit; rim dia. 28cm	As Fig. 4.1
7	TA 515	Potts 1990a: fig. 90.6	Coarse tan with fine chaff, grey core; rim dia. 26cm	As Fig. 4.1
8	TA 2050	Potts 1991: fig. 47.2	Smooth, coarse tan grit; rim dia. 22cm	As Fig. 4.1
9	TA 525	Potts 1990a: fig. 87.2	Smooth tan, no visible temper; rim dia. 10cm	Middle Elamite Susa (de Miroschedji 1981: fig. 10.18)
10	TA 327	Potts 1990a: fig. 98.8	Hard-fired orange with grey core; rim dia. 32cm	Kassite Hamrin (Boehmer and Dämmer 1985: Taf. 108.44–7, 124.263–5)
11	TA 754	Potts 1990a: fig. 80.3	Heavy brown/black; fine chaff; rim dia. 22cm	As Fig. 4.10
12	TA 337	Potts 1990a: fig. 97.5	Sandy red/orange; rim dia. 26cm	Kassite Hamrin (Boehmer and Dämmer 1985: Taf. 43.173, 175, 109.79/225, 126.285)
13	TA 1885	Potts 1991: fig. 46.11	Sandy grey-tan; grey core; rim dia. 10–12	As Fig. 4.12

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and lower Gulf during the second millennium. This suggests that Cleuziou and Tosi's characterization of the second-millennium Wadi Suq culture as 'an Omani entity selectively trading with two different neighbours: the powerful territorially integrated Indus Civilization seeking raw materials for its own consumption to the east and the mercantile centres of Dilmun to the west' (Cleuziou and Tosi 1989: 42) is far too restrictive. Indeed, even before the discovery of second-millennium Mesopotamian pottery at Tell Abraq, Wadi Suq soft-stone (*série tardive*) of Omani origin had been found in Old Babylonian contexts at both Ur and al-ᶜUbaid (Potts 1990b: 252 with refs).

Most of the sherds illustrated in Figures 3 and 4 are easily distinguished from local products because of their foreign paste and shape, but there are several sherds from Tell Abraq of obviously local paste which, however, show a characteristically Babylonian shape (e.g. Figs 3.7; 4.1, 4–7, 10, 13). This introduces a measure of acculturation into the discussion which had never previously been observed. When Babylonian vessels appeared at Tell Abraq they must have been striking enough to have induced the indigenous potters, at least on occasion, to copy them.

The subject of the southern Gulf's contact with the north in the second millennium is, however, far more complex than the simple sketch given above. Without doubt, some of the Isin-Larsa, Old Babylonian or Kassite types may in fact have originated in some part of Dilmun, for some of the same forms and fabrics are attested on Failaka (Kuwait), Bahrain, in the Dhahran tomb field (Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia) and on the north-east coast of Qatar. On the other hand, some of what appears to be Kassite pottery may in fact be Middle Elamite. It is obviously of as much interest to know to what extent Magan sustained relations with Dilmun and Elam, as it is to chart her relations with Babylonia. These are questions to which I will now turn.

Dilmun and Magan in the second millennium BC

As noted above, it has generally been assumed that the copper sold by Dilmun to Babylonian merchants in the early second millennium BC must have originated in Magan. When S. Cleuziou reviewed the archaeological evidence of contact between Dilmun and Magan in the second millennium, however, he was forced to conclude that it was 'rather weak' (Cleuziou 1986: 152). If we consider 'greater Dilmun', i.e. Failaka and eastern Saudi Arabia, as well as Bahrain, we can add a few more items to the list put together by Cleuziou.

Socketed spearheads comparable to Wadi Suq examples have been found on Bahrain at 'Ali, Diraz (Cleuziou 1986: 150), Al Hajjar (Lombard and Kervran 1989: 29, §42), Barbar temple II (Glob 1958: fig. 12b) and Saar (Killick et al. 1991: fig. 16.1), as well as in a grave west of Jabal Makhruq (south-west of the Yabrin oasis) in eastern Saudi Arabia (Bibby 1973: fig. 57). The northward spread of second-millennium, Wadi Suq-type soft-stone, discussed above with reference to Ur and al-ᶜUbaid, encompassed Dilmun as well. In 'Dilmunite' territory this kind of soft-stone has been found on Failaka, Tarut, Bahrain and in the Dhahran tumuli (Potts 1990b: 251–2; Potts 1986: 151; exhaustively reviewed in Häser 1988: 67–99; for the two Dhahran finds, see Zarins 1989: 83; for the new finds from Saar, see Killick et al. 1991: fig. 16.2–3). Spouted vessels of Wadi Suq type were also found

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by the Danish expedition on Failaka (Højlund 1987: figs 154–6; Potts 1989: 710), and a painted sherd from a Wadi Suq beaker was found near the third Barbar temple on Bahrain (Potts 1990b: 248).

Of Dilmunite finds found in Magan territory, we can cite a Dilmun seal from a re-used grave at Mazyad, near Jabal Hafit in the interior of Abu Dhabi (Cleuziou 1981: fig. 8), while several sherds from the settlement at Shimal compare well with Failaka types as well (Velde 1991: fig. 17, cf. Failaka types 55A, 55C, and 56B). Moreover, as noted above, some of the generically Mesopotamian (and/or Elamite) types found in second-millennium contexts at Tell Abraq can also be paralleled in the Failaka and Qalat al-Bahrain sequences (Potts 1990a: figs 87.1, 90.6, 105.8, cf. Højlund 1987: fig 196), as can some of the local, painted wares (e.g. Potts 1990a: fig 74.14; cf. Højlund 1987: fig. 435; possibly Potts 1990a: fig. 81.2; cf. Højlund 1987: figs 55–6).

More importantly, the excavations at Tell Abraq, for the first time in the archaeology of south-eastern Arabia, have brought to light a sizeable quantity of Dilmun red-ridged pottery (Plate 2), characteristic of City II in the Bahraini sequence. Over the course of three seasons, no fewer than 298 red-ridged sherds have been identified from early second-millennium contexts (Potts 1990a: 25, table 1; 1991: 72–4; unpubl. field records). In addition, a single, scored rim fragment from a sac-shaped Dilmun burial jar (Fig. 5) has also been found. A particular kind of ridged pottery, characteristic of the middle of the second millennium at Tell Abraq, occurs as an Omani import at Khor on the coast of Qatar (Potts 1990a: fig. 80.4; cf. Edens 1981: fig. 6, middle), as pointed out to me by my Tell Abraq colleague, C. Velde.

Moreover, it now appears that a local, second-millennium stamp seal tradition existed in the Oman peninsula, inspired perhaps by Dilmun glyptic. The unique seal TA 495 (Fig. 6), found at Tell Abraq in 1990, has the general shape of a Dilmun seal, though without the raised boss and dotted double circles. It shows a striding male (god?) above a horned caprid. In shape and general conception the seal is clearly reminiscent of Dilmun glyptic, though just as clearly not a genuine product of a Dilmun stamp seal workshop. More likely than not, it was a local product, and it is tempting to suggest that the seal may have been used by someone engaged in commerce with Dilmun.

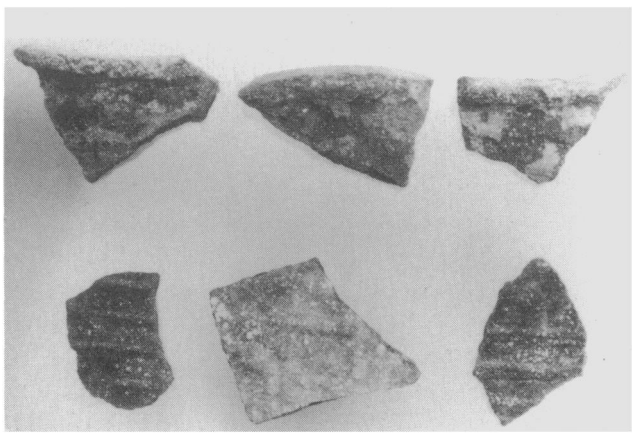

Plate 2 City II red-ridged sherds from Tell Abraq.

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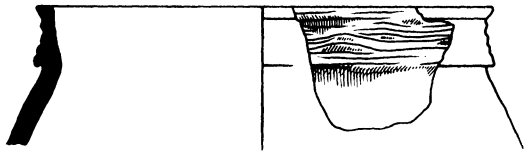
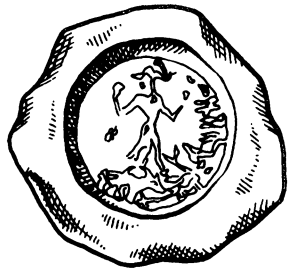


Figure 5 TA 989, hard-fired redware with crudely scored rim; rim diam. 12cm (= Potts 1990a: figs 77, 78.9).

Figure 6 TA 495, a black soft-stone stamp seal, 2cm in diam., 1cm high (= Potts 1991: figs 67–8).



Elam and Magan in the second millennium BC

That Elam, broadly defined, enjoyed some form of contact with Magan during the late third millennium is unquestionably indicated by the number of *série récente* soft-stone vessels of undoubted Omani origin found at Susa and Bandar Bushire (de Miroschedji 1973: figs 8.7–9, 9.2–3; Pézard 1914: pl. VIII.4). With the benefit of twenty years of research in the Oman peninsula unavailable to P. de Miroschedji when he wrote his fundamental study of the soft-stone from Susa, it is now an easy matter to distinguish these Omani products from their Central Asian or Iranian counterparts. Several pieces of obviously second-millennium soft-stone are also known from Susa and Bandar Bushire (de Miroschedji 1973: pl. VIIe; Pézard 1914: pl. VIII.2, 5; these finds have recently been discussed by Häser 1988: 100–2), and four recently published soft-stone sherds from Haft Tepe are almost certainly of Omani origin as well (Negahban 1991: pl. 29.205).

Yet, if these finds represent the Magan imprint in Susian or Elamite territory, until very recently nothing could be claimed to represent the Susian or Elamite imprint in Magan. Three seasons of excavation at Tell Abraq have now brought to light a number of sherds (Fig. 4) which find good parallels in the Middle Elamite repertoire at sites like Susa, Tal-i Malyan and Tepe Farukhabad, as well as a faience cylinder seal (Plate 3) which shows characteristics of Middle Elamite glyptic (e.g. the use of faience, the hatched border and the tree motif) well attested at Susa and Choga Zanbil. The Middle Elamite date of this material is particularly interesting in view of the fact that at least one of the soft-stone vessel fragments of Omani origin from Bandar Bushire (Pézard 1914: pl. VIII.2) comes from a level which can be assigned to the Middle Elamite period on the basis of its ceramics

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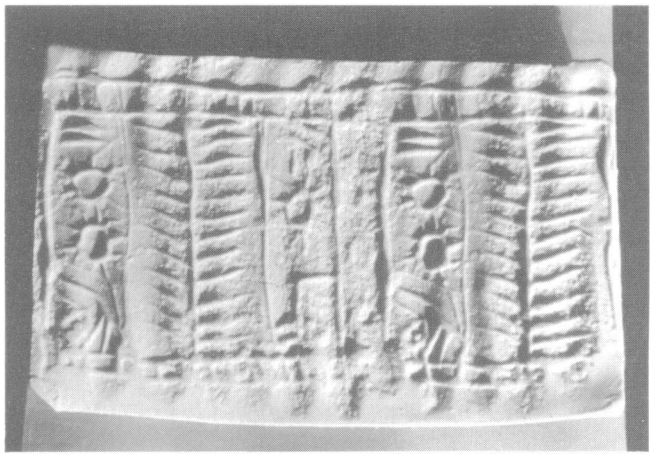

Plate 3 Impression of TA 12, a faience cylinder seal, 4.1cm long, 1.2cm in diam.

(Häser 1988: 100), while one of the Susa pieces (de Miroshedji 1973: pl. VIIe) comes from the foundation deposit of the Inšušinak temple which was probably buried in conjunction with one of the Middle Elamite restorations of the building (Häser 1988: 101; cf. Carter and Stolper 1984: 37, 157).

Just as we have some difficulty distinguishing the Kassite from the Middle Elamite ceramic parallels at Tell Abraq, so too is it impossible at this point to determine how the chronological position of the Middle Elamite items at the site relates to the changing history of Kassite–Elamite political relations during the second half of the second millennium. Conversely, it would be interesting to know whether the appearance of Omani soft-stone on Middle Elamite sites reflects a sequence of political or economic changes in Elam's relationship with Magan or can be explained by the more mundane vagaries of travelling individuals who reached sites like Bandar Bushire, Susa and Haft Tepe with a few stone bowls in hand. Did the growth of ties between Magan and the Middle Elamite state post-date the documented presence of Kassite governorship in Dilmun (Potts 1990b: 307–14)? Did the powerful Middle Elamite state forge an alliance with Magan which impacted upon the Kassite presence in Dilmun? Did it have anything to do with the decline of Kassite influence in the region? What relation, if any, did these developments have to Tukulti-Ninurta I's defeat of the Kassites in southern Babylonia? Are the ceramic, soft-stone and glyptic parallels between sites in Susiana and the Oman peninsula noted above 'fall-out' from a hitherto unsuspected trade in copper between Magan and Elam?

Finally, on a more mundane, archaeological level, the presence of Kassite and Middle Elamite types in late Wadi Suq period contexts at Tell Abraq has implications for the date of the beginning of the Iron Age in south-eastern Arabia, currently placed around 1350/1300 BC by Boucharlat and Lombard (1991: table 4). Finds which would be paralleled in Susiana in the thirteenth or even twelfth century, yet which come from pre-Iron Age, late Wadi Suq deposits at Tell Abraq, suggest that the date of the beginning of the Iron Age in the Oman peninsula may need to be lowered.

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Conclusion

> [By the time of Sennacherib] it becomes evident that Telmun has again access to the copper mines of Makkan, to the spices, perfumes and rare woods of the East. The merchants are importing again these staples into Mesopotamia: the mysterious barrier which interrupted the trade routes towards the East for a full millennium seems to have been removed. What movements of nations, changes of military and political power or technological developments had been at work to first restrict the Eastern horizon of Southern Mesopotamia and to open it again – we will probably never know.
>
> (Oppenheim 1954: 17)

Three seasons of excavation at Tell Abraq have brought to light unexpected material which calls into question some of the conventional wisdom of Gulf archaeology, as well as some of the newer hypotheses put forward by scholars working in the region today. Perhaps more than anything else, the material discussed above demonstrates that there were more connections spanning a greater period of time between Magan and Dilmun, Magan and Elam, and Magan and Mesopotamia, than ever before imagined. The silence of the cuneiform sources and the apparent interruptions in contact no longer seem quite so unequivocal. There is evidence for contact between Magan and her northern neighbours from the early third millennium, when the Hafit graves containing Jamdat Nasr-type and Early Dynastic jars occur (Potts 1986: figs 1–5), through the second millennium BC, and although it may appear at times as if there are gaps of several centuries here and there for which we have no evidence, the example of Tell Abraq should warn us that the excavation of a single site can dramatically alter that perception by providing new material which fills those gaps. Absence of evidence, as we are often told, is not evidence of absence. In short, the resumption of Mesopotamian contact with the east to which Oppenheim referred in the passage quoted above was no resumption at all. The cuneiform sources may have been silent on the subject of Magan over the preceding millennium but the sherds, stone vessels and glyptic remains leave no doubt that contacts between Mesopotamia and Magan must have persisted, even if they went unmentioned in the written record.

Nor does the thread of continuity in contacts between Magan and her northern neighbours reach an end at the close of the second millennium. In the seventh century BC Pade, king of Qade, whose capital was at Izki in Oman, brought tribute to the court of

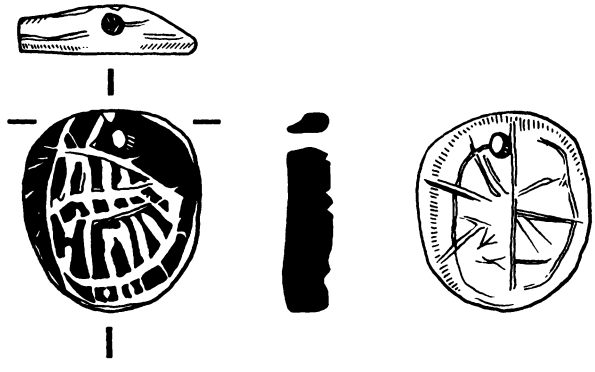

Figure 7 TA 493, a grey soft-stone pendant measuring 1.6 × 2.3 × 0.6cm (= Potts 1991: figs 142–3).

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Assurbanipal at Nineveh (Potts 1990b: 393). Later, when Magan (Old Persian Maka, Elamite *Makkaš*) was a satrapy of the Achaemenid empire, messengers travelled between Persepolis and Oman, maintaining the ties which had long linked Magan with Elam (Potts 1990b: 395–7). Maganites, whom Herodotus calls *Mykoi*, fought with Xerxes at Doriscus in 480 BC (Potts 1990b: 398). A unique Iron Age pendant (Fig. 7) from Tell Abraq, which shows what is almost certainly a sewn reed boat, may well represent the sort of seacraft which must have been used in forging those links between Magan, Babylonia, Elam, Dilmun and the Indus Valley, which have been the subject of this essay.

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Abstract

Potts, D. T.

Rethinking some aspects of trade in the Arabian Gulf

Recent excavations at Tell Abraq in the United Arab Emirates have brought to light material dating to the third, second and first millennium BC which calls into question certain long-held views in the archaeology of the Gulf region, as well as some more recently published hypotheses. Using the material from Tell Abraq, a number of problems specifically related to trade between the Oman peninsula (ancient Magan) and her neighbours are discussed. The emerging picture is one of much greater continuity in Magan's external relations than had previously been thought.

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PHOENICIANS

Susan Frankenstein

THE PHOENICIANS IN THE FAR WEST: A FUNCTION OF NEO-ASSYRIAN IMPERIALISM

Existing interpretations of the role of the Phoenicians in the history of the Near East have tended to stress their specialist functions in trade and navigation within the framework of a mercantile economy. This picture stresses the structural similarities of the Phoenician city states of the 1st millenium BC and the European trading cities of the 16th century, i.e. a similar emphasis on the dominance of a merchant class forming an oligarchic elite; a similar reluctance to be incorporated into larger political entities that would limit freedom to trade; and a fear that the 'gaining of commercial profit' would be made secondary to the provisioning of the economic needs of the 'state'.

Whilst a recognition of these similarities is potentially relevant to the study of the Phoenician cities, the significant differences between the two situations must be noted. Firstly, unlike the 16th century European cities, the Phoenician cities developed subsequent to and were always dependent upon the existence of larger territorial states or empires for their existence. The role the Phoenician cities played was therefore always an interstitial one which was, in a sense, parasitical to the demands of the major empires that have dominated the history of the Near East. Secondly, whilst it has been argued that the driving force behind the Phoenician expansion lay in their need to meet the tribute demands of these large empires, this has led to a view of their economic role as one of sustaining a dominant empire in a passive sense. This implies that the functioning of the Phoenician cities can be reduced to a response to external constraints imposed by a more dominant political entity in a type of vassalage relationship.

In this paper,[1] it will be argued that it is necessary to recognise the Phoenicians as playing a more decisive role in supplying goods and services to neighbouring empires. Goods and services that the latter could not obtain by other means, or at least only by greatly increased costs in military expansion and/or economic reorganisation. It can therefore be suggested that the Phoenician cities, and their Canaanite precursors, played an essential role in the maintenance and development of 'empires' in the Near East: a degree of importance that can be discerned in the differential treatment often given particular Phoenician cities by their political masters.

The main part of this paper will be concerned with exploring this

hypothesis with particular reference to the relationship between the Phoenician cities and the Neo-Assyrian empire in the 8th and 7th centuries BC, the period of their expansionist strategies in the Central and Western Mediterranean; the effects of these strategies will then be examined in the case of Iberia. However, it must first be shown that certain salient features of the political economy of the Phoenician cities of the 1st millenium were already dominant features of the Canaanite cities of the 2nd millennium and that their functioning had clearly become a well evolved pattern in the regional economy of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The late 2nd millennium background

By the late 2nd millennium, the contents of the El Amarna letters and the evidence from Ugarit show that the Levantine coastal cities had come to occupy a key role in the Egyptian dominated trading network. Trading connections between Egypt and the Levant coast go back to the Old Kingdom (2700-2000 BC) when Byblos, in particular, supplied Egypt with wood, gums and oils, and indirectly seems to have maintained connections with other areas beyond the Syrian coast. By the 16th century BC Canaanite cities had come to occupy a pivotal position in a complex regional economy, linking Southern Anatolia, Cyprus, Syria, Egypt and the Aegean, in which they can be seen to have developed specialist functions as navigators and producers of luxury commodities on which their more powerful neighbouring states became dependent. Through their involvement in this regional exchange system and their support (most of the time) of Egyptian pre-eminence, the coastal cities were encouraged to organise their economic activities increasingly along the following lines. Firstly, the production of luxury commodities, such as fine ivory inlaid furniture, for royal consumption. Secondly, the production of certain commodities, such as cloth, dyes, garments, was developed on a sufficiently large scale for their use in tribute payment and in exchanges for raw materials. Thirdly, navigational skills were developed as well as the ships needed both for carrying these bulk commodities and to ensure independent access to raw materials. These were both used to produce luxury commodities in their own workshops and also for export.

The organisation of trading ventures from the Canaanite towns was in the hands of mercantile 'companies' or 'firms' known to have operated there – and in Ugarit – and as mentioned in the account of Wen-Amon's expedition in the 11th century. Maisler cites the reference to the 50 ships at Sidon which stood in 'Hbr' with 'Wrktr', who was 'probably the head of a great trading company', as evidence for the early date of these commercial firms whose function would have been to provide the capital, to build

the ships and subsequently to sponsor and protect the fleets.[2] Traders would therefore have owned their ships, paid their workforce and organised their own voyages. We know too that these traders were not under the direct control of the king but operated independently. The independence of these traders' activites is noted from Wen-Amon's account and from the 7th century treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal which dealt with the rights of the 'ships of the people of Tyre' as well as with those of its king. The political status of the traders – on whose successful activities the wealth of the city depended – is indicated in the 14th century records which refer to the 'council of elders' and the 'men of the city' as the king's advisers. The Egyptian use of the term 'Kyn'nw' in the 15th century for the 'special class of people in Syria' which Maisler believes to be the earlier representatives of the merchant elite of the Phoenician cities, is another indication of the rank of these 2nd millennium traders.

Hence by the 14th century, the Canaanite cities presented many typical features of commercial centres oriented towards production for exchange, i.e. the procuring and conversion of raw materials into higher value secondary products and the development of skills and institutions for the maintenance of commercial activities. This took place within a network of external alliances and relations to ensure favoured access to markets and freedom to trade. It seems likely that such a specialised role for the Levantine cities had already emerged in the early 2nd millennium and developed consequent to a demand for such services from earlier states, like Egypt, when trade – in the Old Kingdom – was a royal monopoly. Certainly be the late 2nd millennium, it is clear that the existence of these cities depended on the specialised work they performed for more powerful neighbouring states and the kind of relationship they had with each other depended, to a large extent, on these external ties. The relationship of the Canaanite cities to Egypt, for example, was not simply one of vassalage but was based on complex ties of tribute, mutual dependence and alliance in which cities competed for political and military support from the Egyptian pharaohs.

Whilst we are not in a position, at present, to suggest an explanation for the origin of these cities on the Levantine coast, it does seem significant that they developed to play an intermediary role for a highly centralised, theocratic state provisioning system where 'trade' existed as a royal monopoly and prevented independent mercantile accumulation. The inflexibility of the Egyptian ancient economy, as far as its relations with its outside world is concerned, has been noted by Ekholm and Friedman in this volume, together with the fact that it depended on that external area for many vital products, many of which came from areas dominated by the competitive, commercial city states of Mesopotamia

and North Syria. We can suggest, therefore, that at least in the 2nd millennium, and possibly earlier, the Levantine cities acted as the means by which Egypt, as a self-regulating territorial state where accumulation processes were heavily centralised, could mediate with external trading partners, in particular Mesopotamia, to gain necessary raw materials and manufactured products without having to expose its internal order to the disruptive tendencies of mercantile accumulation.

Although the relations between Levantine cities were competitive, there is good evidence for contractual arrangements of mutual benefit. The rulers of the cities were obviously concerned to maintain access to each others' ports and resources as well as to obtain goods for further exchange. Resident merchants were able to participate in exchange within and between cities and the commercial network of each city was linked into that of others. The bases of this cooperation and interdependence were in turn safeguarded by contracts and agreements between the families of rulers and between those of their representatives.

The regional configuration at the end of the 2nd millennium

From the 11th century we have interesting evidence for the emergence of a new regional configuration for commercial opportunity in the Levant. A new phase of relations between Byblos and Egypt is recognisable in the account of Wen-Amon's voyage to the Levant.

The account of his voyage is significant since he was only one of a series of emissaries sent by Thebes to re-establish commercial relations with the Phoenician cities. As gifts from the Delta, the king of Byblos received the type of goods the Phoenicians later came to produce themselves, but anything Wen-Amon required was only to be supplied on the basis of strict equivalence of exchange. Given the relative unimportance that a city like Byblos attached to a mission by a representative of its former major trade outlet and political master, the implication we must draw is that a new regional configuration for commercial opportunity had developed by this period.

It is therefore no coincidence that at this time, when the economic power of the Phoenician cities was growing, we see the foundation of the Aramaean states in North Syria and the first major expansion of Assyria, known from a document from Assur recounting the first western venture of Tiglath-pileser I:

> 'I went to the Lebanon (Lab-na-a-ni). I cut (there) timber of cedars for the temple of Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, and carried (them to Ashur). I conquered the entire country of Amurru. I received tribute from Byblos (Gu-bal), Sidon (Si-du-ni), and Arvad (Ar-ma-da). I crossed over in ships (belonging) to Arvad, from Arvad which is on the seashore, to the town Samuri which (lies) in Amurru (a distance of) 3 double-miles overland. I killed a narwhal which they call "sea-horse" on high sea'.[3]

On his journey to the western land, not only does Tiglath-pileser receive 'tribute', but he is clearly fêted by the cities of Syria and in particular Phoenicia. This should not be regarded as a campaign of military conquest. It is important to note the contrasting attitudes of the Phoenician cities to the representative of Amon, on the one hand, and the representative of Assur, on the other. This is clearly visible in the demands for equivalent payments from the Egyptians and the offering of gifts, hospitality and even timber – the Phoenicians' most valued asset – to the Neo-Assyrian king. The ascendance of Assyria – although interrupted for c. 75 years – was utilised from the start by the Phoenician cities. This served to demonstrate the desirability of strong economic ties with a major power, even if politically it appears to involve ties of dependence on the part of the Phoenician cities.

Within this new regional system, increasingly dominated by Assyria, an initial phase of alliance between Phoenician cities and their immediate hinterland in the 10th century is known from references in the Old Testament to the relations between the first kings of Israel and Hiram I of Tyre. The expansion of the Israelite kingdom as far as the Euphrates was accomplished by David and consolidated by Solomon. Thus, a close alliance with Israel ensured the Phoenician cities access to inland trade routes – to Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Arabia and Aqabah – and maritime trade routes to the East.

Although the language of diplomacy is used to describe the relations between Tyre and Israel, the economic significance of their alliance cannot be camouflaged. Essentially, the basis of the alliance was an exchange of technology, services, natural resources and manufactured commodities. Tyre exported technology and skilled craftsmen as well as commodities in which skilled labour or some manufacturing processes had been invested. Israel provided foodstuffs, natural resources and the vital access to allies and dependents. The economic expansion of the Phoenician cities was only possible through political alliances such as this which had to be reinforced by exchanges of gifts and services and confirmed by intermarriage: thus, Hiram's daughter was one of Solomon's 'Sidonian' wives.

The alliance between Tyre and Israel represented the linking up of a maritime and a territorial power. The relevance of the development of contractual relations between the rulers of Israel and Tyre is that they would

have encouraged similar contractual relations between partners of lower rank. This would explain the occurence of Phoenician wares in Israelite settlements and trading posts of the 10th and 9th centuries. The alliance with Israel opened the trade routes beyond the Euphrates to the Phoenicians and the Eastern maritime routes were opened for joint Israelite/Phoenician ventures.

In the city of Tyre, the profits of successful commercial enterprise were 'reinvested': the city was enlarged and embellished, the port and market place extended, temples rebuilt and adorned and a palace built. The development of the fishing, weaving and dyeing industries and of the workshops for bronze and ivory are associated with this period. The presence of Danites and Gebalites among the Tyrian workforce suggests an expansion of these manufacturing industries associated with the construction projects. A crucial phase in the process of urbanisation and commercialisation of Tyre is found in the following features: the contraction of the population within the city limits; the centralisation of manufacturing activities; the break in the city's dependence on its immediate hinterland (and hence on a dependent rural population); and a greater dependence on imports of basic foodstuffs and raw materials obtained in exchange for manufactured commodities and services. It would appear that territorial expansion – particularly inland – would have had the effect of draining rather than supplementing Tyre's resources. This is the implication of Hiram's rejection of Solomon's offer of '20 Galileen cities' (Kings IX, 11). In fact, this reluctance to control land can be regarded as a characteristic feature of the commercial city state since land, in itself, does not necessarily contribute to production for exchange and it may be cheaper to import foodstuffs in exchange for manufactured items.

Within the regional trading system, both before and after the division of the kingdom of Israel, the Phoenician cities were involved in both the distribution of Egyptian luxury commodities and in the manufacture of other, often Egyptianising, wares. Increasingly, the Phoenician cities came to specialise in the production of luxury goods, i.e. the 'merchandise' that 'enriched the kings of the earth' (Ezekiel XXVII, 33), which are found on the major 9th century settlements in the Near East. This merchandise would have included 'fine linen, dyed and embroidered cloth, tapestries, carpets, glass and faience bowls, vessels of bronze, silver and other sorts of metal-work, wines, musical instruments, incense, spices, foods and seeds'.[4] Similarly, Phoenician tribute recorded on the inscription of Ashurnasirpal consisted of imported commodities or items manufactured in Phoenician workshops from imported raw materials.

The Neo-Assyrian dominated regional economy of the early 1st millennium

The 9th century Western Asiatic regional trading system, in which the Phoenician city states functioned at first as the purveyors of the merchandise described above, extended from Northwest Iran and the Persian Gulf to Central Anatolia and the Eastern Mediterranean. It came to be dominated, both economically and politically, by the Neo-Assyrian state.

It was over this formerly economically integrated area that the Assyrian state rapidly extended political control, converting local relations of economic dependence and exchange to political relations of subordination and provision of tribute. However, whilst the relations of conquered cities to Assyria were ideologically represented in terms of submission and tribute, it is unclear to what extent the empire formation represented a real reorganisation of economic functions rather than it facilitated, if not extended, traditional exchange relations and regional specialisations. That the provinces seem to have retained a measure of economic self-sufficiency and freedom to accumulate wealth in traditional ways as long as the tribute demands were met, is reflected in the 'almost inevitable rebellion'[5] that greeted each Assyrian king on his accession. This, in turn, supports the idea that control over the inter-regional trading network was an important motive behind Assyrian imperialism. Levine, for example, has related the decline of Assyria between 824 and 744 to the control by Urartu of the Eastern trade routes.[6] During the 9th and 8th centuries the power of Elam rivalled that of Assyria and Urartu's connections with Elam are recognised in the transmission of Elamite products and cultural elements westwards at this time. An alliance between the kingdom of Urartu and the North Syrian states enabled Urartu to control trade to the west, to the Aegean, and to the north through Cilicia and Central Anatolia to the Black Sea. Irene Winter has contributed significantly to the definition of this trading sphere, as illustrated by her distribution map of Syrian ivories of the 9th century.[7]

The commercial basis of the Assyrian economy has been discussed by Oppenheim,[8] who distinguished between the structure of the Mesopotamian city-state economy based on credit transaction, capital investment and usury, in support of a storage economy, and contrasted it with the 'goods in kind' type of exchange in which profit is made through turnover which, he says, characterised the economies of the western states. Elsewhere, Oppenheim refers to the economic structure of Mesopotamia as an inevitable symbiosis between palace and trader; the former being dependent on the latter for the import of essential raw materials as well as luxury goods and the trader needing the palace for protection and international contacts.[9] These points are expanded by Diakonoff who characterises the people of

the periphery of Western Asia at the beginning of the 1st millennium BC as practising his economic sub-type Ib.[10] By this he means an in-kind economy which did not require any imports from the developed countries (eg. Babylonia) except for luxury items and where money was not used to facilitate exchange. Assyria and Babylonia, on the other hand, required raw materials, particularly timber and metals, to feed their developed agriculture and handicrafts and to sustain production for long distance trade. Perhaps more significantly, the early 1st millennium BC witnesses the expansion of a moneyed economy in Mesopotamia with the charging of interest on loans and exchange based on credit transactions constituting the means by which palace and trader interacted and trade between Mesopotamian cities was conducted. Hence, as Diakonoff notes, under the existing conditions of international trade an equivalent exchange of goods between Mesopotamia and the Western economies could not be arranged: '. . the "in-kind" households of the periphery did not need money since it could not be invested, neither did they need the produce of the developed countries, at least not in amounts equivalent to the demand on their own produce'.

As a consequence of this significant observation, Diakonoff proceeded to characterise Assyria as a 'warrior empire', imposing forcible exchange through tribute and looting as a solution to these inequalities in exchange. However, as Oppenheim has argued, this seems to ignore all the evidence for Assyrian trade in the West during the early 1st millennium and the importance of control over trade routes as significant factors dictating Assyrian foreign policy.[11] Oppenheim shows quite forcefully how '. . the very nature of the goods which the Assyrian kings called tribute showed that they were destined for trade channels'.[12] Also, tribute was clearly seen as an economic imposition in order to reorientate economic activity and trade to Assyria and hence was regarded by the Assyrians as a symbolic representation of the facilitation of long distance trade. In a letter referring to 4800 pounds of red-purple wool and 420 pounds of dark purple wool coming from the West, we have evidence for the 'commercial importation' of the same commodities as were acquired through the 'forcible exchange', ie. booty and tribute.[13] But the Assyrians refer frequently in tribute lists to 'garments made of linen with multicoloured decoration' which together with the finest Egyptian linen were of 'prestige value' in Assyria and later in Babylonia.

> 'All the conquered or threatened kingdoms from Carchemish to the Mediterranean coast had to deliver large quantities of such apparel to the Assyrian kings who distributed these obviously very fashionable "Western-style" garments among their officials, as is illustrated by a well-known letter from Sennacherib as crownprince to his father, ABL 568.'[14]

Oppenheim used the references in Ezekiel XXVII, 24 to the production of fine garments and their repute in 6th century Babylonia to suggest that Tyre and other Phoenician cities probably dominated their production. It can also be suggested that the wool and ivory paid as tribute to the Assyrian kings by Babylonian rulers would have been acquired initially from the Phoenician cities, viz. from their merchants active on the caravan routes.

From this we can draw two conclusions: firstly, tribute relations allowed and/or encouraged trade relations and created security in which trade could take place; secondly, the Phoenician cities were an area of specialisation that was given commercial advantage and protection because of their importance to Assyria.

As noted for other similar situations,[15] Assyria's external relations consisted of enforcing trade relations and the acceptance of foreign merchants as a preliminary to economic and political take-over. Both Diakonoff and Oppenheim have elucidated important aspects of this objective of Assyrian foreign policy, which was to impose control over external trading partners in order to force them to re-orientate economic activity and trade to Assyria, rather than to competing centres.

The North Syrian – Urartian alliance of the 9th and early 8th centuries implied control over access to both the eastern and western trade routes which would have severely undermined the capacity of the Assyrian economy to maintain itself. The degree of instability that this caused within Assyria is indicated by the difficulties the Assyrian rulers had in controlling their nearest provinces East of the Euphrates whilst maintaining trade to the south and east. As an example of Assyrian isolation in this period, Winter cites the loan of one mina of silver at the phenomenal interest rate of 400%, which she interprets as indicating a severe reduction in the supply of metals – and in particular silver – in Assur at this time.[16] The full economic resurgence of Assyria in the late 8th century depended essentially on the destruction of the North Syrian – Urartian alliance in the north and west. The Aramaean kingdoms of North Syria were incorporated into the Assyrian provinces west of the Euphrates following their defeat by Tiglath-pileser. Cities were destroyed and their populations moved to other provinces and the North Syrian area became a closely controlled dependency of Assyria.

Irene Winter has remarked upon the significant exemption of Carchemish from this treatment.[17] It retained a certain degree of autonomy mainly due to its strategic importance for organising Assyrian access to

the Anatolian metal trade. It is quite clear that Assyria remained aware of the threat of a resurgence of power in North Syria and acted accordingly against Carchemish when its ruler made alliances with Anatolian kingdoms.

Assyria does not appear to have extended control over Western Anatolia nor to have taken over the commercial ties established with the Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean. Hence, by the early 7th century, the Ionian and Aegean Greeks faced a massive shift of political and economic power in the Near East which effectively left them isolated and unable to re-establish contact with the now dominant Assyrians.

It can be argued that the effect or an aim of this policy in North Syria was to revive the overland route to the independent Phoenician cities. In contrast to Israel and Judah, which were incorporated as vassals, there is evidence to show that the Assyrians, whilst attempting to control and re-direct their trade to some degree, left the Phoenician cities virtually autonomous. In one of the Nimrud letters, reference is made to Assyrian 'tax-collectors' in Tyre, but this is all we know of direct Assyrian intervention in Phoenician commercial activities at this time.[18]

With reference to tax collection, it is important to note that in Assyria by the 8th century the value of all goods was probably measured in terms of a silver standard and by the 7th century silver designated for currency was clearly distinguished from that which could be used in manufacture. It can therefore be suggested that taxes would have been levied in silver or in commodities which could easily be exchanged against it. Thus, in the case of the Phoenician cities, silver and equivalently high value commodities would have been needed to satisfy tax, tribute and trade demands of the Assyrians. If the tribute lists are indicative of the value attached to different commodities, then the high value commodities in demand in the 8th and 7th centuries included gold, silver, 'copper' and bronze vessels, ivory and fine wooden products. It is unlikely that the Assyrians would have been interested in acquiring Phoenician bulk commodities – such as plain cloth – which could more easily have been obtained from their own manufacturing centres or those of Babylonia. However, the Assyrians were able to obtain from the Phoenicians commodities which were essential for internal circulation and which could not be obtained easily from other sources. There seems little doubt therefore that this factor lies behind the particularly favoured treatment given to the Phoenician cities by their Assyrian masters.

In the early 1st millenium, Phoenician cities were involved, together with the Syrian kingdoms, in supplying the enormous quantities of iron required by the Assyrian 'war machine'.[19] They would also have acted as middlemen in the trade between Egypt and Assyria, dealing in commodities such as 'Egyptian blue' (frit), woad, alum and fine linen: these items

are generally noted as coming from 'the West' in Assyrian texts, without reference to the specific area of origin. Similarly, trade in wines, honey and spices would have been in the hands of the Phoenician merchants. But from the late 8th century, when the Syrian states were crushed, the Phoenicians became the main suppliers of primary materials to their Assyrian and other partners in the regional trading system. This represents a considerable change from their former role as suppliers of manufactured commodities for elite consumption.[19a]

In order to meet the new demands from within the regional trading system, the Phoenician cities were forced to extend their exchange relations. Maritime expeditions to India were probably excluded by the re-establishment of trade with the East by Babylon.[20] Thus, expansion beyond the regular, established trading network within the Eastern Mediterranean would have been the means by which the Phoenician cities could maintain themselves whilst maintaining their role within the Assyrian dominated regional economy. In fact, the Assyrians' demands forced the Phoenician cities to become suppliers of raw materials for the production centres of trading partners and in order to obtain these raw materials the Phoenician cities had to enlarge their trading sphere. It is significant that in order to function as procurers of raw materials the Phoenicians had to act as suppliers of manufactured goods: either their own or those that were more easily obtained within the Near East or *en route* to the new sources. The scale of production of goods for exchange had to be increased or new centres of production either established or tapped.

Phoenician trading strategies

There are many examples of the establishment of new production centres in Phoenicia for luxury items, such as faience, frit and glass objects and vessels, scarabs, alabaster and quartzite containers – often with 'garbled' Egyptianising hieroglyphic signs – and fine metalwork including jewellery. Through the extensive use of overland caravan routes as well as maritime routes by Phoenician traders, and their partners, these products reached Urartian centres like Karmir Blur, Mesopotamian centres in the East, Central Italy and the Euboean colonies in the Central Mediterranean, and indigenous centres in the Far West.

The finds of Phoenician ivories in some quantity in Crete and Samos are attributed by Barnett to the settlement of Phoenician craftsmen at the famous shrines of the Idaean Cave and the Heraeum: 'The settlers established a taste for their work, perhaps married locally and taught their trade to Greek apprentices'.[21] Dunbabin suggests that there were similar

establishments of Phoenician metalworkers on Crete and similar settlements of 'foreign artisans' are envisaged in Etruria.[22] Phoenician artisans are thought to have been established in Nimrud: and the presence of Phoenician glassworkers in Mesopotamia has been proposed on the basis of the Egypto-Phoenician influences on motifs of Assyrian glasswork.[23] In fact, there is no need to envisage the presence of craftsmen in the many centres where ivories and other Phoenician luxury items are found since this underemphasizes the role of the merchants and representatives of the king in their distribution.

The reference in the Odyssey to the one-year sojourn of the 'Sidonians' illustrates – although possibly exaggerates – the nature of Phoenician transactions within the Eastern Mediterranean. That is, even within the Aegean they can be seen to have acted as collectors and carriers of commodities over short distances. The traders' interest was to exchange one commodity for another to be exchanged elsewhere for yet another in order to make a profit. Since trade must logically take place to the benefit of all partners, we can assume that the Phoenician contribution of skills in transport technology served to link separate trading spheres in which they could then take advantage of differences in exchange rates. For example, Egyptian commodities reached Greek centres by way of Phoenician traders.[24]

Phoenician traders therefore linked specialist production centres, often involved in the manufacture of luxury items, and in so doing they effectively connected distinct political entities. The Phoenicians are seen to have exploited the absence of organised exchange relations between different spheres in order to establish a rate of exchange between commodities which was to their advantage. By monopolising the source of production of specialised commodities and then controlling their distribution by dominating maritime transport, the Phoenicians had effectively extended the range of manufacturing processes under their command without having to bear the costs of production. Phoenician traders were then able to find or to create demands for the specialised commodities (whose high costs would have prohibited their local production) to which they had sole access and were in a position to supply at low transport costs. And since many of these luxury commodities – or the raw materials needed for their production – were available within easy reach of the Phoenician cities, eg. from Egypt or Cilicia, they could be obtained in exchange for home produced high bulk, low cost commodities such as dyed cloth. At a later stage in the development of this regional trading network, the Phoenicians became involved in the production of some of these luxury items, either by establishing new centres of production in their own cities (as mentioned above) or by settling Phoenician craftsmen

in the original production centres. The latter would signify Phoenician commitment to the particular sphere of exchange, its maintenance and its expansion at the production level. An example of this is the Phoenician involvement in faience production in Egypt where Phoenician imitations of Egyptian faience were produced at the latest by the 8th century in the Egyptian town of Pi-em-ro (which later became Naucratis).[25]

There is evidence to illustrate both types of Phoenician intervention in production and their role in distribution from Rhodes. Coldstream has described the different phases of unguent container production of Rhodes,[26] but evidence for the beginning of Eastern connections comes from cemeteries on Cos. Middle Geometric wares (c.850–750) were found there with imported Phoenician unguent vessels with characteristic neck-ridges and black-on-red decoration. These, says Coldstream, 'represent the commercial enterprise of the Phoenicians, then just beginning to penetrate Aegean waters', and local – Hellenised – imitations were subsequently produced in the Dodecanese. In the cemeteries of Ialysos, Camiros and Exochi on Rhodes, graves dated to the 2nd half of the 8th century contained a number of 'Oriental' type unguent containers. Some of these were imports. Others, clearly local imitations, were not at all influenced by the indigenous Late Geometric style of the larger container type and open vessels. Coldstream proposes that these unguent containers were made by Phoenicians resident on Rhodes and involved in unguent production and trade:

> 'Prior to their arrival, the island seems to have played only a passive part in commercial exchange, since no Rhodian object earlier than the late 8th century has been found abroad. But, from c. 725 onwards Rhodes suddenly begins to take the initiative: a most striking symptom is the export of aryballoi . . [the 'Rhodian' aryballoi] whose oriental character and wide distribution (but always in a westerly direction) argue strongly for the commercial energy of the resident Phoenicians.[27]

To support his argument for the settlement of Phoenician '*metoikoi*' on Rhodes, Coldstream cites the 'Egyptianising objects in faience or glazed frit, which have been found in Rhodian graves and sanctuaries from the late 8th century until well into the 6th'. Furthermore, one of the 'glazed clay' flasks common to Rhodes was associated in a grave in Ialysos with a group of 'un-Hellenic' pots and figurines. And some burials of children from Ialysos and Camiros were inhumations in 'Phoenician-type coarse amphorae' as found in 'the Phoenician colonial cemeteries of Carthage, Motya and Kition'.

It is possible to interpret this evidence somewhat differently in the context of the Phoenician trading organisation described above: slow-pouring unguent containers – and probably unguents too – were introduced into the Dodecanese and Rhodes (as well as into Syria, Cilicia, etc.) by the Phoenicians in the late 9th and early 8th centuries. On Cos, local production was reorganised for general pottery manufacture and possibly unguent production. But on Rhodes, the Oriental types of containers were imitated as closely as technically possible in order to supply the Phoenician traders calling at Rhodes who would as readily use these 'Rhodian' aryballoi as the Phoenician or Cypriot equivalents, the production costs of which were probably greater. In fact, the westerly distribution of the aryballoi can only be explained by Phoenician involvement in their distribution. The Rhodian production of Phoenician-type containers for the use of Phoenician merchants was stimulated by the introduction of a new commodity into the introduction of a new commodity into the Aegean, viz. faience. Its distribution in the East – and in the Western Mediterranean – again denotes Phoenician carriers. Another example of Phoenician intervention in the distribution of Rhodian wares, as proposed by Coldstream,[28] are the Rhodian bird kotylae found in a late 8th century context at Al Mina.

To summarise, we can say that having introduced a new commodity – unguent containers – the Phoenicians organised its production at a new centre within their trading sphere, thereby adding another link in their chain of exchanges between the homeland and their trading partners, within the Aegean or further west. It is of course possible that Phoenician craftsmen were involved in the aryballos production on Rhodes but we suggest the degree of stylistic and especially technical variation from the Oriental prototypes and the organisation of Phoenician trade make this less likely.

Phoenician commodity production was more or less limited to high value items, produced by means of a specialist technology involving high skill and scarce materials, e.g. metal worked into ornately decorated containers, intricate and technically elaborate jewellery.

Wood was worked to produce fine toilet items or furniture, often with inlay. Ivory was worked to produce the embellishments for furniture but also carvings and sculpted pieces. Cloth and dyes were combined to produce the 'ornamented garments' much desired by Assyrians and frequently referred to in the tribute lists. It is likely that plain cloth was obtained through trade and that is was dyed, embroidered and made into 'western' style garments in the Phoenician cities. The fact that most of this production was for exchange and prescribed presentation meant that production was often adapted to suit the tastes and demands of their

customers in terms of what they produced and often the 'cultural' content of their products. For example, the furniture from which the ivories (like the 'Layard group') came was, according to Barnett,

> '. . . evidently an expensive fashion that prevailed in royal circles in the ninth-eight centuries B.C. Very similar collections have been found in the Assyrian palaces of Assur and Khorsabad, the Aramaean palaces of Hadatu (Arslan Tash) and Sam'al (Zincirli) at Carchemish in North Syria and at Samaria in Palestine.'[29]

This type of furniture was being produced on a considerable scale, was becoming repetitive in its execution, and was destined for elite consumption in Near Eastern and even Cypriot centres (e.g. Kition).

In the case of ivory-carving, this trend in manufacture resulted in the style described alternatively as the 'unlovely symposium of Egyptian, Assyrian and even Hittite forms',[30] or as 'bastard, since it disregarded all the precise standards which the Egyptian artists had laboriously built up. .'[31]. and in what Barnett more aptly described as the 'characteristic features of Phoenician art: great technical accomplishment, but little conviction or real feeling for form'.[32] However, Barnett defends the way in which the Phoenician craftsmen incorporated elements of Egyptian iconography into their own art style and – more significantly – its symbolism.[33] But as Aubet has shown, the production of the best Phoenician ivories of the 9th and 8th centuries was followed by a period in which ivory was engraved instead of carved and in which the themes portrayed were neither symbolic nor narrative but represented purely ornamental combinations of traditional themes. She considers the Western ivories, from Carthage, Carmona and Samos, to be the lowest level of ivory production.[34]

This degeneration in style and technique of ivory working, especially during the 7th and 6th centuries, is related to the increased production and to the intended use of ivories beyond the Western Asiatic and Egyptian sphere in which ivory carvings had served *per se* as symbols of political power[35] and by their content had served a religious or ritual function. But in different cultural contexts the ivories no longer had these functions and their lack of symbolic content did not detract from their use as high value items for exchange or – as is more likely – as presentations to indigenous 'rulers' with whom the Phoenicians dealt beyond the Western Asiatic trading sphere.

What is known about ivory production can be assumed, but not yet proven, to be valid for other specialised commodity manufactures in the Phoenician cities at the same time.

Phoenician metal vessels are rare in the East and the probable

products of Phoenician and/or Cypro-Phoenician workshops are best known from finds in Italy and Iberia, where metal vessels are found in graves. Eastern Phoenician cemeteries, and even 'rich' Phoenician graves in the West, do not contain bronzes as grave goods; instead, fine red slip wares, often imitating bronze forms, were placed in the graves. Similarly, Phoenician jewellery is best known from finds in the Central and Western Mediterranean.

From what we know about Eastern Phoenician production of luxury items we can predict something about their use in exchanges beyond the Western Asiatic trading system. It is reasonable to assume that the use of categories of material will be the same in both spheres and that ivory will remain a presentation item, whereas batches of exotic items, like faience or glass objects, scarabs or fine pottery wares will continue to be used in exchanges. The occurrence of large numbers of Lyre Player seals in Pithecusae represents the latter strategy. And by recognising instances of Phoenician trade with some Aegean centres, Egypt and Cilicia, as being directed to obtain supplies of 'exotica' as an initial stage of a western trading venture, we can explain the often remarked upon mixture of goods of diverse Eastern Mediterranean origin occurring on Phoenician sites in the Central and Western Mediterranean, e.g. the foundation deposit at Carthage. The interrelationship of Phoenician and Greek trading ventures in the Central Mediterranean can be seen, on the basis of evidence from Pithecusae, to have been greater than formerly believed.

Another aspect of Phoenician trading activities was the founding of trading posts. The need for facilities for transport and storage would have arisen in areas where exchanges were established on a regular basis. They were also needed to secure reliable trade routes and to monopolise the access to established trading partners. With the establishment of regular trading posts beyond the original trading sphere, the transportation of commodities of greater bulk, such as cloth, oils, etc. could also be undertaken.

The Phoenicians in the Far West

As we have already seen, the expansionist tendency in the Phoenician trading strategy was determined by the material demands of the Assyrians and particularly the supply of certain crucial resources, eg. silver, in increasing quantities in the 8th and 7th centuries. Irene Winter notes that:

> '. . . the Phoenicians by virtue of their foreign sea trade were able to provide goods and services (like supplies of silver from the Río Tinto mines in southern Spain) which the Assyrians could not otherwise obtain, as they were neither equipped nor ready to assume the risk of taking on the maritime activities themselves.'[36]

Phoenician interest in the Western Mediterranean, and particularly Southern Iberia, therefore has to be seen as a logical extension of the trading activities in the Central Mediterranean. This would be determined, in turn, by the incapacity of their trading partners in the Central Mediterranean to supply all their demands or at least only at rates of exchange that would be set increasingly in favour of their trading partners. This must inevitably be so as competition between Phoenician traders for a finite supply of resources led to an increase in demand and a rise in the rates of exchange. Hence, the fact that there is in any mercantile economy an incentive to find new sources of commodities at lower rates of exchange must lie behind the exploratory trading ventures the Phoenician traders continually engaged in. We could well argue that some of the resources of the Iberian peninsula were already well known to populations in the Central Mediterranean from contact at earlier periods. But even if this was not the case, Phoenician exploratory voyaging in the Western Mediterranean and beyond would have rapidly encountered existing, and in some cases complex, local regional trading networks that they could manipulate to their advantage.

Geographically, the Western Sphere of Phoenician acticity is essentially that area defined by Braudel as the Mediterranean Channel.[37] It is one of the 'narrow seas' of the Mediterranean, like the Aegean, Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas, which are characterised by the intensity of maritime communication within its confines. These narrow seas came to be connected up by the activities of long-distance traders who skirted or crossed the 'maritime Saharas', ie. the Ionian and Western Mediterranean basins. Although Braudel defined these units for the analysis of the Mediterranean world of the 16th century AD, the nature of navigation and communication in the 1st millenium BC would have been constrained by the same gross environmental and even technological factors and this pattern of localised and long-distance trading systems appears to apply to the period we are dealing with here.

Archaeologically, a Western Phoenician Sphere, distinct from that of the Central Mediterranean, was first recognised by Tarradell.[38] It includes Phoenician foundations in North Africa and Iberia, east and west of the Straits of Gibraltar, i.e. essentially within the Mediterranean Channel and its immediate Atlantic extension. Important progress has been made in identifying this Western Phoenician sphere based on studies of Moroccan material – Phoenician and indigenous – by Tarradell, Ponsich and Jodin.[39] The Iberian and North African areas of the Western Sphere are clearly

strongly interrelated and the distribution of a number of specifically Western Phoenician forms are limited to its confines, e.g. small globular oil bottles, tripod bowls, certain urns and amphorae.[40] In addition, some of the most characteristic Central Mediterranean material – like razors and certain jewellery types – are conspicuously absent from the Western Sphere.[41]

Good evidence is now available from Iberia for Phoenician sites established there by the late 8th century. The dating is based on finds of Greek pottery in undisturbed contexts at Toscanos and Almuñécar and the typology of Phoenician material found on these sites. Pellicer, Schubart, Niemeyer, Lindemann and Aubet have defined a range of late 8th and 7th century Phoenician material and a coherent picture of Phoenician enterprise in Southern Iberia is emerging.[42]

On the basis of this evidence from a series of sites, both indigenous and Phoenician, we propose that two phases of the functioning of the Western Sphere can be recognised in Iberia. The first phase was based on the manipulation of existing Iberian trade networks, which at that time – the 8th century – were Atlantic oriented. In the second phase, a greater Phoenician commitment to the Western sphere is represented by the intensification of commercial activies initiated there in the first phase.

During the 8th century BC the major bronze-working centre in Iberia, in the northwest of the peninsula, played an important role in the 'Atlantic Late Bronze Age'. This Northern European trading system, based on the Atlantic seaboard of the continent and in southern Britain, would have been affected by the changes brought about by the beginning of Hallstatt C in Central Europe. At this time, bronze production and the trade in raw materials were reoriented to new outlets in Southern Europe and an iron technology was introduced in Central Europe. Only isolated elements of this Central European complex are known from Northern and Western Europe. This would suggest that the Atlantic bronze industries that had been supported to some extent by Central European supplies of raw materials would have had to gain access to new supplies and/or reduce the scale of production of high quality bronzework. The Northwest-Iberian bronze-working centre appears to have begun, at this time, to tap Southwestern copper resources to supplement the few copper sources available in this tin-rich area. Within the Atlantic regional network, there is evidence from the seaboard to suggest that materials and finished products were stored near the coast and transported in short relays. The finds of Irish bronzework in Iberia, and vice versa, and the representations of Northern European metalwork on stelae in Extremadura are indications of the extent of this circuit.

Of course, this pattern of collection and distribution presented an ideal opening for the intervention of specialist traders in an entrepreneurial role. It is proposed here that it was Phoenician merchants who adopted this entrepreneurial role, thereby penetrating the Atlantic regional network. In so doing, they linked discrete local elements of the trading system and could gain economic advantage in the exchanges they then transacted. More important, they themselves gained access to the resources and products circulating within this trading system. It has long been recognised[43] that certain Mediterranean bronze types reached Northern Atlantic Europe in the 8th century and a possible route for their transportation round the Iberian peninsula has been signalled by the cargo of a ship that sank at Huelva. Its contents have been interpreted in many ways and although Daniel and Evans interpreted the cargo in terms of 'the activities of Phoenician traders' on 'the coasts of Atlantic Europe' this view has not been generally accepted.[44] It is interesting to note that the only parallels found in Iberia for some of the Atlantic type material found in the Huelva cargo come from the Gabezo de Araya hoard in the province of Cáceres. The similarity of some of their contents suggest that both lots of material were collected and 'lost' as part of the same trading activies. A late 8th century date is likely for the deposition of both hoards, despite the earlier date of some of their contents.

In addition to bronzework, amber and gold were probably available to the Phoenician merchants tapping this Atlantic network. An important gold-working tradition – attributed to the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age – is known from the Central and Northern Atlantic seaboard of Iberia and the incorporation of certain characteristic Phoenician techniques of goldworking resulted in the production of some of the most spectacular products of this centre, ie. the Aliseda jewellery, also found in Cáceres. The availability of amber is suggested by the frequent association of amber with Phoenician bronzes and jewellery in Iberia. This association tends to be replicated in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean.

In the West – as in the Eastern Mediterranean – the Phoenician merchants' strategy was to obtain access to the output of indigenous production centres or resources and then to use them to gain access to new markets or to initiate the exploitation of new resources in other areas. In this way they connected up economically discrete regions and were able to benefit from the mercantile profits made by exchanging manufactured goods for raw materials for which there was a high demand in home markets. In the case of Northwestern Iberia, Phoenician intervention appears to have benefitted the indigenous bronzeworking centres too: they continued to function into the 7th century – and later – producing a wider range of products and maintaining their high quality. This contrasts markedly with the Armorican – and other Atlantic – bronzeworking cen-

tres whose production was disrupted in the 7th century.

As an extension of their involvement in the small-scale relay trade in metal products and materials on the Western Iberian coast, the Phoenician traders were probably responsible for the distribution of the few Northwestern bronzes in Southeastern Iberia on their way to the Central Mediterranean. In fact, the trail of Northwestern (and other Atlantic) bronzes on the islands of the Western Mediterranean maps their island route eastwards. The distribution of Atlantic bronzework, identified in the Balearics and Southern Sardinia, would indicate that this 'island route' between Spain and Italy was 'tramped' – as Braudel terms this short stop navigation pattern – by Phoenician traders in the late 8th and 7th centuries.

On Sardinia, a number of hoards and stray finds testify to the presence of long distance, specialist traders bringing products of the Atlantic bronze industries to the island. In this way the Phoenicians provided Sardinia with raw materials as well as encouraged innovations in style and technique derived from Atlantic bronzeworking centres at a period when there was great demand for good quality bronzework within the Central Mediterranean. The Monte Sa Idda hoard contained many rough castings of Atlantic bronzes but also included distinctive Northwestern and Central Iberian types such as the double-looped and flat-backed palstaves and the swords and daggers derived from the Iberian Carp's Tongue series. Some eastern bronzework was included too. Hencken dates the Monte Sa Idda hoard to later than the Huelva material on the basis of the typology of some of the swords related to the Italian Carp's Tongue series.[45] Another hoard of the same date – from Forraxi Nioi – contains Atlantic and Northwest Iberian bronzework associated with scrap and with amber beads, which could also have been brought by Phoenician merchants. Guido has noted that there are many hoards of axes and/or copper ingots which predate the Phoenician introduced metalwork on Sardinia.[46] Thus, an opening for a Phoenician role in the Sardinian bronze industry was almost certainly due to the need for an external source of tin with which to maintain the high quality and large quantity of bronzeworking in the Full Nuraghic period. The Phoenician interest in this island appears to have been to gain access to silver and certain types of copper ore, the exploitation of which was initiated in this period.

We can summarise this initial phase of Phoenician trade in the Far West as follows: specialist traders intervened in the Atlantic regional trading network by operating on the Western Iberian seaboard. From this network they took bronze, raw materials, probably gold and amber, and used them to link up the islands of Sardinia and Sicily with North Africa and Northern Italy where such materials were much in demand. Valuable commodities such as gold, silver and amber would have been used there

for the production of distinctive jewellery – distributed mainly in the Central Mediterranean – and these would also have been the commodities fed back into the Western Asiatic regional system in the form of trade items, tribute or tax.

A second phase of Phoenician activity in the Far West in the 7th century involved a shift to direct intervention in resource production within Southern Iberia. Because of this, larger quantities of Phoenician luxury commodities and craft goods were required in this phase. It therefore represented a greater commitment by the Phoenician traders – and hence their homeland firms – to the western sphere and coincides with the period of increasing Assyrian reliance on the trading enterprises of the Eastern Phoenician cities. Thus, the intensification of trading activities in the Western sphere was clearly aimed at both boosting Phoenician trade in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean and at supplying the Eastern Phoenician cities directly with new resources and trading outlets.

This commitment to the Western Sphere, and to Iberia in particular, is recognisable in the number of sites established by the Phoenicians in Southern Iberia and in the range and intensity of craft and other activities carried out at them. The Phoenician sites are situated mainly on the Mediterranean coast of Southern Iberia, between Adra and Málaga.[47] Known as 'factories', they represent the development of trading posts with storage and other basic facilities into veritable industrial centres where pottery, dyes, oils, wine, fried fish and probably unguents would have been produced for local exchange. At the best known site, Toscanos, the excavators have recognised the site to have flourished mainly in the 7th century.[48] Significantly, they remark on the fact that it is precisely during this period that relations with the homeland were of greatest intensity.[49] This is attested by finds of alabaster vessels, high quality red slip ware, a serpentine plate, and some sherds of Attic SOS amphorae and Proto-Corinthian kotylae: all of which were in deposits clearly associated with the use of the large storehouse.

It can be proposed that the obvious focus for Phoenician interest in this area and the main reason for establishing production centres in the Far West must have been the possibility of exploiting the silver ores in the Huelva hinterland. In order to initiate the exploitation of these ores, the Phoenician merchants would have had to establish reliable relations with the indigenous population of the coastal hinterland and with those in areas with maritime, riverine or overland access to the important source areas. A workforce would have to be attracted or contracted and the production of foodstuffs for the maintenance of specialists in diverse industries ensured. It is in terms of these specific aims that the establishment of the production centres on the coast and the evidence for relations with

the indigenous populations must be examined.

The most important evidence for Phoenician involvement in ore extraction comes from the excavation of the Cerro Salomón, Río Tinto.[50] This settlement of small rectangular rooms contained slag and other debris from metal extraction throughout the habitation remains which covered the entire 1 km long hill-top. According to Blanco and Luzón, most of the c. 20 million tons of slag at Río Tinto are the remains of ancient silver-working, with only a small amount of slag possibly representing copper extraction. Similar deposits of slag from silver-working are known in the hills surrounding Río Tinto and the scale of silver extraction in the area was obviously phenomenal. Blanco and Luzón point out that silver-working was carried out in all the small habitation units on the Cerro Salomón and the dispersal of the slag throughout the buildings differs significantly from the great mounds of slag found in restricted areas of Roman silver-working settlements.

In the nearby city of Huelva, Phoenician remains of 8th century date are rare but 7th century material is known from many areas of the city. Slag from silver-working and smelted fragments with crucible impressions were recorded in deposits on the hills of La Esperanza and San Pedro. It is significant that many of these indigenous settlements in the Huelva area were founded in the 7th century and a relationship must exist between this growth of the population of the hills of Huelva and the exploitation of ores in the mountains of its hinterland. It is quite likely that silver was extracted and worked within the major indigenous settlements, from which the labour force for the industry would have come, as well as on the primary extraction sites in the resource area.

It is suggested here that although the Phoenicians instigated its exploitation they would not themselves have monopolised the extraction of silver. Thus, it can be envisaged that Phoenician traders — or associated 'experts' — would have supplied the technology and organised the initial exploitation: this phase is represented by the masses of early 7th century Phoenician material, such as amphorae, lamps, etc., found on the Cerro Salomón. At a later stage, the Phoenicians would have obtained through exchange the silver they required when it had been produced by a local labour force. The Phoenician traders proffered a variety of goods brought from the East or produced locally and these are represented by materials, such as fine pottery wares, bronze vessels and jewellery, found in graves and the contents of course pottery containers, viz. oils, wines, dried fish, unguents, found in graves and settlements.

The 7th century Phoenician production centres were located on the coast, usually at the mouth of a river which was important both for providing fresh water and as a route for communication with the interior.

The coastal zone between the Vélez and the Algarrobo rivers is connected via a mountain pass to the rich agricultural lands of the Guadalquivir valley, the Campiña and Alcores areas. Similarly, the Guadalhorce river valley is a natural route into the Guadalquivir. The Phoenician coastal sites were sometimes within a couple of kilometres from each other and their distribution suggests that their locations were of complementary advantage. Similarly, the evidence from their occupation suggests differences in their functioning. For example, Toscanos was a centre of dye extraction and presumably cloth dyeing, as indicated by the large quantities of murex shells excavated there. It also contained a workshop for other crafts and considerable storage facilities. A number of specialised craftsmen and merchants, deep-sea fishermen, navigators, ships' crews and probably ship-builders would have been based in settlements like Toscanos. Therefore, in addition to a need for labour from indigenous populations to sustain many production processes, the Phoenicians would have required access to foodstuffs which could not have been produced in sufficient quantitites in the immediate surroundings of their coastal centres. We must therefore envisage the establishment of regular inland routes and the faunal evidence of remains of donkeys and horses from some sites, such as Guadalhorce, would support the view that some centres were more involved with the distribution of Phoenician products and the collection of supplies of foodstuffs from the interior than with specialised production.

A distinctive feature of this second phase of Phoenician involvement in Southern Iberia is the production of distinctive pottery types: painted wares, red slip and a fine grey ware. Remains of these are found in all the known settlements of this period from the Guadalquivir valley, especially between Sevilla and Cordoba, as well as from the Jeréz and Huelva areas. These wares — and their contents — also reached the Central Portuguese coastal area, Eastern Andalusia and the Levantine coast. In their widest distribution, they can therefore be taken as indications of the continuing interest of the Phoenicians in a now more restricted Atlantic trade (as confirmed by the finds of bronze vessels and gold jewellery in Atlantic Iberia) and in the maritime route, 'tramping' the islands, to the Central Mediterranean.

Although we cannot deal in any detail with the nature and distribution of the finest categories of Phoenician materials found in Iberia, viz. ivory, alabaster, bronze vessels and jewellery we must point out the most significant feature of their distribution. In particular ivory and alabaster items are seen to correspond virtually exclusively with the two areas of resource exploitation in which the Phoenicians were involved, ie. the Huelva area and the Guadalquivir area. We can envisage that in order to maintain their control over the silver resources of the former and the agricultural

produce of the latter areas, the Phoenicians provided a range of materials as listed above. The exchanges involved high bulk low value commodities, produced locally, and highly valued items (usually Eastern imports) which were probably 'gifts' rather than goods used in equivalent exchange. The confirmation of contractual arrangements and the reinforcement of political alliances through gift exchange was practiced in the East. There, the possession of ivory and alabaster appears to have been a royal prerogative. In the West, the Phoenicians expressed their acknowledgement of rank in the indigenous societies by presenting their 'rulers' with categories of material denoting 'royal' status (as discussed above).

The organisation of the Western Sphere

This second phase of Phoenician enterprise in the Far West corresponded with the period in which the independent Phoenician cities were subject to increasingly severe 'tribute' and trade impositions from the Assyrian kings. Thus, their autonomy depended on their success in establishing and maintaining their semi-peripheral functions within the Western Asiatic regional system. They functioned as suppliers of raw materials and valuable commodities to the Assyrians, and other partners in the trading system, and this was achieved due to the success of their Western maritime expansion.

As recognised by Winter and Oded,[51] the relative independence of Phoenician cities like Tyre, Sidon and Byblos in the late 8th century can be related to Assyrian recognition of the economic potential of these commercial city states and an appreciation of the economic role they could play if left to their own trading strategies. The Nimrud letters refer only to restrictions on the timber trade and to a tax imposed on this trade which would have enabled Assyrian officials to follow – if not to control – some aspects of the city's trade.

In his paper in this volume, Postgate has pointed out that the Assyrian kings 'expected the merchants of the Levant and of Babylonia to carry on with their own mercantile activities without further interference from the government'. He cites the Nimrud letters and the recognition of the achievement of Sargon in opening Egypt to trade in support of this view. We may add that the treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal, of Tyre, after the defeat of Sidon and Egypt in 671 supports this view. The treaty deals with the obligations of Baal to the Assyrians and the role of the Assyrian governor at Tyre. However, the autonomy of the city and the rule of the king and 'the ancients of the land' was not undermined. Tyrian traders had to obtain permission prior to visiting ports in territories under Assyrian control but the ships of the king and those of 'the people of the land' were still free to operate beyond the Assyrian sphere.

Another point made by Postgate is relevant here. He notes that during the reign of Sargon the supply of silver circulating in Assyria was considerably increased and by the late 7th century 'silver was the generally accepted currency throughout the empire'. Balmuth has pointed out that silver coins, inscribed with the name of Barrekub, were found with disc-ingots and 'Hacksilber' in the palace of Barrekub, a vassal of Tiglath-pileser in c. 730, at Zinjirli.[52] This implies that silver – used as a medium of exchange and currency – created a new hoardable form of wealth which boosted the demand for silver at the same time as it was required for the manufacture of fine wares and jewellery. It can be proposed that with such an enormous increase in the supply of silver to the Assyrian cities in the 7th century – which we believe was provided by the Phoenician merchants – the ability to control its acquisition and hence value would be undermined by the enormous quantities in circulation and storage. This would ultimately have resulted in a decline in external demand and dependence on its source.

Since silver and gold were low bulk/high value commodities, it can be envisaged that these were taken by Phoenician merchants from the Far West to the Eastern Phoenician cities to be used there in trade, manufacture and tribute or tax payments. Other resources and products procured in the Western sphere would have been used in exchanges within the Central Mediterranean and some items of Phoenician manufacture from Mediterranean centres were circulated in the Eastern Mediterranean.

So far, we have dealt almost exclusively with the trading strategies of the Phoenician merchants and the role of their cities within the regional economy. We can also attempt to describe the organisation of these merchants and their business operations.

As mentioned above, the mercantile 'firms' are known to have been operating in Canaanite towns, also Ugarit, and their Phoenician successors. The organisation of 'firms' in Assur, and their representatives in colonies in Anatolia, have been studied from Old Assyrian texts found at Kanesh (Kültepe) by Larsen.[53] These 'firms' were kinship-based groups and Larsen[54] proposes that 'the predominance of the family may in fact be a feature which is closely linked with the recurrent pattern of city-states with commercial colonies involved in long-distance trade'. This type of kin-based organisation can be proposed for Phoenician traders and other occupational specialists too. In the Old Testament we have references to Phoenician 'household' organisation in I Kings V, 11, when reference is made to the provision of foodstuffs by Solomon for the 'household' of Hiram I of Tyre. The king's household would have been the largest of many occupational groups organised on a kinship basis. Harden describes the textile industry in Phoenicia, as follows: 'Mostly, the spinning and

weaving will have been a home industry, not openly commercialized, though some householders must have used slaves to do it on an organized scale'.[55] And Moscati notes that the organisation of the textile industry at Carthage was also originally on 'family lines'.[56] We note too that the means by which these 'households' could be extended was by the incorporation of slave or other dependent labour, e.g. by intermarriage with the Danites.[57] In I Kings VII, 14, there is a reference to a Tyrian bronzeworker involved in the construction of Solomon's temple: he too operated within a kin-based group: '. . . . . his father was a man of Tyre, a worker in bronze . . . ', just like his son, and his mother is described as being 'of the tribe of Naph'tali'.

This is a significant aspect of Phoenician social and economic organisation, i.e. members of other tribes or cities could be incorporated within kin-based groups and hence increase the population of individual cities – and later colonies. During the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age there was no unified ethnic identity, other than that imposed by others, for the inhabitants of the Levantine coast, viz. 'Canaanite' and 'Phoenician' were terms that were applied to the heterogeneous populations of the coastal cities by their contemporaries. The populations of these cities included residents from different Syro-Palestinian cities, as well as elements of other Western Asiatic or Eastern Mediterranean centres. Ezekiel's lament for Tyre (XXVII, 8-24) mentions the diverse origins of merchants, elements of the army, and even the participation of the inhabitants of Sidon, Arvad and Byblos in Tyrian maritime ventures. The term 'Phoenician' therefore refers to a category of people involved in certain recognisable activities rather than to a single ethnic group, e.g. in the Homeric poems, all traders are 'Phoenicians'. The assimilation of elements of Aramaean and Israelite populations seems to have occurred in this way. That is, by taking on Phoenician language and ideology, people of different origins could take part in characteristic Phoenician activities and thereby become identified as Phoenicians. In fact, the inhabitants of Phoenician cities continued to regard themselves as 'men of Tyre' or 'men of Byblos', and so on.

Similarly, the Phoenician foundations in the west would have had two major components: the Eastern Phoenician traders and settlers; and elements of indigenous populations that achieved 'Phoenician' identity by taking on Phoenician activities. Those elements of the indigenous population that attached themselves to the Phoenicians would probably already have been involved in the sort of commercial or manufacturing activities encouraged by the newcomers in order to create new forms of wealth. The degree to which indigenous polulations were incorporated as 'Western Phoenicians' is difficult to assess but the density

of Phoenician sites in the West and the intensity of their activities there are unlikely to have been accomplished solely by the population of the Phoenician homeland and would at least have involved a degree of participation by peoples of the Central and Western Mediterranean as well as of North Africa.

However the presence in the Far West of high-ranking traders, expedition leaders and craftsmen can be assumed from the evidence there of burials with special categories of grave goods, such as alabaster urns, gold jewellery and Greek vases. The tombs found at Almuñécar and Trayamar, necropoli associated with important 'factories', indicate the recognition of the status of some Phoenician residents of the Western settlement: we can assume that these were 'men of the city', representatives of Eastern firms in the Far West. At Almuñécar they were buried in shaft graves; at Trayamar in ashlar built chamber tombs: both forms of burial are unusual for the Western Sphere. The fact that these were collective tombs to which burials and/or offerings were added to existing burials suggests that the kin-based organisation of the trading firms and specialist workshops proposed for the Eastern Phoenician cities was dominant in the West too when 'branches' of the Eastern firms were established there.

Conclusions

It is clear both from texts and from the political situation outlined above that the Phoenicians were generally regarded by their contemporaries as specialist traders. In the Odyssey they are characterised as traders and navigators: the suppliers of fine metalwork, cloth, jewellery and slaves to the Greeks.

The leadership of the actual trading expeditions would have been in the hands of specialist traders of some repute. The status of men like Hanno and Hamilcar – who also undertook exploratory expeditions – illustrate the prestige of these expedition leaders who, like their counterparts in overland caravan trade, would have controlled the organisation of men and ships, would have known the routes and destinations and also prescribed the nature and extent of the exchange transactions. If we are correct in viewing the traders as owners of their ships, this would contribute significantly to explaining the extent and intensity of Phoenician ventures within – and beyond – the Mediterranean. If the ships were owned by the city, the incentive to establish new routes and trading situations would not have been as great as when the traders themselves were responsible for the ventures and, of course, for the gain they could accrue. Although the fortunes of the Phoenician cities under Pharaoh Necho and then under Babylonian and Persian rulers do not concern us here, it is

worth noting the important role in both overland and maritime trade they maintained in the new configurations of the Western Asiatic regional system. Rostovtzeff points out the similarity in the organisation and functioning of the caravan trade in Western Asia during the Neo-Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian empires:

> 'It was this caravan trade that brought riches and splendour to Aleppo and later to Damascus, the most flourishing cities of the Near East, and it was this caravan trade that put the Phoenician cities of Tyre, Byblos, and Aradus in a position which enabled them to acquire outstanding importance in the development of commerce.'[58]

The repute of individual traders, as well as the combined efforts of merchants of the Phoenician cities, is evident in the continued involvement of the Phoenician cities in international trade in the time of Nebuchadnezzar II when the chief merchant was probably a Phoenician

> '. . . which can most likely be taken as an indication that trade with Phoenicia was either in the hands of the natives of Tyre or controlled by them in some way. It combined with the delivery of typically Phoenician products with the procurement of essential raw materials from other countries, such as Egypt and certain places in Asia Minor, whereby the Phoenicians acted in their well-known function as intermediaries, as middlemen . . . . . '[59]

In the time of the Neo-Assyrian empire, the Phoenicians established a Western trading sphere as a new peripheral area from which they tapped resources and products initiated the exploitation of certain resources and increased the exploitation of others. Through the intermediary of a local elite, confirmed by their possession of high status Phoenician objects, the surplus of domestic resources were produced for Phoenician consumption. Thus, relations with the Phoenicians would have brought about changes in the indigenous society in terms of economic and political dependence on exchanges within a regional as well as an international trading system. This was probably the major Phoenician contribution to the later 'Iberian civilisation', i.e. they had instigated the initial incorporation of Southern Iberia in the Mediterranean trading network, as a periphery of a Western Asiatic regional system. This Mediterranean trading network was boosted by the Western Greek cities from the end of the 7th century and the degree to which Iberia was incorporated became considerable during the 6th century when the 'Iberian civilisation' took on many distinctive

features of the Greek states.

Thus, Iberian relations with the Western Greek city states involved the creation of a new, economically specialised semi-periphery with all its concomitant structural features. In many respects these developments were similar to the processes of 'orientalisation' and 'civilisation' observed in Etruria in the late 8th and 7th centuries. This contrasts markedly with the Phoenician/Iberian relations. The Phoenician commitment to the Far West was always in terms of obtaining resources. It was not for territorial acquisition or political domination. The resources were needed to establish and reproduce the Western Sphere in order to maintain and reproduce the Eastern commercial city states and to continue their function within the Assyrian dominated Western Asiatic regional systems. The commitment of the Eastern cities – and their firms – to the Western Sphere was insufficient for the trading posts and production centres to develop towards a phase of independence of the homeland cities. There was no investment in the production centres on the scale of the Central Mediterranean centres and the population of the Western settlements appears to have been specialised and in a sense transitory.

The decline of the Western Sphere is usually seen in terms of the expansion of Carthage, but the expansion of Carthage was only possible when the Western Sphere no longer functioned as a separate trading network. The reasons for the abandonment of the Western Sphere lay partly in the Eastern Phoenician cities. One of the decisive factors would have been the decline in silver requirements of the Assyrian empire, at the time when a surplus of silver had been achieved and silver ingots began to be hoarded and thereby removed from circulation. Another factor was the expansion of the activities of the Greek cities in the Central Mediterranean into the Western Mediterranean and in particular to the Levantine coast of Iberia. This brought about a situation of independent and competitive access to Iberian resources at the end of the 7th century. And a third factor was the increasing incorporation of Central Europe, North of the Alps, into the periphery of the Central Mediterranean Greek and Etruscan cities: in this way independent access was established to many of the resources – such as copper, tin, precious metals – for which the Central Mediterranean centres had previously been partially dependent on Phoenician enterprise, particularly in the Far West.

NOTES

1. This paper presents some of the arguments dealt with in a PhD thesis submitted to London University in 1977 entitled 'The impact of Phoenician and Greek expansion in the Early Iron Age societies of Southern Iberia and Southwestern Germany'.
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4. Barnett R.D. 1957 *A catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories with other examples of ancient Near Eastern ivories in the British Museum* London p. 60.
5. Hallo W.W. 1960 From Qarqar to Carchemish. Assyria and Israel in the light of new discoveries *BiblicalArchaeologistXXIII, 2*, 34ff.
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7. ibid. and Winter I.J. 1976 Phoenician and North Syrian ivory carving in historical context: questions of style and distribution, *Iraq XXXVIII*, 1-22.
8. Oppenheim A.L. 1964 *Ancient Mesopotamia*, Chicago p. 89.
9. Oppenheim A.L. 1969a Comment, *Troisième conférence internationale d'histoire économique* (Munich 1965), Paris, 32ff.
10. Diakonoff I.M. 1969 Main features of the economy in the monarchies of Ancient Western Asia, *Troisième conférence internationale d'historie économique* (Munich 1965), Paris, 13-32.
11. Oppenheim *op.cit.* note 9; Oppenheim A.L. 1969b Essay on overland trade in the first millennium B.C., *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 21 (1967), pp. 236-54.
12. Oppenheim *op.cit.* p. 37, note 9.
13. Oppenheim *op.cit.*p. 246, note 11 — ABL 347.
14. *idem.*
15. Webb M.C. 1975 The flag follows trade; an essay on the necessary interaction of military and commercial factors in state formation *in* Sabloff, J.A. and Lamberg-Karlovsky C.C. eds. *Ancient Civilization and Trade* Albuquerque.
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17. *ibid.* p. 135.
18. Saggs H.W.F. 1955 The Nimrud Letters, 1952-Part II. Relations with the West. *Iraq* XVII, 126-54.
19. Oppenheim *op.cit.* note 11.

19a. This was anticipated by Oppenheim in his pioneering essay on overland trade in the first millennium (*op.cit.* note 11). Our argument for Phoenician cities as suppliers of raw materials and finished products to the Assyrian empire in the eighth century is based on his analysis rather than on any more recent material.

20. Oppenheim *op.cit.* p. 94, note 8: reference to Indian cotton plants in Sennacherib's garden.
21. Barnett R.D. 1948 Early Greek and Oriental ivories, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LXVIII, p. 6.
22. Dunbabin T.J. 1957 *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours*, London, p. 41.
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27. *ibid.* p. 4.
28. *ibid.*
29. Barnett *op.cit.* p. 62, note 21.
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32. Barnett *op.cit.* p. 3, note 21.
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39. e.g. Tarradell M. 1960b *Marruecos púnico*, Tetuan; 1959 *Lixus — Historia de la Ciudad*, Tetuan; Jodin A. 1966 *Mogador, comptoir phénicien du Maroc atlantique*, ETAM II, Tanger; Ponsich M. 1969 Nouvel aspect de l' industrie préromaine en Tingitane, *Bulletin Archéologique N.S. 4* (1968), 225-36; 1971 L'implantation humaine dans le Tangerois, du Paléolithique à la periode Romaine, *Notes et M. Serv. geol. Maroc, no. 222 bis.*
40. Culican W. 1970a Phoenician oil bottles and tripod bowls, *Berytus XIX*, 5-18; 1970b Almuñécar, Assur and the Phoenician penetration of the Western Mediterranean, *Levant II*, 28-36; re tripods and oil-bottles. Lindemann G. 1974 Phoenikische Grabformen des 7./6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. im westlichen Mittelmeerraum, *Madrider Mitteilungen 15*, 122-35 — re Phoenician urns and amphorae. The nature of the Iberian-Moroccan inter-relationship during the period of Phoenician activities in the Far West have not been clearly elucidated; the use of West African gold (as suggested for Carthage by Gsell) may be one of the material bases for this connection. (Gsell S. 1929 *Historie ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris (2nd.ed.) p. 83).
41. eg. Culican W. 1973 Phoenician jewellery in New York and Copenhagen, *Berytus XXII*, 31-52 — Central Mediterranean 'ball and cage' earrings; Western Phoenician types, e.g. bulla pendants.
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46. Guido M. 1963 *Sardinia*, London, 151 ff.
47. See publications, note 42.
48. Niemeyer and Schubart 1969, note 42, see for example p. 116.
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53. Larsen M.T. 1967 *Old Assyrian Caravan Procedures*, Istanbul; 1974 The Old Assyrian colonies in Anatolia, *Journal of the American Oriental Society 94, 4*, 468–75.
54. Larsen 1974 *op.cit.* note 53, p. 469.
55. Harden D. 1971 *The Phoenicians*, Harmondsworth, p. 135. But the extent of cloth production within the Phoenician cities is not likely to have been great: see Jankowska N.B. 1969 Some problems of the economy of the Assyrian Empire in Diakonoff I.M. *ed. Ancient Mesopotamia*, Moscow 1969, 253–376 (Wiesbaden 1973).
56. Moscati S. 1973 *The World of the Phoenicians*, London, p. 223.
57. Cf. Albright W.F. The role of the Canaanites in the history of civilization *in* Wright G.E., *ed. The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, New York.
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59. Oppenheim *op.cit.* note 11, p. 254.

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PRIMITIVE CIVILIZATION OF THE EASTERN SLAVS

By S. H. CROSS

THE status of social organization and primitive government among the Eastern Slavs at the dawn of their history is not definable with complete certainty, but may best be determined by comparing the data preserved both by the earliest native sources and in the accounts of contemporary foreign observers with survivals of early custom and usage among the modern branches of the Slavic race least touched by the inroads of modern culture. Accurate definition of early Eastern Slavic social organization has, however, been gravely hampered by the dubious terminology of the mediaeval Russian sources themselves and particularly by the ambiguous use of the word *rod*, which is indiscriminately employed by eleventh and twelfth century texts to mean 'family,' 'clan,' 'tribe,' and even 'nation.' The resulting confusion has accordingly exerted an unfavorable effect upon theories of early Russian social structure ever since this topic first became a subject of study during the first half of the nineteenth century.

In the Laurentian Chronicle, for example, we read, "While the Polyanians were living apart and ruling over their *rodi*, . . . they lived each with his *rod* and on their lands, ruling each over his own *rod* and on his own land."[1] In this passage *rod* can equally well be taken to signify 'patriarchal family,' 'joint family,' or 'clan.' Similarly, a tradition is also preserved by the Chronicle that Kii, the eponymous founder of Kiev, went to settle on the Danube, where "he set up a small town and wished to settle there with his *rod*."[2]

In this instance the same choice of meanings is conceivable. But in the legend of the 'calling' of the Varangians, the Chronicle reports that "there was no justice among them (the Slavs), and *rod* rose against *rod*,"[3] a passage in which any other meaning beside 'clan' or 'tribe' is scarcely applicable. Yet after the death of Kii and his brothers we learn that "their *rod* began to hold the principate (*knjaženie*) among the Polyanians,"[4] so that in this instance the word would seem to apply to their descendants and dynasty. Finally, in the Russo-Greek treaty of 911 the Russian contractants are characterized as "we of the Russian *rod*,"[5] i.e., "of the Russian nation."

[1] *PSRL*, I, i, 2nd ed. (Leningrad, 1926), 9.
[2] *Ibid.*, col. 10.
[3] *Ibid.*, col. 19.
[4] *Ibid.*, col. 9.
[5] *Ibid.*, col. 32.

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Dogmatic interpretation of these obviously vague terms has inspired the creation of unduly exclusive theories of primitive Eastern Slavic social structure. The Dorpat school, founded by J. P. G. Ewers[6] (later followed by S. M. Solovyov), thus held that prior to the arrival of the Varangians in the ninth century the Eastern Slavs lived in small isolated communities composed of clans sprung from the same founder and headed either by their senior member or by an elected chief. As Solovyov remarks, "*Rod* designated the whole complex of grades of kinship, both the nearest and the most remote; it also designated a group of kindred and each one of them."[7] The same school accordingly urged that the formation of the Kievan principality after the arrival of the Varangians was simply the union of a number of large clans, so that the prince was actually the patriarchal head of the resulting combination, and his rule was no more than the administration of a large family created after the model of the smaller units which existed prior to the moment of their coalescence.

In justice to this theory, it must be admitted that in the social forms of the mediaeval historical period elements are found which would indicate that the Eastern Slavs passed through and retained features of the patriarchal phase of evolution. The conception of the patriarchal family as exemplified by the relations prevailing between princes of the Kievan dynasty and the exclusion of daughters from inheritance under old Russian law are factors in point.[8] On the other hand, the prominent role at the dawn of Russian history played by the various larger groups known as tribes (*plemena*), especially in sections of the country where urban centers were late in developing (e.g., among the Derevlians and the Vyatichians), together with the probability that strictly family relationships and connections were subject to serious dislocation once the general movement of Slavic expansion and migration set in, renders it improbable that either the patriarchal family or the clan (in their strictest sense) was still a social unit of general importance among the Eastern Slavs when their cohesion into a state began during the ninth century.

The conclusive evidence in favor of the existence at this period of social units considerably more extensive and inclusive than the patriarchal family and the clan led K. S. Aksakov, the great theorist of the Slavophiles, to the conviction that the stage of existence which

[6] J. P. G. Ewers, *Das älteste Recht der Russen* (Dorpat, 1826), pp. 6–11. For a modern summary of the question, cf. B. D. Grekov, *Kievskaja Rusj* (Moscow, 1944), pp. 50–67.

[7] *Ist. Rossii s drevneišich vremen*, I, 4th ed. (Moscow, 1866), 62.

[8] M. S. Hrushevski, *Kievskaja Rusj*, I (Spb., 1911), 436–437.

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they typify had been passed by the Eastern Slavs at a much earlier period.[9] The Primary Chronicle mentions, in fact, that the various Slavic subdivisions on Russian soil (Polyanians, Derevlians, Dregovichians; the *Slověne* at Novgorod; the Polotsk district) each had principalities of their own before the Varangians appeared on the scene.[10] Rurik, the semi-legendary founder of the Kievan ruling house, is also reported to have been summoned by the Slavs of the Novgorod area (as a unit) in concert with the Finnish Chudes and Merians.[11] Upon their capture of Kiev, the Varangians Askold and Dir ruled over "the land of the Polyanians,"[12] and the various conquests of the early princes of Kiev were invariably directed against tribal complexes which give no evidence of recent parcellation into more primitive social units. From these data, and in view of the diversified connotation of the term *rod* in the sources, Aksakov concluded that by the ninth century all traces of patriarchal structure had vanished among the masses. Where they persisted in the princely house they were (he thought) of foreign origin, and the people were infinitely more interested in a prince's character and energy than in his status of seniority in the ruling family. Aksakov thus considered that the national unity gradually produced by the centripetal policy of the Kievan princes was preceded by a stage during which the Eastern Slavs were grouped into a series of communities (*obščiny*) formed on the basis of the proximity rather than the kinship of their members. The merit of Aksakov's suggestion lies in his postulating an intermediate stage between the dominance of patriarchal relationships and the evolution of a state as such, but this suggestion was not accompanied by any reasoned explanation how this intermediate stage was induced.[13]

The same considerations which led K. S. Aksakov to postulate a period of communal existence and the evidence of the sources as to the existence of isolated pre-Varangian principalities inspired N. I. Kostomarov's[14] notion that groups of clans fused together into tribal unions as a consequence of the normal growth in numbers of the individual clans and the geographical proximity of the latter as the process of colonization and settlement progressed. The existence of

[9] "O drevnem byte u slavjan voobšče i u russkich v osobennosti," *Pol. Sobr. Sočinenij*, I (Moscow, 1861).

[10] *PSRL*, I, i, 10.

[11] *Ibid.*, coll. 19–20.

[12] *Ibid.*, col. 21.

[13] Cf. M. Lyubavskiĭ, *Drevnjaja russkaja ist.* (Moscow, 1918), p. 61.

[14] "Mysli o federativnom načale v drevnei Rusi," *Istoričeskija monografii i issledovanija*, I (Spb., 1872), 3–49.

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such tribal complexes had never been denied by previous investigators, but their importance had been minimized in comparison with the influence of ties of blood relationship. Indeed, as far as either the tribes (*plemena*) or any previous combinations governed solely by considerations of kinship are concerned, it would seem that the social evolution of the Eastern Slavs by the time they first appear as an historical factor had progressed to a point where neither family nor tribal connection was the chief motive behind the rudimentary federations which were already in existence when the Scandinavian infiltration began. None of the previous theories took into consideration the fact that at the arrival of the Varangians the courses of the chief Russian rivers were already dotted with towns so numerous as to cause the newcomers to name the country *Garðaríki* ('the realm of stockaded towns'). Furthermore, the districts affiliated with these towns did not coincide with the boundaries of the tribal units whose names were still in current use or remembrance. The Slověne of Novgorod acted in conjunction with the Krivichians of Izborsk and the northern Finns, while Chernigov was the center for Radimichians Severians, and Vyatichians. The first Russian theorist to note this fact was V. I. Sergeyevich,[15] who suggested that the primitive towns were the creation of groups of ambitious Slavs or even of representatives of other indigenous races who sought a convenient point for defense or trade, and then proceeded to expand their possessions and influence by the acquisition (peacefully or by violence) of adjacent interesting territory. The territorial subdivisions which existed at the coming of the Varangians did not (in his opinion) rise from the coalescence of previous clan holdings or represent survivals of earlier and well-defined tribal areas, but were a series of completely new spheres of influence resulting from the drift of portions of the latter toward the nuclei which attracted them.

The defects of this theory are occasioned by an inadequately motivated conception of urban origins and by the fact that it represents a stage of development presupposing earlier phases of social organization for which it offers no definition, regardless of the source data which indicate their existence. While it is necessary to concede that a purely patriarchal or tribal organization was a thing of the past in the ninth century, it is unlikely that all its vestiges should have been erased to the extent implied by the system of Sergeyevich. F. I. Leontovich[16] thus admitted the breakdown of these organizations,

[15] *Veče i knjazj* (Moscow, 1867), pp. 28–31.

[16] "O značenii vervi po Russkoi Pravde i Polickomu Statutu sravniteljno s zadrugoju jugo-zapadnych Slavjan," *Žurn. Min. Narod. Pros.*, 1867, no. 134, pp. 1–19. The first

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and sought among the non-Russian Slavs some social unit which would give a key to the social status of the Eastern Slavs before the creation of the Kievan principate. Leontovich pointed out that an exclusively patriarchal and tribal organization is found only among purely nomadic peoples, but is immediately resolved as soon as such peoples become fixed, in consequence of the necessity of integrating non-kindred elements into the social complex. The originally kindred groups became contaminated with extraneous elements, though still conceived as fictitious clans or tribes. Leontovich thus held that the groups known as *vervi* in the *Russkaya Pravda* were of this type, i.e., artificial clans or tribes of mixed membership in proximity to the most important towns. The patriarchal background is thus conceded, but no thought is entertained of its perpetuation until the opening of the historical period. A parallel to this form of social organization Leontovich found in the Western Serbian *zadruga*.

This characteristic Serbian family community, with analogies in other isolated areas (Switzerland, Tyrol, Spain), is down to the present day the chief type of social organization for the Yugoslav peasant class. As Ernest Denis observed, "On rencontre en realité chez tous les peuples, à un moment donné de leur évolution sociologique, des institutions très analogues à la *zadruga*,"[17] and it is probably true that, like the Indian 'joint family,' the *zadruga* is a survival, not merely of Slavic, but also of common Indo-European antiquity.[18] It consists of a certain number of persons of common descent (sometimes to the fifth generation), together with outsiders who acquire membership by marriage or adoption. The head of the *zadruga* is either its senior member or an elected chief, and the direction may even devolve upon a competent widow. The chief represents the *zadruga* in external relations and directs its economy, though in serious matters he is subject to the group decision of its membership. Usually a patronymic, the name of the *zadruga* is attached to that of each of its members. Collectivity of goods prevails; the whole fortune of a *zadruga*, together with the individual earnings of its members, belongs to the group, and cannot be disposed of without the consent of all its adult and married male constituents. While the membership of a Serbian *zadruga* may rise as high as 60 persons, corresponding survivals noted

Russian historian to accept Leontovich's theory was K. Bestuzhev-Ryumin, *Russk. Ist.*, I (Spb., 1872), 41–53. For the modern *zadruga*, cf. M. Ivsić, *Les problèmes agraires en Yougoslavie* (Paris, 1926), pp. 28–42, with bibliography; more recently P. E. Mosely, "Adaptation for Survival: the Varžić Zadruga," *Slavonic and East European Review*, XXI (Am. Ser. II), 1942–1943), 147–170.

[17] *La Grande Serbie* (Paris, 1915), p. 75.

[18] Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, I, 438.

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in the Western Ukraine early in the present century did not exceed 25. Documents of the seventeenth century indicate, however, the presence in Galicia, Podolia, and White Russia of settlements known as *dvorišča* which contained as many as 27 households. Though the basis of these aggregations was blood-relationship, the admixture of extraneous elements was considerable, and at least one such *dvorišče* was composed of two families of totally different parentage. Fields, woodland, and similar landed appendages were common property, but the pasturage was particularized.[19]

The term *rod* as used in the Chronicle may thus be viewed as the primitive Eastern Slavic equivalent of the *zadruga:* as Hrushevski defines it, "a family and economic union of a group of people usually connected by blood relationship on the father's side)more rarely, with an admixture of strangers), conducting their economy in common under the direction of their chief, or 'elder,' 'ruling over' this *rod.*"[20] But even though the membership might be mixed, the tradition of kinship was still strong, as is proved by the maintenance of the tradition of family vengeance into the eleventh century.[21]

While a marked dislocation of the primitive family and clan relationships was inevitable during a period of movement, it is also logical that, as new settlements were founded, the families which occupied them should have developed by normal process into clans resembling those which existed before the epoch of dispersion. Hence the evolution of new *rodi* resembling the *zadruga* is equally possible after the Eastern Slavs had sporadically occupied the more remote sections of Russian territory. The persistence of such villages occupied by peasants of a common ancestry in the West Russian provinces well down into historical times is valid proof that such was the case,[22] and the frequency of place names with the patronymic termination *-ichi, -ovichi* lends further support to this hypothesis. The same concept of family relationship also lies behind the formation of the major tribal divisions, however diversified their membership may have become by the ninth century. Among the western Serbs a number of villages or *zadrugi* with remote ties of kinship unite into brotherhoods or tribes with a membership as high as several thousand souls. The presence of the patronymic suffix *-ichi* in Russian tribal names (e.g.,

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 442.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 443.

[21] Cf. *Russkaja Pravda*, ed. Ukrainian Acad. of Sciences (Kiev, 1935), 1: "If one man kill another, brother shall avenge brother, son shall avenge father or father shall avenge son, or else the sons of a brother or a sister" ("ubjetj mužj muža, to mjstitj bratu brata, ile synovi otca, ljubo otcju syna, ili bratu čadu, ljubo sestrinu synovi").

[22] Lyubavskiĭ, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

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Radimichi, Vyatichi) indicates that the Russian tribes likewise passed through a stage when membership depended on kinship, though the later attachment of the same suffix to place-names (e.g., *Pskovichi*, *Tverichi*) also proves that its original implication was forgotten before the historical period.[23] Indeed, the tribes mentioned by the Chronicle as existing in the ninth century are too extensive to have retained more than a vague tradition of common genealogy.

The social organization of the Eastern Slavs at the beginning of their history thus contained elements of more primitive groupings: the *dvorišča*, or small rural townships analogous to the *zadruga*, preserved phases of the ancient patriarchal and kindred relationships, while the tribes, long since developed beyond a stage where kinship was the sole criterion of membership, indicate by their names the evolution through which they had passed. The *dvorišče* itself, however, exhibited a tendency to evolve from a family group into a purely social or economic complex under the influence of conditions of settlement and the proximity of non-kindred elements impelled to combination by community of interest. The union of several *dvorišča* of diversified origin produced villages or, rather, agricultural communities in the modern sense of the word, but extending each over a considerable area, with the original *dvorišča* lying in the midst of their communal land. It was such groups which formed the *vervi* mentioned in the *Russkaya Pravda:* not too large to refuse collective responsibility for their members and able to pay wergild for a homicide committed on their land in cases where it was not desirable to surrender the guilty party.[24] In the primitive family, the supreme authority had been vested in the father, whose control over its members was absolute, as is attested by the fact that the words for 'child' and 'slave' (either *rab* or *otrok*) are identical in Old Slavic.[25] In the individual *dvorišče*, similar authority inured to the eldest member of the family group (*starosta*, *stareišina* < *staryĭ*, 'old'). Upon the combination of various *dvorišča* into larger groups, the authority wielded in the smaller units by the individual father or elder was vested in a council of such elders (*starci*), known as a *veče*.[26] Furthermore, while the com-

[23] Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

[24] *Ed. cit.*, p. 11, par. 4.

[25] Niederle, *Manuel de l'Antiquité Slave*, II (Paris, 1926), 170 and n. 3. On the relations of parents and children in primitive Slavic practice cf. T. Saturník, *O právu soukromém u Slovanů v dobách starších* (Prague, 1934), pp. 63–66.

[26] A consultation of the Kiev elders (*starci*) is thus mentioned in 983 (*PSRL*, i, 1, 2nd ed., col. 82), and a *veče* in Belgorod in 997 (*ibid.*, col. 127). The *veče* persisted even when some leader had succeeded in imposing his authority over a tribe or group of tribes; in Latin sources from the sixth century these tribal chiefs are called *princeps*, *dux*, *regulus*,

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munal tenure inherent in the *dvorišče* might persist in sections where agriculture was well established, its hold was likely to weaken as the range of Slavic settlement extended into less occupied areas, so that the conception of property as the possession of the individual family rather than of the larger patriarchal or joint family was promoted by the expansion of the Eastern Slavs along the central Russian watercourses.

Such scattered settlements, regardless of the ties of interest which bound them together, were isolated in vast stretches of primeval forest in which the settlers hunted and collected wild honey. For defence the settlers constructed small palisaded inclosures known as *gorodišča*, in which rudimentary public life and commerce were ultimately concentrated. Sometimes circular, sometimes quadrangular, fortified by a single rampart (occasionally also by a moat) if on level ground, or by concentric ramparts at the most exposed point if placed on a high or otherwise naturally defensible spot, such *gorodišča* are found all through the middle Dnieper basin at intervals of four to eight kilometers, and their frequency depended on the thickness with which a given area was settled.[27] Thus, for example, the Chronicle preserves the legend that Kiĭ and his two brothers each settled at a strategic point on one of the hills of Kiev.[28] However doubtful the legend itself may be, it accurately illustrates the practice of the early Eastern Slavic settlers, and the reputed foundation of a common strong-point named after Kiĭ reflects the function of the *gorodišče* as a place of refuge and a center of defense.

The Eastern Slavic communities of the ninth century were not, however, exclusively rural. The area occupied by the Eastern Slavs was traversed from north to south by the Dnieper, which had been since time immemorial an artery of trade, while its branches not only tapped the hinterland but also approached the upland watersheds beyond which other river routes flowed on to the Baltic and the Volga valley. The primeval significance of the Dnieper as a trade-route is crystallized in the early chronicle account of a "road from the Varangians to the Greeks,"[29] by the existence of which the Dnieprian Slavs were drawn into the currents of mediaeval commerce. In the

sub-regulus, with reference to the Western Slavic tribes, but the title *knjazj* (from West. Germ. *kuning*, and the only term used in O. Russ.) does not appear till the early ninth century. Cf. Niederle, *Manuel*, II, 181, also *Slovanê Zachodní*, p. 105.

[27] Klyuchevskiĭ, *Kurs russkoi istorii*, I (1904), 134.

[28] *PSRL*, I, i, 2nd ed., col. 9.

[29] "Putj iz Varjag v Greki," *ibid.*, col. 7.

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eighth century, the Khazars were in a position to control commercial exchanges not only on the lower Dnieper and Don but also up the Volga from the Caspian Sea. As is proved by finds of extensive caches of eighth century coins (Arabic dirhems), the mediaeval development of river-borne commerce in the Kiev area dates from this period and coincides with the growth of commerce under Khazar auspices. Many of the Khazar traders were Jews and Arabs. The situation of Itil, the Khazar capital at the mouth of the Volga, made it a transit station between the Caliphate and the interior of Russia. The traffic between Arabs and Khazars passed over the Caspian, from which boats proceeded up the Volga as far as Bolgary, near the confluence of the Kama, and the Khazars collected a ten per cent transit-tax on goods passing through their capital.[30] Similarly, the tributary relationship of the Dnieprian Slavs to the Khazars opened to the former the paths of commerce to the Black Sea over which, according to Ibn-Khurdadhbih (an Arabic geographer of the ninth century) they exported to Byzantium beaver-pelts, fox-furs, and swords,[31] while slaves were also an important item of this traffic. Under the stimulation of such commercial activity some of the little fortified places (*gorodišča*) originally founded by the Eastern Slavs for defence and security became trading posts (*pogosti*) where merchandise accumulated and where traders foregathered. Those situated at river junctions rapidly outdistanced the interior strong-points, and became the chief urban nuclei. Their economic functions made them politically the county-towns, as it were, of the areas from which their staple articles of trade were drawn. As these towns grew in importance, attracting to themselves ever greater accretions of population, the rise of a wealthy and influential commercial class tended to wipe out survivals of the primitive patriarchal and tribal organizations both in the cities and in the areas closest to them. As is proved, however, by later survivals of agricultural communities in the Western marches of the Ukraine which approximate the older units of *dvorišče* and *rod*, as well as by the archaeological remains testifying to the existence of numerous *gorodišča* within the area of the principality of Kiev itself, such features of earlier social units were coexistent with the growth of city life on a commercial basis both during the period of Khazar domination and well beyond the beginnings of the historical period. But

[30] G. Jacob, *Der nordisch-baltische Handel der Araber im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1887), pp. 81–109.

[31] A. Szelągowski, *Najstarsze drogi z Polski na wschód* (Cracow, 1909), p. 41; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 160–206; Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, I, 361–372.

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within the spheres of influence of the towns themselves the town-dwellers, through their commercial interests and broader contact with affairs, became the controlling element to the point where the old *veče*, composed of tribal elders and heads of families, either lost its importance or was replaced altogether by representatives of the new commercial ruling class.[32]

That these numerous budding urban communities were the distinguishing feature of Russian political organization in the ninth century is indicated by the early Scandinavian names for Russia: *í Gorðum*, or *Garðaríki*,[33] the realm of *goroda*, or 'fortified towns.' Of the chief cities at the dawn of Russian history, Polotzk, on the upper Western Dvina, included in its district a portion of both Dregovichians and Krivichians, and owed its importance to the proximity of a portage from Dvina to Dnieper. Smolensk, on the upper Dnieper near portages to Dvina, Lovat, and Volga, was the central point of an area including chiefly Dregovichians, Krivichians, and Radimichians, while the northern portion of the latter, along with most of the Vyatichians, fell under the influence of Chernigov, on the Desna river which joins the Dnieper from the eastward at a point north of Kiev. The city of Kiev itself was in Polyanian territory, but early extended its sphere of influence to north and east over portions of both Derevlians and Severians, though the majority of the latter were more closely attached to Pereyaslavl, southeast of Kiev on the left (east) bank of the Dnieper. Novgorod was the urban center of the Slavs (*Slověne*) and closely related also to the Krivichians about Lake Ilmen, while Rostov (further to the east in the Volga basin), settled largely by men of Novgorod and by Krivichians, was a Slavic outpost on the edge of the Finns on Volga and Oka before the Scandinavian infiltration.

Prior to the evolution of first, a commercial, and subsequently, an official ruling class, the primitive Slavic population was divided into three distinguishable strata. At the lowest point in the social scale stood the slaves, composed of indigenous natives subjected by Slavic colonists, captives taken in war, Slavs who had lost their freedom in consequence of debt, servants purchased in the open market, and descendants of slave parents. At least in their early history, the attitude of the Slavs toward their slaves was exceptionally mild. In the *Strategikon* of Pseudo-Mauricius (sixth century) it is thus remarked,

[32] Cf. Klyuchevskiĭ, *Bojarskaja duma v drevnei Rusi*, 3rd ed. (Moscow, 1902), pp. 20–24.

[33] F. Braun, "Das historische Russland im nordischen Schrifttum des 10. bis. 14. Jhdts," *Festschrift für E. Mogk* (Halle, 1924), pp. 192–193.

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"Those in captivity among them they do not hold in servitude for an unlimited period, like other nations, but after setting them a fixed term they leave it to their choice whether they wish to return home after paying ransom or remain among them as freemen and friends."[34] In contrast with Roman practice, slaves held under the Slavs were also allowed to own property without limitation and bequeath it to their children,[35] and under Russian usage a man enslaved for debt could work off his obligation and the accrued interest.

Above the slaves stood the great group of freemen, known among the Eastern Slavs as *smerdi*. This term in Russia originally extended to all free elements of the population below the rudimentary aristocracy, but later became restricted to the free agricultural population, living on communal or private land-holdings. Since the communal lands were eventually regarded as the prince's, the free rural population on such lands became the prince's peasants, rendering certain duties but still free,[36] though there are instances where the urban population protected the smerds against the exactions of the prince.

Above the freemen stood an ill-defined class referred to in mediaeval Latin sources dealing with the Western Slavs from the sixth century forward as *primates*, *meliores*, *seniores*. From the last term it would appear that these outstanding individuals were originally the elders (*starosty*, *stareišiny*) of the *rodi* or *zadrugi*, and that with the decline of communal tenure and the decay of purely patriarchal authority certain influential families acquired a conspicuous share of both property and influence.[37] After the evolution of the Russian commercial towns, the mercantile leaders played a conspicuous role in this connection, eventually allying themselves with the immigrant Varangian warrior-merchants who formed the entourage of the Viking princes established in Russian territory.[38]

The Old Russian sources preserve only slight traces of a pre-Varangian aristocracy; for example, in the largely legendary account of Olga's triple revenge upon the Derevlians for the murder of her consort Igor (945) it is reported that Olga requested them to send her a delegation of their 'distinguished' (*naročiti*) men, and that in

[34] Reprinted from J. Scheffer, *Ariani Tactica et Mauricii Ars Militaris* (Upsala, 1664) in Niederle, *Slov. Star.*, od. kult., I (Prague, 1911), 27–28: τοὺς δὲ ὄντας ἐν ταῖς αἰχμαλωσίαις παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀορίστῳ χρόνῳ, ὡς τὰ λοιπὰ ἔθνη, ἐν δουλείᾳ κατέχουσιν, ἀλλὰ ῥητὸν ὁρίζοντες αὐτοῖς χρόνον, ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ αὐτῶν ποιοῦνται εἴτε θέλουσιν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀναχωρῆσαι μετά τινος μισθοῦ, ἢ μενοῦσιν ἐκεῖσε ἐλεύθεροι καὶ φίλοι.

[35] Saturnĭk, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–24.

[36] M. F. Vladimirskiĭ-Budanov, *Obzor istorii russkogo prava*, 3rd ed. (Spb., 1900), p. 37.

[37] Niederle, *Manuel*, II, 171.

[38] Klyuchevskiĭ, *Bojarskaja Duma*, pp. 28–29.

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compliance with her request "were gathered together the best men who held the land of Dereva."[39] These individuals were viewed as forming the entourage of the prince of Dereva, since they are specifically referred to as a *družina* (escort, suite), the conventional collective term for the escort and councillors of an historical Russian prince of the Kiev period. Nor is there in the Russian sources any evidence of another term for 'chief' beside the imported *knyaz*.[40] While accounts of the primitive Slavs outside Russia show the existence of tribal chieftains governing with the advice of some type of *veče*, there is practically no material from which the character of the administration of the early Russian tribes can be defined beyond the statement of the Chronicle that the various Slavic tribal complexes on Russian soil possessed their own principalities (*knjaženia*) before the arrival of the Varangians.[41]

According to the Laurentian Chronicle, polygamy prevailed among the pagan Eastern Slavs, and together with concubinage it was common to all primitive Slavic subdivisions elsewhere. However, while there is evidence of considerable promiscuity among the primitive Slavs, a sense of the sanctity of marriage as a permanent tie is also demonstrated by early accounts of wives who committed suicide upon the death of their husbands, so that the fidelity of the Slavic women is almost universally commented upon with favor by foreign observers.[42] Survivals of primitive custom among the Russian peasantry down to modern times indicate notwithstanding that great freedom was allowed both sexes prior to marriage.[43] The Slavic women enjoyed no equality in the household, though a surviving widow was authorized to take her husband's place as head of the family. Marriage by capture or by purchase was the common Slavic practice. The Chronicle refers with disapproval to the kidnapping of maidens among the Derevlians, but notes that marriage by purchase was customary among the Polyanians.[43a] In this respect also, the retention of pre-Christian customs among the Russian peasants in recent times like-

[39] *PSRL*, I, i, 2nd ed., 56–57: "sobrašasja lučjsie muži, iže der'jžachu Derevjsku zemlju."

[40] Cf. n. 26 *supra*. This term can hardly be of Gothic origin, since the Goths show no evidence of having used it; furthermore, since it is first applied with respect to West-Slavic tribes in the early ninth century, it cannot have been borrowed into Old Russian from Old Norse *konungr*, the more so since the nasal in the primitive Slavic form (*kŭnędzĭ*) points conclusively to a suffix *-ing* in the Germanic original, which can only have been a West-Germanic *kuning*, *chuninc*.

[41] Cf. n. 10 *supra:* Niederle, *Manuel*, II, 181–183.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 19–20.

[43] Cf. D. Zelenin, *Russische Volkskunde* (Berlin, 1927), pp. 337–342.

[43a] *PSRL*, I, i, 2nd ed., 13.

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wise points to the coexistence of these two types of marriage, and reflexes of marriage by capture were particularly common among the Schismatics (Old-Believers) before the Revolution.[44]

From the standpoint of material culture, the Eastern Slavs at the dawn of their history in the ninth century had been exposed for more than a millennium to a series of foreign influences, so that much of the technique which they possessed was not uniquely Slavic, but common to all adjacent ethnic groups of equivalent culture. By the arrival of the Varangians at this epoch, they had passed, at any rate, far beyond rudimentary communism and nomadic agriculture to a system of private property rights, and were exchanging the products of their domestic industries and trades, either by barter or against cash payments, with itinerant merchants of Oriental origin, or even transporting these products themselves to the markets of the Black Sea coast.

Linguistic evidence demonstrates that the mass of the Slavs, like the German and the Baltic peoples, was familiar with iron, gold, silver and lead from the earliest times, i.e., at least from the second half of the first millennium B. C., and therefore prior to their dispersion. The names for gold and silver are indeed identical in all three linguistic branches, while those for iron and lead are common to both Baltic and Slavic, though differing from the German vocable. The common Slavic term for copper has no cognate of equivalent meaning in either the Baltic or the Germanic languages. The Slavic word for ore (*ruda*) likewise has no parallel in Baltic.[45] Since iron became known on the coast of the Black Sea about 900 B. C., and appears in archaeological finds from the Kuban district fully two centuries before that date, the early transmission of iron technique to the Slavs is beyond question, particularly in view of traces of iron-mining and smelting in Poland and Bohemia even in the pre-Roman epoch.[46] Iron

[44] Zelenin, *op. cit.*, pp. 318–319.

[45] Gold: Goth. *gulp*, Lettish *žèlts* (Lith. adj. *želtas*), Slav. *zlato* (all from indoeur. base **ĝhel-*, 'shine, yellow'). Silver: Goth. *silubr*, Lith. *sidabras*, Slav. *sŭrebo* (derivation uncertain, but probably not indoeuropean). Iron: Lith. *geležis*, Slav. *želězo* (regarded as connected with Gk. χαλκός, 'copper, bronze' and probably a loan-word of Near-Eastern, perhaps Pontic, origin, cf. Walde-Pokorny, *Etym. Wtb.*, I, 629; the variation in meaning is not impossible if one accepts the derivation of Lat. *aes*, Go. *eisarn* from the base **aios-*, 'metal, either bronze, copper, or iron'). Copper: common Slavic *mědĭ*, and without demonstrable indoeur. relations apart (perhaps) from the base **mai-*, 'cut, work with a sharp instrument' (*ibid.*, II, 222). Lead: Lith. *ālavas* 'tin,' Slav. *olovo* 'lead'; however, in view of the correspondence of Lith. *ālavas* in form and meaning with Russian *olovo* 'tin,' there is at least a possibility that the former is borrowed from the latter, and if any indoeur. background is possible, the base is **albho-* 'white,' cf. Gk. ἀλωφός (*ibid.*, I, 93–94). Ore: Slav. *ruda* (from indoeur. base **reudh-*, 'red') has a Germanic parallel in ON *rauðr*, 'bog iron ore.'

[46] Ebert, *Südrussland*, p. 79; Niederle, *Manuel*, II, 214.

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cauldrons are thus found in Russian tombs of the pagan period, while iron and steel arms were a favorite importation from Scandinavia before the Russian smiths could produce them themselves. Though the Southern and Western Slavs had considerable silver deposits in their territory, the silver which is the chief material of the jewelry discovered in Russian tombs at the close of the pagan period (e.g., in tombs of the Derevlian district, 72 percent of the ornaments found are silver) shows the filigree technique characteristic of the Near East, and is almost wholly imported.[47] Similarly, there was no gold in the territory originally occupied by the Eastern Slavs (though they were later able to procure it from the Urals, the Altai, and Siberia), and goldsmiths do not appear in Russia itself before the tenth century. Though the finest gold and silver objects discovered which belong to this period are of Greek and Oriental workmanship (especially bowls, goblets, and pitchers, and the better types of jewelry), there are also extant numerous articles (necklaces, bracelets, rings, earrings, and temporal rings) which are either imitations of foreign articles or products of domestic design and craftsmanship, including reproductions of Byzantine enamels.[48]

In ceramics as in metal-working, the Slavs were imitators rather than pioneers. Slavic pottery of the close of the pagan period consists of well turned and fired vases in the form of pots without handles, showing a somewhat flattened lip and ornamented, sometimes with a wavy line several times repeated, sometimes with simple horizontal stripes, and occasionally with vertical or transverse stripes or simply a series of dots in oblique lines. The potter's mark usually occurs on the base. This species of pottery, conventionally known as the *Burgwalltypus*, from its being so often found among the remains of small Slavic *gorodišča* not only in Russia but also at the extreme western European limits of Slavic settlement, is literally scattered all over Slavic territory from the Elbe to the Volga. There is, however, nothing specifically Slavic about its technique, since it is a reproduction of the Roman vase with undulating ornament familiar in the northernmost Roman provinces between Danube and Rhine from the first to the fourth century A.D. The Slavs thus seem to have had some contact with the northern Roman markets in this interval, and gradually to have adopted the new type of pottery in preference to their own previous products of this character: high vases, or lower bowls without a flattened edge and decorated either with horizontal stripes

[47] Niederle, *Život starých Slovanů* III, i (Prague, 1927), 216.
[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 245–247.

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or rows of oblique lines, i.e., types developed independently of Roman influence.[49] All pre-Christian glass and glazed ware (goblets, bottles) was imported, since the technique of glass manufacture and of glazing both pottery and the cubes (*tesserae*) used in mosaic was not introduced into Kievan Russia until the establishment of closer relations with Byzantium during the last decade of the tenth century. Larger receptacles (pails, buckets) were made of wood bound with iron hoops and lifted by a movable handle.

Among the chief domestic industries were spinning and weaving. While rich silks were an article of import attainable only by the wealthy, the masses were clothed in homespun fabrics prepared from wool, flax, and hemp. Since the early Slavs were not expert bleachers, the resulting fabrics were mostly grayish in color, and all finely dyed fabrics even in the historical period were thus imported merchandise. Not only is general terminology of spinning and weaving throughout the Slavic languages so homogeneous as to show that this technique was a matter of common knowledge before the dispersion began, but the absence of foreign borrowings also proves it to have been a native development of very early date. It is significant that this vocabulary was taken over bodily by the Magyars upon their settlement in Central Europe.[50]

Just as the pagan Slavs by the ninth century had attained a respectable technique in metal-working, textiles, and ceramics (acquired in part from their neighbors), there is likewise abundant evidence that at an early stage of their existence they also possessed a knowledge of agriculture considerably in advance of what is attributed to them in this connection by frequently cited historical sources. The content of the general Slavic vocabulary with respect both to agriculture and to cattle-raising is in itself sufficient to vitiate any conception of the Slavs at the dawn of their history as a race of agricultural nomads leading a precarious and unstable life on scanty fare. Nor is there a sufficient number of loan-words in the Slavic vocabulary of these occupations to indicate that any appreciable proportion of the knowledge of agricultural products or livestock which

[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 302–323; *Manuel*, II, 225–229.

[50] For details of early Slavic methods of spinning and weaving, as well as a description of the primitive Slavic upright loom, cf. Niederle, *Živ. star. Slov.*, III, i, 338–342, and on the Magyar vocabulary, cf. F. Miklosich, 'Die slavischen Elemente im Magyarischen,' *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie*, phil-hist. Kl., XXI (1872), 15. The extent of Roman or other western influence in the development of Slavic textile technique is difficult to define; Niederle (*ibid.*, pp. 341–342) admits the possibility of this influence, and in later times even Charlemagne's interest in the textile trades is a matter of history.

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the Slavs possessed was the result of contacts with other ethnic units of more advanced material culture. Early mediaeval sources (especially Byzantine) which represent the Slavs as nomads poorly clad and fed should thus be taken as referring to their economic status during the uncertain period of migration rather than to their mode of existence and means of livelihood either before their expansion occurred or after its most acute phase had come to a close.

These sources are frequently contradictory. In the late ninth century, for example, the *Tactica* attributed to Leo the Wise assert that the Slavs "used to live on millet, and preferred moderation, since they resented other labors of farming, inasmuch as they were attached to a freer mode of life without labor rather than to a luxurious regime of plenty bought at the price of intense effort,"[51] and fifty years later Constantine Porphyrogenitus declares that the Slavs in Russia had no domestic animals and were obliged to purchase those they used from the Pechenegs.[52] On the other hand, the pseudo-Mauricius, to which Leo's text is heavily indebted, mentions that in the late sixth century the Slavs held large accumulated stocks of grain which it is fair to suppose they raised themselves.[53] Ibn Rosteh, an Arabic observer contemporary with Leo, particularly mentions the Slavs in Russia as habitual raisers of sheep and swine, and cultivators of millet,[54] while a Jewish traveller of the tenth century (Ibrahim-Ibn Yaqub) declares that the western Slavs practiced agriculture more zealously than any other nation.[55]

The common Slavic vocabulary shows that as feed-grains the primitive Slavs knew barley, wheat, millet, rye, and oats; among fruits they knew apples, pears, cherries, and plums, and of vegetables they consumed peas, beans, lentils, onions, garlic and beets. Flax and hemp were familiar textile fibers. Among domestic animals, the common Slavic vocabulary includes homogeneous terms for horse, cow, bull, steer, sheep, goat, pig, and dog, and among domestic fowl, for ducks, geese, chickens, and pigeons.[56] In these phases of culture the

[51] XVIII, 106; text in Niederle, *Živ. star. Slov.*, I, 35.

[52] *De Adm. Imperio*, 30–31.

[53] Text in Niederle, *op. cit.*, I, 28.

[54] D. A. Chvolson, *Izvestija o Chazarach*, etc. (Spb., 1869), pp. 29, 31.

[55] R. Schottin, tr. *Widukinds Sächsische Geschichten* (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 146–156 (excerpts from Ibrahim).

[56] For a full treatment of the Slavic terminology in this field, see Hrushevsky, *Kievskaja Rusj*, I, 300–306, 309–315. Grape-culture was unknown to the Slavs until they borrowed it from the Goths. The Germans themselves derived it from the south after the migrations (Kauffmann, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, II, 205), and the Slavic terms, *vino*, *vinograd*, Goth., *wein*, *weinagards*, indicate the course of further transmission. The fig was also introduced by the Goths (Goth. *smakka*, Slav. *smoky*), though presumably an article of importation from the Black Sea coast.

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primitive Slavs were in no essential respect inferior to the primitive Germans, who were frequently their teachers in improved technique, especially during the Carolingian period. As Šafarík remarked nearly a century ago, the predilection of the Slavs for agriculture is the natural consequence of their long residence in the European districts best suited for its practice: the plains of the Dnieper and the Vistula.[57] In the light of the evidence of the Slavic vocabulary, Niederle's view that prior to their dispersion the Slavs were only semi-nomadic husbandmen living more by hunting, fishing, bee-keeping and cattle-raising is not necessarily final. While this authority also considers the primitive habitat of the Slavs (the Polesie and western Russia) ill-adapted to husbandry,[58] this opinion is obviously in direct contradiction to that of Šafarík just quoted, and there is no reason to suppose that the region between the northern slopes of the Carpathians and the Pripet marshes, wherever it was cleared for agriculture, was any less fertile in the early Middle Ages than at the present day. It is probable, in any case, that the epoch of the migrations and of the repeated nomad incursions from Asia, beginning with the Huns in the fourth century, interrupted the sedentary tendencies and habits which the Slavs had previously developed. By the ninth century, however, the Eastern Slavs had largely returned to their earlier agricultural pursuits except in the northeastern districts more recently and sparsely colonized, where hunting and trapping were the natural resource of the pioneer in uncharted forests. In later times this region also was put into grain and provided the food-supply of Novgorod.

The primitive plow of the Slavs, as of the Germans prior to the migrations, was at first only a forked branch with one fork lopped short and cut into a point. This type of plow, drawn by two oxen, was in use as late as the tenth century, though by that period the primitive implement was also supplemented by a pole to which the draft-animals could be attached and by a handle with which the driver could guide its course. The share itself was then made of iron with a pinch into which the handle could be inserted. Other types are extant consisting of a heavy base-beam sliding along the furrow; to the front of this beam an iron share was attached, while the driving handle rose from the rear of this beam; the drawing pole was then fixed to the handle and braced to the sliding base-beam. The more complex plow, with coulter and primitive mould-board, was a Roman invention and did not reach the Slavs before the time of Charlemagne or even later; in fact, archaeology has not discovered a plow of this type in

[57] *Slawische Alterthümer*, I (Leipzig, 1843), 537.
[58] *Manuel*, II, 184–185.

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Slavic territory older than the thirteenth century, and the fact that its Slavic name is *plug*, as compared with *ralo*, *radlo*, the name of the primitive implement, is sufficient evidence that it reached the Slavs by German transmission, and long after the migrations.[59]

The Slavs at the close of the pagan period were practicing the three-field system of culture familiar from the German and Roman usage, in which wheat or rye was sown on one field in the autumn of the first year, then oats or barley in the spring of the second, and finally the field was left fallow during the third season. This system is a matter of record for the Western Slavs in the tenth century. The conclusion that it prevailed elsewhere as well is justified by the common Slavic terminology for spring and winter cereals, and there is specific mention of the practice in Russian sources of the twelfth century. As the three-field system went into use in Western Europe not earlier than the eighth century, its adoption among the Slavs can date only from Carolingian times.[60]

The prevalence of bee-keeping among the Eastern Slavs was noticed by Arabic travellers of the early tenth century (who even reported the O. Russian term for 'hive,' *ulei*),[61] and the Slavic vocabulary again indicates the early origin of this occupation. The honey was used for brewing mead, the chief intoxicating drink of the early Russians, and the wax was exported, along with furs supplied by native trappers (chiefly beaver, sable, fox, and squirrel).

The aspect of the Slavic village even in early historical times was extremely simple. There is no trace among the Eastern Slavs of the round village so common in the Elbe basin; on the contrary, the cottages were either scattered throughout the extent of the *dvorišče* in proximity to the fields of their occupants, or, if gathered into one neighborhood, strung out on either side of the path or road which formed the main thoroughfare. Stone buildings were unknown, and are mentioned as exceptional even in the early Varangian period. One early type of house consisted of a trench dug in the ground, the sides of which were raised by walls of logs stopped with earth; the wooden roof was also coated with earth as an additional protection. Recent archaeological discoveries in the vicinity of Kiev and belonging to the epoch of the *gorodišča* demonstrate, however, that at the beginning of the historical period the Eastern Slavic house had de-

[59] For illustrations of these types of plows, cf. *Manuel*, II, 186–192.

[60] Niederle, *Živ. star. Slov.*, III, 30–32. The common terms for spring and fall sowings are *jar*, *jarina*, and *ozim*, *ozimina*. Frosts killing the *ozimicy* 'fall-sowings' around Novgorod are mentioned in 1126 (*Synodal Codex*, p. 124), with resultant scarcity and high prices on rye.

[61] Chvolson, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–29.

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veloped beyond this humble norm. These Kievan houses show an unheated entrance hall or inclosed porch (*sen'*, *pritvor*), which later develops into a reception room, and then receives a porch of its own as an additional appendage. The main room back of the *pritvor* contained at first an open fire, later a hearth, an arrangement once more indicating German influence, possibly even before the Carolingian epoch. The Eastern Slavic houses frequently show a separate shed used as a storehouse or barn (*klet'*), sometimes with a second story intended for a granary; the *klet'* was eventually joined to the house as a third room, though the two-room type is basic. The evolution of a second story for the whole house first takes place in Northern Russia and is attributed to later Varangian influence.[62] The use of small sheds as bathing-houses in which steam was produced by pouring water over heated stones or a hearth is also attested for Russia of the pagan period.

The costume of the men among the pagan Eastern Slavs at the moment of the Varangian infiltration consisted of a coarse shirt made of hemp or flax and falling to the knee, with sleeves and an opening for the neck, combined with tight trousers supported at the waist by a belt of rope or leather and tied in at the ankles. For the shirt was sometimes substituted a short tunic, frequently embroidered like the modern Russian *rubakha*. The tunic might be either of light material or else of coarse wool, in which case it could be worn over the shirt. There existed a considerable variety of these heavier outer garments, sometimes falling below the knee, fastened at the throat with buckles, frogs, or buttons, and belted in at the waist. The long coat, or caftan, was a characteristic feature of Eastern Slavic garb. It might be trimmed or even lined with fur, though the common people ordinarily used sheepskins or the cheaper pelts (bear, wolf) for protection against the cold. A cloak buckled at the right shoulder might also be worn over the caftan. Upon closer contact with the Orient and with Byzantium, more expensive fabrics and styles borrowed from foreign costumes were frequently affected by the wealthier classes; the ruling house in historical times thus adopted the garb of the Byzantine aristocracy. Women of the people were clad in a long shirt of rough linen or hempen material, often representing merely a cylinder of fabric held up by straps over the shoulders. From the waist down they also wore a double apron attached to a belt, while the upper part of the body might be clad in a coarse woolen jacket, along with a cloak of similar material around the neck and shoulders. Footwear

[62] Niederle, *Manuel*, II, 97–111; *Živ. star. Slov.*, I, 694–727.

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consisted of rough leather slippers held by a strap over the ankle or of slippers made of warm bast fiber. Leather slippers split down the instep and provided with eyelets for laces have also been found in Kievan tombs. Leather boots were likewise worn by the more prosperous classes, and both woolen stockings and socks are attested in Russia at an early date. The usual male headgear was a high felt hat, sometimes with a narrow brim, or a type of beret edged with fur. Married women might wear a kerchief or bonnet on their heads, over hair cut short, but maidens habitually went bareheaded, wearing their hair braided and long. Men also wore their hair long; the beard might be trimmed or shaven, but moustaches were common.[63] None of these features of attire or personal appearance can be regarded as specifically Slavic, in view of the facility with which foreign usage is absorbed in matters of material culture.

Originally a peaceful race, the primitive Slavs were unskilled in the use of weapons, and at the time of their dispersion commanded no offensive equipment except bows and spears, being unprotected even by the most elementary shields. Such was their armament as known to Procopius early in the sixth century,[64] and by its close the Pseudo-Mauricius could add only that they used poisoned arrows and carried two spears, while some individuals were equipped with shields too heavy for rapid movement.[65] The constant warfare of the migratory epoch and the necessity of defense against successive nomad incursions across the steppes produced in the succeeding centuries a marked amplification of Slavic military equipment which is especially noticeable during Carolingian times, after which the German and Frankish influence is supplemented by imitation not only of the well-equipped Scandinavian pioneers who scouted the Russian waterways during the ninth century, but also of the nomads against whom the Slavs were forced to fight. As a result, the Slavic terminology for this improved equipment is very largely foreign: the names for sword (*meč'*) and helmet (*šelm*) were thus derived from the Goths (*mēkeis*, *hilms*). The primitive German sword was single-edged, but during the first century A.D. the Germans were themselves using the Gallo-Roman type of double-edged weapon which must thus have become known to the Slavs even before the Merovingian period.[66] Most of the swords of the later pagan age found on Russian territory

[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 419–512; *Manuel*, II, 69–85.
[64] *Bellum Goth.*, III, 14 (Loeb ed., IV, 269–270).
[65] Text in Niederle, *Živ. star. Slov.*, I, 29.
[66] Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, I, 496.

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are, however, imported articles with German ornament; the single-edged curved sabre is an implement borrowed from the Orient in early historical times, i.e., ninth or tenth century. The Russians also used a one-edged axe with flaring blade, closely resembling the Scandinavian arm of the same type. Armor was not employed by the Slavs till the Carolingian epoch; the term *brunja* (OHG *brunja*, *brunna*) is found in the Primary Chronicle (*anno* 968), and the Frankish origin of this protection is indicated by Charlemagne's Cartulary of Thionville (805) which prohibited the sale of arms and armor to the border Slavs.[67] The customary form was chain-mail falling to the knee, as exemplified by finds in Russian tombs. Metallic helmets of this period were either rounded or pointed at the crest (like oriental models), with or without nose-guard.[68] The early Russian shield was round, strapped with iron, and without a boss. Under the circumstances the armament of the Russian Slavs at the dawn of their history thus represents a fusion of borrowed techniques which placed the equipment of their best-armed men substantially on a par with that of their civilized neighbors. Because of the imported character of much of this equipment, however, it would seem unlikely that the Russian Slavs at the beginning of the ninth century could have placed in the field a heavy armed force of any size. On the other hand, since the Varangians of Kiev sent against Constantinople in 860 an expedition of not less than 3000 men,[69] the opinion is justified that the chief mercantile towns, even before the Varangian period, possessed defensive troops of well-armed militia, though the outlying peasantry and hunters were still using the spears and arrows which were the traditional weapons of the Slavs. The Eastern Slavs made no extensive use of cavalry before the tenth century, and even then enrolled friendly nomads from the steppe country for this purpose.

The chief avenue by which foreign cultural influences in general

[67] *MGH.*, LL., II, i, 122: "De negotiatoribus, qui partibus Sclavorum et Avarorum pergunt . . . ut arma et brunias non ducant ad venundandum. Quod si inventi fuerint portantes, ut omnis substantia eorum auferatur ab eis."

[68] For illustrations of this armament, cf. Niederle, *ibid.*, III, figg. 133–158, or more conveniently) *Manuel*, II, figg. 103–119.

[69] At a conservative estimate. The expedition comprised two hundred ships (cf. Bury, *East. Rom. Emp.*, p. 419, n. 1, on the sources). Though the Greeks called the Russian barges *monoxyla*, 'dug-outs,' it is not to be supposed that the craft that skirted 500 miles of Black Sea coastline even in June were mere canoes. Even before the Viking period, the Scandinavians were building 50-foot boats of 9-foot beam which carried at least 20 people (cf. T. D. Kendrick, *A History of the Vikings* [New York, 1930], p. 24). In any case, no student of the subject has ever contended that there were anywhere near 5000 Varangians at Kiev in the days of Askold and Dir.

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reached the Eastern Slavs from the earliest times was supplied by commerce. The most ancient trade-route in Russian territory is the Volga, which was used at least from the second century A.D. for the northward transport of oriental and western merchandise. Roman objects of the first and second centuries A.D. found in Eastern Russia and Western Siberia probably reached these areas from the Bosporan kingdom.[70] When the Goths invaded southern Russia, they gained that control of trade throughout the Dnieper basin which had previously belonged to the Bosporans, and for a time maintained the same commercial relations with the Roman Empire which had been established earlier by German settlements along its northern frontier further westward. Caches of Roman coins, dating chiefly from the interval between Trajan and Septimius Severus (98–198 A.D.), which have been found in great profusion on the west bank of the middle Dnieper and on its eastern shore as far east as the upper course of the Don, show a remarkable expansion of trade with the Roman west in this area during the second and third centuries, and therefore both under the Gothic hegemony and prior to the Slavic dispersion. In view of the complete absence of Bosporan coins, this commerce cannot have passed through the Strait of Kerch. The capture by the Goths of the Greek cities of Olbia and Tyras about 270 A.D. also indicates their interest in making direct contact with the chief commercial centers of the Black Sea area. Once the Goths had thus entered into relations with Byzantium and the Greek cities on the south shore of the Black Sea, their interest in trade with the western section of the Roman Empire waned, and upon the consequent decline of Roman traffic with the Dnieper basin during the fourth century, a new commercial current appeared, bringing to the Dnieprian Slavs simultaneously not only artistic products of the so-called Gothic type from the barbarized Pontic workshops, but also articles of Prusso-Lithuanian and Norse workmanship.[70] Discoveries on the Kama and Vyatka rivers of silver vessels dating from the sixth century forward also indicate that the Volga Bulgars and the interior Finns likewise began to enjoy fresh indirect traffic with the Orient. Iranian silver coin of the fourth century is also found among the Chuds and Bulgars, though the numismatic evidence would indicate that the volume of this trade did not approach that which passed to this area through the Cimmerian Bosporus in earlier times.[71] As long as the Goths lived among the Slavs, they exerted a direct economic influence upon them, but once they had withdrawn to the seacoast after the fall of Erma-

[70] Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, pp. 215–216.
[71] Niederle, *Živ. star. Slov.*, III, 363–365; Rostovtzeff, *loc. cit.*

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naric, they ceased to be a significant commercial factor, and even when Byzantine trade set in during the fifth century, its volume was so restricted that from this period to the eighth century, when intensified Arab and Scandinavian commerce becomes conspicuous, there is actually an interval in which the economic relations of the Dnieper valley with the rest of the early mediaeval world were in abeyance.[72]

This interval coincides with the epoch of Slavic migration and dispersion. Its conclusion is marked in turn by the stabilization of the Slavs on the Elbe and the Danube, and in the Balkans the temporary elimination of nomadic invaders from the steppes, the economic advance of the Carolingian period, the beginnings of the Viking Age, and the establishment of Arab control over oriental commerce. The period from 700 to 1000, though initiating the gradual withdrawal of the Western Slavs from the Elbe frontier under German pressure, also saw the evolution of all the mediaeval Slavic states and their advance to the level of contemporary material and intellectual culture which culminates in their conversion to Christianity under Roman or Constantinopolitan auspices. It likewise witnessed an expansion of trade both in Central Europe and with the Orient; in this commercial expansion the Eastern Slavs were intimately concerned.

The evidence of Abbasid coins found not only along the upper Volga on the route to Scandinavia but also in the vicinity of Kiev indicates that Arabic trade both to Western and to Eastern Russia began to attain respectable proportions about 800.[73] Traces of Scandinavian penetration into Northern Russia by Lake Ladoga and the Volkhov river date from the same epoch, which is also the period in which both Byzantine and oriental objects and coins begin to appear in Sweden, so that there can be no question but that direct communication between Sweden and the Caspian via the Volga was opened about this date.[74] The importance of Frankish trade with the Western Slavs at the same time is reflected in Charlemagne's Cartulary of Thionville, to which reference has already been made.[75]

The articles exported by the Eastern Slavs were largely the products of their rudimentary industries: furs, honey and wax, grain, salted and smoked fish. These staples were largely bartered for weapons, jewelry, beads, glassware, perfumes, silk, and luxury articles in general, though the omnipresence of coin shows that sales against cash were also current by the eighth century. While slaves had not

[72] Niederle, *Živ. star. Slov.*, III, 365–366.
[73] T. J. Arne, *La Suède et l'Orient* (Upsala, 1914), pp. 62–76.
[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 122.
[75] Cf. n. 67 *supra*.

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played a large part in the primitive Slavic social economy, they became an important item of commerce at the close of the pagan period, and were sold chiefly to the Orient. Apart from the internal trade routes of Volga and Dnieper, communication between Russia and Central Europe went over the Carpathian passes to the Danube valley, while the route from Kiev into Galicia was particularly important for the Russian salt supply, which depended entirely on the Galician mines east of Cracow.[76]

As has been observed, the primitive basis of Eastern Slavic commercial exchanges was barter,[77] and even in historical times taxes, tribute, subsidies, and individual wealth were still frequently reckoned in furs or cloth, the most valuable staple of contemporary commerce. While coins were far from unknown in pagan times, they may well have been valued fully as much for purposes of personal adornment as for their purchasing power. From the fifth century Byzantine gold *solidi* appear in the Dnieper valley, and it has been estimated that the number of silver dirhems left in Russia after the rise of Arabic trade at the beginning of the ninth century must run into the millions if the number and amount of caches discovered all over the country is any criterion. If is significant, however, that while Roman coins were well-known during the Gothic period, the common early Slavic terms for various coins are not of Roman but Germanic origin, from which it may be concluded that at this stage the Gothic economic influence was dominant. At the same time, the presence of later borrowings of coin-names from West-Germanic also indicates the importance of Slavic economic contacts with other German elements before the Carolingian period. For example, the Greek *denarion* (Lat. *denarius*) is rendered either by *cęta* [=tsinta], from Gothic *kintus* 'farthing,' or by *pěnędzĭ* (also common to all Slavic languages and cognate with *penny*); there is no recorded Gothic original for this word, which thus seems to be a borrowing of West-Germanic *penning*. Though the Slavic *skŭlędzĭ* may be derived from Gothic *skilliggs* 'shilling,' which appears, not in Ulfilas, but only once in the so-called Arezzo papyrus,[78] the temptation is great to attribute this word also to a West-Germanic original. While imitations of Oriental coins appear in Russia during the pagan period, actual coinage did not begin in Russia until the reign of Vladimir I, *ca.* 1000 A.D. Prior to the introduction of coinage, the unit of value

[76] Cf. Niederle, *Manuel*, II, 238–245; *Ziv. star. Slov.*, III, 376–406.

[77] See above.

[78] W. Streitberg, *Die gotische Bibel*, I (Heidelberg, 1908), 480; the text uses only the acc. plur.: *skilliggans*.

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in late pagan Russia was the silver *grivna*, a lump of silver usually cast in an elongated hexagonal shape and equivalent in weight to the so-called Kufic (Irak) pound of 408 grams, though this weight is by no means constant.[79]

Though a combined evaluation of linguistic, source, and archaeological evidence permits a tolerably accurate and inclusive definition of the material culture of the Eastern Slavs toward the close of the pagan period, there is no such coherent mass of data upon which any wholly satisfactory statement of their religious beliefs, demonology, and eschatology can be predicated. The references to Slavic paganism in the early sources are, in fact, so scanty as to give rise in this field to a series of conjectures of which the value is inversely proportionate to their originality. When the basic information is so limited, there is no excuse for proceeding beyond the evidence of the sources except insofar as linguistics, toponymics, and early folklore contribute to its amplification.

The primary source materials on the Eastern Slavic gods are so brief as to permit their reproduction practically in full. Procopius remarks of the Slavs: "They believe that one god, the maker of the lightning, is alone lord of all things, and they sacrifice to him cattle and all other victims; but as for fate, they neither know it nor do they in any wise admit that it has any power among men, but whenever death stands close before them, either stricken with sickness or beginning a war, they announce that, if they escape, they will straightway make a sacrifice in return for their lives; and if they do escape they sacrifice what they have promised, and consider that their safety has been bought with this same sacrifice. They likewise revere, however, rivers, nymphs, and some other spirits, and they sacrifice to all these, and make their divinations in these sacrifices."[80] With reference to the Greco-Russian treaty of 907, the Primary Chronicle reports: "According to the religion of the Russes, the latter [Oleg and his followers] swore by their weapons and by their god Perun, as well as

[79] Niederle, *op. cit.*, pp. 470–471; on weights of the Viking period generally cf. Arne, *op. cit.*, pp. 176–196. The Kufic pound contained 96 *zolotniki*, and the silver dirhem weighed 2/3 of a *zolotnik:* Vladimir's silver unit was based by weight on the dirhem, and gave 144 silver pieces to a *grivna* (*ibid.*, p. 196).

[80] *Bell. Goth.*, III, xiv, 23–24 (Loeb ed., IV, 270–271): Θεὸν μὲν γὰρ ἕνα τὸν τῆς ἀστραπῆς δημιουργὸν ἁπάντων κύριον μόνον αὐτὸν νομίζουσιν εἶναι, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ βόας τε καὶ ἱερεῖα πάντα. Εἱμαρμένην δὲ οὔτε ἴσασιν οὔτε ἄλλως ὁμολογοῦσιν ἔν γε ἀνθρώποις ροπήν τινα ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν αὐτοῖς ἐν ποσὶν ἤδη ὁ θάνατος εἴη ἢ νόσῳ ἀλοῦσιν ἢ εἰς πόλεμον καθισταμένοις, ἐπαγγέλλονται μέν, ἢν διαφύγωσι, θυσίαν ἀντὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτίκα ποιήσειν, διαφυγόντες δὲ θύουσιν ὅπερ ὑπέσχοντο, καὶ οἴονται τὴν σωτηρίαν ταύτης δὴ τῆς θυσίας αὐτῆς ἐωνῆσθαι. Σέβουσι μέντοι καὶ ποταμούς τε καὶ νύμφας καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα δαιμόνια, καὶ θύουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς ἅπασι, τάς τε μαντείας ἐν ταύταις δὴ ταῖς θυσίαις ποιοῦνται.

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by Volos, the god of cattle, and thus confirmed the treaty."[81] According to the same source, the Greco-Russian treaty of 944 contains the provision: "If any of the princes or any Russian subject, whether Christian or non-Christian, violates the terms of this instrument, he shall merit death by his own weapons and be accursed of God and of Perun because he violated his oath."[82] Similarly, when this treaty was ratified in Kiev, the procedure (in the words of the Chronicle) was as follows: "In the morning Igor summoned the envoys, and went to a hill on which there was a statue of Perun. The Russes laid down their weapons, their shields, and their gold ornaments, and Igor and his people took oath (at least, such as were pagans)."[83] The treaty of 971 between Svyatoslav of Kiev and John Tzimisces also contains the asseveration, "If we fail in the observance of any of the aforesaid stipulations . . . , may we be accursed of the God in whom we believe, namely, of Perun and of Volos, the god of flocks."[83a] Then in 978, after Vladimir had gained control of Kiev, "he set up idols on the hill outside the castle with the hall: one of Perun, made of wood with a head of silver and a mustache of gold, and others of Khors, Dazhbog, Stribog, Simargl, and Mokosh. The people sacrificed to them, calling them gods, and brought their sons and daughters to sacrifice them to these devils."[84] After his conversion, Vladimir "ordered that Perun should be tied to a horse's tail and dragged down the hill along Borichev to the creek [Pochaina]. He appointed twelve men to beat the idol with sticks, not because he thought the wood was sensitive, but to affront the demon."[85] Another eleventh-century source, the *Eulogy* of Vladimir attributed to the Monk James, writes of him, "He overthrew Perun and Khors and many

[81] Cross, *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, p. 151; *PSRL*, I, ii ed., 32: "po russkomu zakonu kljašasja oružjem svoim i Perunom bogom svojim i Volosom skotiem bogom i utverdiša mir."

[82] Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 163; *PSRL*, I, ii, 53: "ašče li že kto ot knjazj ili ot ljudii russkich, li chrestejan, ili ne chrestejan, prestupitj se, eže estj pisano na charatji sei, budetj dostoin svoim oružjem umreti, i da budetj kljat ot Boga i ot Peruna, jako prestupi svoju kljatvu."

[83] Cross, *ibid.*; *PSRL*, I, ii, 54: "zautra prizva Igor sly i pride na cholm kde stojaše Perun; i pokladoša oružje svoe i šit i zoloto; i chodi Igor rotě i ljudi ego eliko poganych Rusi."

[83a] Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 176; *PSRL*, I, ii, 73: "ašče li ot tech preže rečenych ne sochranim . . . , da iměem kljatvu ot boga, v ego ze věrujem, v Peruna i v Volosa skotija boga."

[84] Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 180; *PSRL*, I, ii, 79: "i postavi kumiry na cholmu vně dvora teremnago: Peruna drevjana a glavu ego srebrenu a us zlat; i Khŭrsa, Dažjboga, i Striboga, i Simarjgla i Mokosj; i žrjachu im naričjušče ja bogy, i privozachu syny svoja dsčeri i žrjachu běsom."

[85] Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 204; *PSRL*, I, ii, 116: "Peruna ze povelě privjazati konevi k chvostu i vlešči s gory po Boričevu na Ručai. 12 muža pristavi teti žezljiem, se že ne jako drevu čjujuščju, no na poruganje běsu."

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others, and destroyed idols, and cast out all godless deceit."[86] It is likewise reported that Joachim, the first bishop of Novgorod, upon his arrival at that city, "tore down the pagan altars, cut Perun to pieces, and gave orders to cast him into the Volkhov."[87]

In addition to these annalistic items, similar evidence regarding Eastern Slavic deities is also preserved in various Old Russian apocryphal and devotional texts. Since the latter are for the most part translations or compilations from the Greek, any enumerations of Russian pagan deities which such translations contain must obviously be glosses. On the other hand, if the Old Russian texts themselves are demonstrably of an age comparable with that of the *Primary Chronicle*, the glosses possess a value by no means inferior to that of the latter. For example, in a translation of the Greek legend of *The Virgin's Harrowing of Hell* (the earliest Old-Russ. text of which occurs in a twelfth-century manuscript), where reference is made to human belief in idols, the names of Khors, Veles, and Perun have been inserted.[88] Similarly, in the Old Russian *Discourse on How the Gentiles, being Pagans, first worshipped Idols*, based on a translation (earlier than the eleventh century) of a sermon of Gregory Nazianzen, we read that the Slavs "after holy baptism cast out Perun, and took after Christ our God, but even today in the country districts they pray to him, the accursed god Perun, and to Khors, and Mokosh . . . and cannot rid themselves of the accursed setting of the second table for Rod and the Rozhanitsi."[89] Similarly, in the so-called *Discourse of a Certain Lover of Christ* (earlier than the fourteenth century), the author (or an interpolator) states that he cannot endure those who believe in "Perun, Chors, Sim, Rigl, Mokosh, and the Vily, sisters thirty in number . . . and they pray to fire, calling it Svarozhich," and mentions that a marriage is improper "where they pray to fire . . . to the Vily, to Mokosh, Sim, Rigl, Perun, Volos, god of cattle, and Khors, to Rod, the Rozhanitsi, and all their cursed gods."[89a] Reference should be made also to the *Tale of*

[86] E. Golubinskiĭ, *Istorija russkoi cerkvi*, I, i, 2nd ed. (Moscow, 1901), 240: "Peruna i chorsa i iny mnogi popra, i skruši idoly i otverze vsju bezbožnuju lestj."

[87] *PSRL*, v, 2nd ed., 72: "i trebišča razori i Peruna poseče, i povele vlešči v Volchov."

[88] N. Tikhomirov, *Pamjatniki otrečennoi russkoi literatury*, II (Moscow, 1863), 23: "to to oni vse bogy prozvaša solnce i mesjacj, zemlju i vodu, zvěri i gady; to setjneje i *čelovčjska imena, to* (*MS.* cevcj okamenata) utrija Trojana, Khŭrsa, Peruna na bogy obratiša."

[89] E. V. Anichkov, *Jazyčestvo i drevnjaja Rusj* (Spb., 1914), p. 69: "po svjatom ze krešcenji Peruna otrinuša, a po Christa Bogy jašasja, no i noně po ukrainam moljatjsja emu prokljatomu bogu Perunu, i Chorsu, i Mokoši . . . i . . . ne mogut sja lišiti prokljatago stavljenja 2-yja trjapezoi narečenyja rodu i rožanicam."

[89a] *Ibid.*, p. 374: "i věrujutj v Peruna, i v Chŭrsa i v Sima, i v Rjgla, i v Mokošj,

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Igor's Expedition, a short prose epic of unique literary value dating from the close of the twelfth century, which speaks of the winds as "the grandsons of Stribog," and mentions the deities Khors and Dazhbog, though only as mythological adornment of the narrative, and with a euhemerism characteristic of the period.[90]

Finally, a striking instance of rendering Greek names of divinities by corresponding Slavic appellations is contained in the Slavic translation of the second book of the Greek chronicler Malalas (sixth century) which was done into Slavic in Bulgaria during the tenth or eleventh.[91] The passage deals with legendary events of Egyptian history: "After the death of Fiost, *who is also called Svarog*, the Egyptians were ruled over by his son, called the Sun [in the Greek original Ἥλιος], *who is also known as Dazhbog* . . . Sun the king, the son of Svarog [in the Greek original Ἥφαιστος], *also known as Dazhbog*, was a strong man." Thus Helios and Hephaistos are translated respectively by the Slavic equivalents Dazhbog and Svarog: furthermore, the explanatory clauses here given in italics have no correspondence in the Greek original and are thus the interpolations of a Russian glossator who recalled that Svarog had been the pagan Slavic god of fire, and connected the latter with Dazhbog, the sun.[92]

The passages quoted both from the *Primary Chronicle* and from the religious texts indicate, however, that even though there were men alive in the lifetime of the compiler of the Chronicle "who remembered the conversion of Rus,"[93] all detailed recollection of the earlier mythology and of the attributes of the Eastern Slavic pagan gods (such as they were) was wiped out during the century which followed conversion. Furthermore, while the Eastern Slavs never possessed anything remotely resembling an organized pantheon, the

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i v Vily, ichze čislom 30 sestrenicj . . . i ognevi moljatj že sja, zovušče ego Svarožicjmj"; p. 377: "iže moljatsja ognevi . . . , vilam, Mokoši, Simu, R'glu, Perunu, Volosu skotju bogu, Chursu, rodu, rozanicjam, i vsem prokljatym bogom ich." The possibility is of course present that these texts, as well in that of the previous note, have been influenced by the Primary Chronicle. Anichkov's reconstruction of these texts is highly subjective.

[90] *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, ed. S. Shambinago and V. Rzhiga (Moscow, 1934), pp. 67, 68, 252.

[91] M. Weingart, *Byzantské Kroniky v literatuře církevněslovanské*, I (Bratislava, 1922), 39.

[92] Text in Weingart, *op. cit.*, I, 23, also V. J. Mansikka, "Die Religion der Ostslaven," *FF. Communications*, 43 (Helsingfors, 1922), 71–72. Full text of Malalas, Bk. II, in *Letòpis Ist.-Filol. Obščestva pri Novorossisk. Univ.*, X, 465. The passage also found its way into two Russian chronicles (cf. Mansikka, p. 66). The relation of Svarog to Dazhbog is not otherwise indicated in Eastern Slavic folklore.

[93] Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 190; *PSRL*, I, ii, 189, of the monk Jeremy, and contemporary of Theodosius, prior of the Crypt Monastery, who died in 1074.

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references of devotional texts to Rod, the Rozhanitsy, and the Vily point to the existence of a body of early folklore of which surviving traces might be expected to supply some data on the primitive cult, even though the myths behind it vanished upon the elimination of the pagan priesthood by whom it was practised.[94]

Though Perun appears prominently in most of the texts cited, there is no evidence that he was a general Slavic deity at all.[95] The name is a *nomen agentis* with suffix *-un* from the root *per-* 'to strike,' and therefore means 'the striker' as applied to the thunder. Outside Russia, the word appears only in Polish *piorun*, 'thunderbolt.' Since he is the deity by whom the pagan Varangians habitually swore, the conclusion is justified that Perun is simply the early Russian name for the Scandinavian Thor. Eastern Slavic folklore contains no traces whatever of a thunder-cult; the thunder is considered as the rolling of Elijah's chariot frightening devils, while the lightning is the prophet's darting arrow.[96]

Though the alien origin of Perun is thus clear, the source and functions of Khors are less readily definable. The name of the latter has been at one time or another explained as Greek, Iranian, Turkish, and Slavic, and the deity himself characterized as a sun-god or even as the spirit governing the moon. The derivation from Gk. χρυσός, with the explanation that the name was applied to some golden statue, is not only feeble but impossible linguistically.[97] The notion that this god was taken over from some Turkic nomad tribe is equally indefensible, since the only Turkish tribe which seriously affected the Eastern Slavs was the Khazars, but little is known of their religion prior to the adoption of Judaism by their ruling class, beyond the fact that, like the Huns, they worshipped one great spirit to whom

[94] Cf. A. Brückner, "Mythologische Thesen," *Archiv f. slav. Philol.*, XL (1925), 3. As we are here concerned purely with Eastern Slavic paganism, I share the extremely sceptical attitude adopted by this authority with regard to the entire problem.

[95] The Polish place-names Piorunka, Piorunuv, etc., more probably designate a place where the lightning had struck. The translation of Zeus by Perun in the Bulgarian *Alexandria* (cf. Niederle, *Živ. Star. Slov.*, II, i, 99) results from a purely literary convention (similar to Dazhbog-Helios and Svarog-Hephaistos) rather than from any recollection of a cult. The Polabic *peren-dan* (*ibid.*, p. 98) is simply a literal translation of *Donners-tag*, with no religious significance whatever. Even Niederle is sceptical of the general Slavic character of Perun: "On ne peut, à vrai dire, démontrer rigoureusement qu'il ait existé chez tous les Slaves" (*Manuel*, II, 138). While he bases on Procopius his assumption that Perun is a general Slavic deity, the Greek historian is not a reliable source in the light of the complete absence of any Slavic folklore data on a Slavic thunder-god.

[96] D. Zelenin, *Russische Volkskunde* (Berlin, 1927), p. 398.

[97] Cf. Niederle, *Živ. Star. Slov.*, II, i, 120–122, and for Brückner's suggestion of the moon, *Mitologja Słowiańska* (Cracow, 1918), pp. 97–98.

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they sacrificed annually.[97a] On the other hand, the appellation 'Jewish' applied to Khors in certain later Russian saints' lives and apocrypha would in itself constitute precisely as valid a reason to class Khors as a deity borrowed from the Khazars as to consider him the spirit of the moon, on the basis of the passage in the *Tale of Igor* where it is reported that the magically endowed prince Vseslav of Polotzk galloped by night from Kiev to the strait of Kerch "across the road of the great Khors."[98] On the whole, an Iranian origin seems most probable, in view of the M. Pers. *khurshid*, 'sun,' and more remote Iran dialect forms like *khir*, *khör*, *khür*. Indeed, we have less convincing data on this deity than with respect to Simargl, of whom it is not even certain whether the name should be thus written or divided into two parts and viewed as designating two gods. However, a good etymological case can be made for the names *Sim* and *Rigl* as separate deities. *Sim* (cf. Lett. *sàime*, Lith. *šeimýna* 'family') may be the god of the family or the house-spirit, while Rogl (cf. Lith. *rugỹs*, "rye") would be god of the harvest, an etymology especially tempting, both in the light of surviving traditions of a related Baltic deity and because of numerous kindred Polish placenames.[99] In the case of Mokosh, folkloristic survivals indicate that she was not a divinity at all, but a female house-spirit associated with women's work, especially shearing the flocks and spinning wool or flax; she is, at any rate, the only member of Vladimir's canon traceable in modern superstition.[100] Stribog, frequently interpreted as "the god of the whistling winds," from the appellation "grandsons of Stribog" given to the winds in the *Tale of Igor*,[101] has likewise been referred to the stem *strib-* "to jump" and explained as a leaping demon of the spring or of vegetation.[102] These deities possess historical importance only because of their frequent mention in the sources. Their attributes (so far as known or conjectured) cast little light on the nature of Eastern Slavic paganism. Indeed, their very occurrence in the *Primary Chronicle* and elsewhere derives only from some monastic scribe's vague memories of a pagan past, amplified by his observations of current superstitions among the unlettered.

[97a] Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[98] *Slovo o polku Igoreve, ed. cit.*, p. 72.

[99] Brückner, *op. cit.*, pp. 93–97. It should be noted, however, that G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia* (New Haven, 1943), p. 328, derives Simargl from "the mythical bird-dog Senmurv" of the Scythian and Sassanian periods.

[100] Mikkola, *op. cit.*, p. 395; Niederle, *op. cit.*, pp. 122–124. B. D. Grekov. *Kievskaja Rusj*, 4th ed. (Moscow, 1944) defines Khors as an oriental sun-god and Mokosh as "a goddess of the Finnish tribes."

[101] *Slovo o polku Igoreve, ed. cit.*, p. 79.

[102] Niederle, *op. cit.*, p. 119; Brückner, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–100, though the latter explanation is hardly more than tentative.

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Of all the deities mentioned in the early sources, the first of major importance both for the Eastern Slavs and for the whole Slavic ethnic group is Veles (Volos). The *Primary Chronicle* (cf. p. 76 above) characterizes Veles as "the god of cattle" (*skotji bog*), but he is not mentioned by the Chronicle among the deities to whom Vladimir erected idols in 980. However, a *Life* of Vladimir mentions specifically that Vladimir caused an idol of Veles to be cast into the Pochaina creek below the citadel of Kiev, and there is also a late tradition concerning an idol of Veles in Rostov.[103] The general Slavic occurrence of Veles is likewise attested by his frequent invocation as a pagan demon in curses preserved by Bohemian texts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[104] The qualification "god of cattle" has no relation to the original attributes of Veles, but results from the monkish chronicler's identification of the specifically Russian form of his name (Volos) with that of S. Blasius (O. Slav., *Vlas*, Russ. *Volos*), a Cappadocian bishop who died a martyr's death *ca.* 316 A.D., and was extensively revered thereafter as the patron of flocks and herds.[105] This identification of Veles with the saint had misled almost all previous investigators to characterize Veles as an agricultural divinity, though the etymology of the name forbids any such attribute. Where Perun and Veles are mentioned together as the gods by whom Oleg's Varangian and Slavic followers swore, the implication is that the Varangians swore by Perun and the Slavs by Veles. The latter may thus be viewed as the guardian of oaths. The name itself is cognate with the Lithuanian *velȳs* "corpse," *vēle* "ghost," *vēlnias* "devil," so that Veles is to be interpreted as the god of the dead, a conclusion also supported by the identification of Veles with the devil in the mediaeval curses just mentioned.

As Veles is the Slavic god of the underworld, so Dazhbog (also mentioned among Vladimir's idols) is the sun, the giver of wealth and plenty. The identification of Dazhbog as the sun is indicated only by the Malalas glosses (see p. 78 above), but the etymology of the name (*da-* "give," and *bog-* "wealth, plenty"; the second root appears also in Russ. *bog-aty* "wealthy," and *u-bog-y* "poor") serves further to support this interpretation. Along with the sun as the giver of wealth, the Eastern Slavs also worshipped fire, deified as Svarog, or Svarozhich. While the Malalas glosses would make the latter form appear as a patronymic, so that Dazhbog has frequently been characterized as "the son of Svarog," this interpretation is erroneous

[103] Mansikka, *op. cit.*, pp. 53–54, 291.
[104] Niederle, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
[105] Mansikka, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

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since the Slavs never entertained any notion of the kinship of their various deities. Svarozhich is thus not a patronymic, but a diminutive, like the Lithuanian *dievâitis* (from *diẽvas*, "god"). The name Svarog itself is related to *svar*, *svara* "quarrel," and signifies "the smith," "he who contends with the fire," hence the smith who forged the sun and controls it in the sky, but manifests himself on earth as fire.[106] The evidence of the Arabic sources that the Slavs were all fire-worshipers and the survivals of a fire cult in both Ukrainian and White-Russian folklore provide a solid motive for believing that a sun and fire myth lay at the root of Slavic cosmogony.[107]

Procopius denied the Slavs any belief in fate (*heimarmenē*), yet there is abundant proof that an agency of this nature, though related rather to both fortune and fertility than to destiny, played a considerable role in the religious lore of the Eastern Slavs and of the Slavs in general. Passages have already been cited to the effect that the pagan Russians praved and made offerings to these divinities.[108] It is scarcely to be supposed that the latter have any connection with the classical fates (*Moirai* and *Parcae*), and their function also precludes any notion that they were the souls of ancestors preserving or influencing the destiny of their descendants. Indeed, they possess no manistic character whatever. Throughout the Slavic languages, the primary meaning of *rod* is the yield of fields and crops, then the increase of the family (hence ultimately "birth"), culminating in the eventual use of *rod* in Old Russian as a social *terminus technicus* (see above, pp. 51–52). Evidence of the Slavic veneration of Rod personified as the power which inspires the breath of life in man is supplied by a fifteenth-century Russian polemic which declares: "The immortal and never-aging breath of life is inspired only by the Almighty, . . . for he blew the breath of life into man's face and so man received a living soul; hence it is not Rod, sitting in the air,

[106] Brückner, *op. cit.*, pp. 54–55, 69–71, *Archiv.*, XL, 11. For summary of other hypotheses, cf. Niederle, *op. cit.*, pp. 105–111 and nn. I have accepted Brückner's theory as the only one satisfactory from the standpoints of linguistics and folklore. There is no evidence whatever that this basic myth is of foreign origin, and in the history of studies in Slavic mythology there has been an unfortunate tendency to take refuge in the supposed foreign origin of a given deity whenever its attributes or etymology are problematic. Mansikka's suggestion "Höchstens könnte man von einer schon längst vergessenen, *ursprünglich nicht slavischen*, Volksage reden, in welcher vom Ursprung des Feuers und der Sonne erzählt wurde" (*op. cit.*, p. 397), may thus be rejected.

[107] Cf. Ibn-Rusteh, in Khvolson, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–31; other references in Niederle, *op. cit.*, p. 84, n. 5. It may also be noted that the pagan Slavic prayer before sowing quoted in the same passage lends further support to the interpretation of Dazhbog as the life-giving sun which provides wealth and plenty.

[108] Mansikka, *op. cit.*, pp. 246, 247, 250; other references to Rod, *ibid.*, pp. 305–306.

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which casts heaps upon the earth, from which children are born. . . . God, not Rod, is the creator of all things."[109] Rod is accordingly the god of fertility and good fortune in the life he creates. The Rozhanitsi in turn are the female spirits who aid women in childbirth and assure good fortune to the newborn child, and thus must be invoked as soon as the babe is born.[110] In mediaeval Russia the superstitious even maintained the custom of setting up at Christmas a so-called "second table" for Rod and the Rozhanitsi.[111] The prevalence of the cult of the Rozhanitsi (with varying terminology) among all other Slavs except the Poles demonstrates the general Slavic character of these beliefs.[112]

The religion of the pagan Slavs was thus primarily animistic in its origins, and the animistic personification of powers of nature is further exemplified by abundant references to water and forest spirits (*vily*, *beregynji*, *lesie*).[113] Numerous traces of manistic conceptions are visible in the widespread belief in a house-spirit (*domovoĭ*),[113a] but the association of nature spirits with the impure dead in modern folklore points rather to Christian contamination than to any manistic origin of the latter class of minor divinities. In any case, the belief of the pagan Eastern Slavs in a future life of some sort is indicated by the funeral ceremonies (cremation) attributed to the tribesmen of the ninth century by the *Primary Chronicle*.[114] Among the Russian tribes, the practice of placing the ashes in an urn which was set on a post by the roadside rose from superstitious fear of the spirit of the departed, which was supposed (as in modern folklore) to have some attachment to its earthly residence; a similar motive lies behind the modern Great Russian peasant custom of carrying to the edge of the village all objects and utensils connected with the death and laying-out of the deceased.[115] Pagan Slavic eschatology was confined, however, to the persuasion that the spirits of the dead led a life similar to that which they had experienced on earth, so that all notions of hell and paradise are of purely Christian origin. With the introduction of Christianity, the cult of the major deities faded out,

[109] Mansikka, *op. cit.*, p. 306: "vdunovenie bezsmertnoe nestarějuščee edin vdymaet vsedŭržitelj . . . dunu bo emu na lice duch žizni . . . to ti ne *rod*, sedja na vosduše, mečetj na zemlju grudy i v tom ražajutsja děti . . . vsem bo estj tvorec Bog, a ne *rod*."

[110] Brückner, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–14.

[111] Mansikka, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

[112] Cf. Niederle, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[113] *Ibid.*, pp. 64–65.

[113a] *Ibid.*, pp. 45–48.

[114] *PSRL*, I, ii, 14.

[115] Zelenin, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

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but traces of paganism long endured among the masses in their superstitious beliefs in minor household and nature spirits and in the old gods of luck and fortune.

Although there is no explicit evidence for a caste of priests among the Eastern Slavs in pagan times, the prevalence of magicians and sorcerers (after the conversion) who claimed to be in touch with a non-Christian spirit world would place their origins among the debased interpreters of the old cult. Early Russian sources, especially Hilarion's *Discourse on Law and Grace*, refer to pagan shrines or altars known as *kapishcha*,[116] at which sacrifices were offered, and one such altar was found in Kiev itself, surrounded by the bones of animals sacrificed upon it.[117] These shrines were visualized by Hilarion as a small inclosed structure with an altar. Apart from Vladimir's idols and the doubtful idol of Veles at Rostov (see above, pp. 76, 81), it is not clear that the Eastern Slavs possessed any idols at all; on the other hand, their existence among the Western Slavs is well attested. The pagan cult of the Western Slavs possessed, however, the dignity of an official religion, and thus developed a complexity of observance which Eastern Slavic paganism, modified by the official Thor-Perun cult of the Varangians, never attained before its suppression at the end of the tenth century.

A final and equally interesting problem connected with the primitive culture of the Eastern Slavs is a determination of the epoch at which they learned to write. While there have been some fruitless though entertaining attempts both at the forgery of specifically Slavic runes and at the identification as genuinely Slavic of certain runic texts more probably of North-German origin, it is, on the whole, unlikely that letters of any sort were known in the pre-Christian period apart from cases where a more or less educated Slav managed to write down a few phrases of his language in Greek or Latin characters.[118] A Bulgarian source of the late ninth century, the so-called *Apology of the Monk Khrabr*, which discusses in some detail the origin of the Slavic alphabet and asserts it is more sacred than the Greek because it was invented by St. Cyril, thus declares that "originally the Slavs had no letters, but counted and calculated by

[116] *Slovo o zakone i blagodati*, *ca.* 1050, Mansikka, *op. cit.*, pp. 300–301, "a uže ne kapišča sŭgrazdaem, no Christovy cerkvi ziždem" ("we no longer fence off *kapishcha*, but build churches of Christ"); . . . "togda tjma besovskago sluzenja pogybe . . . kapišča razrušišasja, i cerkvi postavljajutsja" ("then the darkness of the devil's service was wiped out . . . the *kapischcha* have been torn down, and churches are being erected").

[117] In close proximity to the Desyatinnaya Church; Niederle, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

[118] Cf. V. Jagić, "Vopros o Runach u Slavjan," *Encikloped. Slav. Filologii*, pt. 3 (Spb., 1911), pp. 1–36.

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lines and notches; and after they were converted, they were obliged to write the Slavic language with Roman and Greek letters without system," remarking at the same time that it was impossible by this means to reproduce the pronunciation of peculiarly Slavic vowels and consonants, of which the author offers several examples.[119] Khrabr's reference to counting and calculating by lines and notches has a modern parallel in the sticks of wood known as *rabushi* on which, by means of incised symbols, the illiterate Yugoslav peasants kept their accounts, a practice sufficiently recognized and widespread to have caused their admission as legal judicial evidence under the Serbian civil code of 1887. The *rabushi* were even used by Serbian tax collectors in the nineteenth century, and cases are recorded where a rural official might have in stock as many as 450 of these sticks incised with numerical symbols, and still be able to recall without difficulty to what individual each such stick applied.[120] These are, however, mnemonic or arithmetical devices unconnected with the actual practice of writing, and thus offer no evidence of learning. There can be no question but that the Swedish colonists or mercenaries in tenth-century Russia themselves knew the so-called younger runes: the earliest Swedish rune-stone referring to a death in Eastern Europe was found in Västra Stenby (Östergotland) and belongs to the first half of the tenth century. Five other rune-stones of this or the following century are extant which bear specific references to Swedes who died in Russia. Yet only one rune-stone has so far been found in Russia itself. Discovered on the island of Berezan, at the mouth of the Dnieper, this stone belongs to the first half of the eleventh century and its inscription states that it was erected by one Grani to his comrade Karl.[121] There is no evidence, however, that the Russian Slavs themselves made use of the runes which were familiar to their Varangian contemporaries. With the use of runes by the early Swedish immigrants in Russia is connected, at least indirectly, a problem raised by the item in the Pannonian *Life* of St. Cyril (Constantine), which reports that when Cyril was in Cherson on his mission to the Khazars he found there a gospel and a psalter written in what are called *rosĭsk* (which would normally mean "Russian") characters.[122]

[119] V. Vondrák, *Církevneslovanska Chrestomatie* (Brno, 1925), pp. 135–141.

[120] Jagić, *loc. cit.*, pp. 25–34.

[121] On these inscriptions in general, cf. F. Braun, *op. cit.*, 162–167.

[122] F. Pastrnek, *Dejiny slovanských apostolů*, p. 52: "obret že tu evangelje i psaltyr rosisky pismeny pisano"; F. Dvorník, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (Prague, 1933), transl., p. 359; discussion, pp. 185–188. For a discussion of the controversy over this item, cf. G. Ilinskĭ, "Odin epizod iz korsunskogo perioda žizni Konstantina

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The only *Ros* known to the Greeks *ca.* 860 were the Scandinavian freebooters who raided the coasts of the Pontus, and these books thus cannot possibly have been written in any Slavic language of the time. On the other hand, converted Varangians do not appear in Russia till nearly a century later, and (still more important) there is no evidence whatever that a translation into Norse or Old Russian was made of the Greco-Russian treaties of 911 and 945. As the texts themselves indicate, they were executed in duplicate, but in Greek, thus proving at least that Norse was not being used for documentary purposes at this period, while the exclusively Scandinavian character of the Russian negotiators suggests that an Old Bulgarian translation (theoretically possible at either date) would have been useless. A Slavic or a Scandinavian identification of the *rosĭsk* characters is thus excluded. The confusion probably rises from reading *rusĭsky* for *surĭsky*, and the characters must very likely have been Syriac.

From this accumulation of not only scattered but oftentimes both confusing and debatable detail, the main lines of Eastern Slavic culture at the close of the pagan period become discernible. Essentially an agricultural people, yet living also by hunting and trapping in newly colonized and sparsely settled areas, the Russian Slavs tended to develop beyond a purely patriarchal society as soon as they came to inhabit small farms grouped about a fortified village which served as their strong-point for defense and as a rudimentary market for the exchange of their products. Such of these villages as were strategically located on the chief water courses developed into genuine trading-posts and towns, the importance of which was enhanced by the penetration of foreign merchants at the beginning of the historical period. The rise of trading-posts and towns gradually concentrated adjacent agricultural areas under the control of the latter, producing at the same time accumulations of wealth in the hands of a new ruling class which appropriated to itself the influence formerly wielded by the elders of family, clan, and tribe. The growing prestige of the towns also broke down the previous tribal differentiations, since portions of the same tribal area might fall for reasons of geography and communication under the control of different towns.

Filosofa," *Slavia*, III (Prague, 1924), 44 ff., also A. A. Vasiliev, *Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 113 and no. 6. A. Vaillant, *Revue des Etudes Slaves*, XV (1935), 75–77, first suggested that *rusĭsky(mi)* is a scribal error of *surĭsky(mi)*, and would therefore view these texts as Syriac. The acceptance of this suggestion depends on establishing how much Hebrew Cyril knew and how easily he could accordingly assimilate Syriac. Roman Jakobson, however, "Saint Constantin et la langue Syriaque," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'histoire orientales* (New York, 1944), pp. 181–186, has clarified the argument considerably and, indeed, closed the case.

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The mass of the population were free farmers or artisans, with only a small admixture of slaves until the latter became a profitable article of commerce. For their technique in agriculture, mechanical trades, and arms, the Slavs were largely indebted to their neighbors, and to the Germans in particular, since the spread of mediaeval techniques among the Slavs becomes most marked from the Carolingian period forward. In spite of an early knowledge of metals, the Slavs acquired little skill in metallurgy until the close of the pagan age. Well fed on a considerable variety of cereals, vegetables, fowl, domestic animals, and game, the Eastern Slavs inhabited small wooden houses, usually with two rooms and connected with sheds for storage and the shelter of their poultry and cattle. They were clad in coarse linen, hempen, or woolen fabrics, supplemented by furs as a protection against inclement weather. Jewelry and other adornments were articles of import exchanged for the furs, pelts, wax, honey, and slaves which were Slavic staple exports. The Eastern Slavs of the eighth century were already in sporadic contact with the Arabic Orient, Byzantium, and Central Europe, and their progress in civilization is exclusively due to this contact. Polygamous in practice, they have evolved from animistic origins a religion of polytheistic and anthropomorphic character, associated with manistic features connected with a rudimentary belief in a future life. Since their social structure was as yet by no means homogeneous, still showing traces of the most primitive patriarchal organization contemporaneous with the rise of concentrated settlements analogous to the western borough and town, they were ripe for the action of some unifying agency which would join these scattered units into a coherent economy. Though illiterate, their rapid adoption of foreign techniques stamps them as possessed of a receptive intelligence. The close of the pagan period thus found the Eastern Slavs ready for the essentially dynastic policy of the immigrant Varangian princes of Kiev and for the absorption of cultural influences rising from intensified relations with Byzantium. While the domination of the Khazars during the eighth and early ninth century had fused the Slavs along the lower Dnieper and its tributaries into a loose federation, it had not extended the Khazar influence to the northern tribal agglomerations. The penetration of the Vikings from the north during the ninth century strengthened the ties between the Slavs at either end of the central Russian trade-route. Once this trade-route was definitely linked with Byzantium, the way was cleared for the introduction of Byzantine culture among the Eastern Slavs, who continued to absorb it until the route was once more barred by the nomads of the steppes three centuries later.

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Pytheas the Massaliot and the Baltic. Myth or Reality?

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Abstract. Pytheas the Massaliot travelled the entire European coastline from Gades (Cadiz) to the mythological northern mouth of the Tanais (Don), circumnavigated Britain, reached ultima Thule, probably the Faroes, and the amber island of Abalus, probably Thy, and Norway, possibly the land of the Periscians. This article revisits the idea of Pytheas reaching the Baltic, very possibly the area of the northern mouth of Tanais (Vistula? Nemunas?), and the idea of Kaali on Saaremaa as "the place where the sun went to bed"'. The examination of the question is introduced with a historiographical excursus and chapters on the scientific background of the journey, the measurements of Pytheas, his hometown Massalia and his journey as far as the Western Baltic. The argument will be exposed through analysis and comparison of the archaeological and written evidence.
In conclusion it is argued that Kaali on Saaremaa was visited by Pytheas the Massaliot and may indeed be considered "the place where the sun went to bed" but not "ultima Thule".

Keywords: Pytheas the Massaliot, Ancient Greece, The Baltic, Sarema.

Pitėjas Masilietis ir Baltija. Mitas ar tikrovė?

Anotacija. Pitėjas Masilietis (gyveno IV a. pr. m. e.), senovės graikų geografas, apkeliavo Europos pakrantę nuo Kadiso (Cadiz) iki Tanais (prie Dono žiočių), apiplaukė Britaniją, pasiekė Ultima Tulę, tikriausiai Farerus, gintaro salą Abalus ir tikriausiai Norvegiją. Straipsnyje dar kartą apžvelgiama Pitėjo, pasiekusio Baltiją, šiaurinės Tanais žiočių (Vyslos? Nemuno?) kelionės ir Saremos Kaali, kaip „vietos, kur saulė nuėjo miegoti“, aplankymo klausimas. Problema nagrinėjama, pasitelkiant istoriografinį ekskursą, Pitėjo ir jo gimtojo miesto Masalijos matavimus, kelionę iki vakarų Baltijos, analizuojant ir lyginant archeologinius ir rašytinius įrodymus. Apibendrinant teigiama, kad Pitėjas Masilietis apsilankė Kaali Saremos saloje ir iš tiesų ši vieta, bet ne „ultima Thule“, gali būti laikoma „vieta, kur saulė nuėjo miegoti“.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: Pitėjas Masilietis, senovės Graikija, Baltija, Sarema.

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Introduction

It is today beyond reasonable doubt that Pytheas the Massaliot, who claimed to have travelled the entire European coastline from

Gades (Cadiz) to the mythological northern mouth of the Tanais (Don), circumnavigated Britain, reached ultima Thule, probably the Faroes, and the amber island of Abalus, probably Thy, and Norway, possibly the land of the Periscians, those who live around the shadow, i.e. the northern polar circle.

The evidence for reaching the Baltic is much less conclusive.

One example, the identification of Kaali on Saaremaa as “the place where the sun went to bed” and shown to Pytheas by the Barbarians, and the island itself as “ultima Thule” (Meri, 1976), has been doubted due to serious concerns about the archaeological and historical probability (Mägi, 2004) and the fact that the two interrelated fragments mentioning it appear to allude to Odyssey I,22–25. The use of Homeric references should, however, be expected in almost any Greek source from the 4th century BC, and so does not preclude that the possible Homeric allusion does not have some basis in reality.

The following article will explore this possibility through careful analysis of the archaeological and written evidence applying a model for using written and archaeological sources together first developed more than a decade ago (Tillisch S. S., 2009). The basic tenet of this model is that archaeological and written sources may be used together if there is corroborative evidence.

A case in point would be “Caesar’s lilies” mentioned during the battle for Alesia in *Bel.Gal.* VII,73. “Carsea’s lilies” were sharpened wooden poles placed pointing upwards in holes or ditches covered with brush by the Roman legionaries. Corresponding examples in Denmark, notably around the fortified site Borremose, the early village of Grøntoft and the somewhat later Lystbækgård site has been plausibly explained through

Caesar (Jensen J., 2003, p. 94–98). This is an example where an apparetently unrelated historical source may provide a possible answer to archaeological finds elsewhere.

The model should be used sparingly, not least when working with a fragmentary work like Pytheas the Massaliot's. Any interpretation will be bereft with caveats and debatable conclusions, but this should not deter an attempt to revisit the evidence for Pytheas the Massaliot's presence in the Baltic. Thus I will in the following reexamine the archaeological and scientific evidence for this and compare the evidence to Geminos *Phainomena* 9,6 and Pliny Naturalis Historia 4,94–106 directly mentioning Pytheas and also the possible relation to *Argonautica* 4,590–656 and Ptolemaios Klaudios

The examination will be introduced with a historiographical excursus and short notes on the scientific background of the journey, the role of Massalia, the measurements of Pytheas and his journey as far as the Western Baltic.

Historiography

Many German works (Schmitt A., 1876; Kähler F., 1903) and Christopher Hawkes (Hawkes C. F. C., 1978) have argued that Pytheas reached the area around the Oder or the Vistula and East Prussia with its large amber reserves. Recently Bianchetti has suggested that parts of the description of the Baltic coast in Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 4.94–104 also derives ultimately from Pytheas the Massaliot and is integrated in the later Roman sources in Pliny's work (Biancheti S., 2020, p.15–16).

It was, however, only rather late and in an unscientific way that the journey was extended to the north, to Saaremaa and Kaali lake, claimed to be "the place where the sun went to bed" and Thule (Meri L., 1976). While not a

trained archaeologist or historian he still compared the archaeological findings around the crater to nearby sites like Asva and Ridala, in trying to back up his claim. This claim played a small part in Estonian nation building in the 1970s and 1980s as Estonian ‘westernness’ was postulated, a development tacitly encouraged by Western powers (Sommer L., 2019), and this is possibly the reason that a theory supported by very little evidence and written by a nonarchaeologist has been accepted as at least a reasonable hypothesis, though it has also received heavy criticism by archaeologists (Mägi M., 2004) as well as historians, notably Herbert Ligi. It should also be noted that the idea of Thule as Estonia plays a part not only in Lennart Meri’s westernized postcolonial thoughts but also in his ideological counterweight Jaan Kaplinski’s *Vercingetorix ütles* (‘Vercingetorix said’, 1965) in which Ultima Thule features alongside Styx, the river around Hades, in Kaplinski’s argument that much of ‘Estonianness’ really is a construct of the 19th Century and heavily influenced by German ideological ideas, whereas Kaplinski hails the Eastern elements of Estonian culture (Sommer L., 2019, p. 3–5). Interestingly, this quote, translated into English, from *Vercingetorix ütles* makes quite clear the root of Meri’s ideas:

So be it imperator: let there be in your republic
one language, one faith and one people.
Let the road be secure and smooth/
for your soldiers, merchants and crooks/
as far as Ultima Thule
and up to the River Styx

Since Meri suggested that “Ultima Thule” was Saaremaa and that the Kaali meteorite crater was “the place where the sun went to bed” all scientific articles concerning the crater have in some way been forced to relate to the idea. Most of these studies have been written by nonspecialists in Classics and tend to give the

idea the benefit of the doubt, though actual archaeologists remain much more sceptical (Mägi M., 2004, p. 83). A relatively recent work has attempted to prove Meri being right (Talvik R., 2015) but is written by a nonspecialist, a medical scientist, rather than a historian or an archaeologist, and has not resolved the matter.

The scientifc background of Pytheas' journey

Pytheas the Massaliot's journey took place in the late 4th century BC. At that point in time the Greeks operated within an understanding of the *oikoumene* and the *kosmos* developed by the Ionian natural philosophers in the 6th–5th century BC, and this understanding is described in Herodotos of Halicarnassus' *Historia* (around 430 BC).

This world, fundamentally a flat disc surrounded by the Ocean was, from the age of Anaximander in the later 6th century BC suspended in a cylindrical *kosmos*, from the later half of the 5th century BC it became a circular Earth in a circular kosmos. The people of Greece, Egypt and Mesopotamia lived in the *oikoumene* while the Scythians were thought to live to the north, the Persians to the east, the Aithiopians to the south and the Celts to the west (fig.1) in the dangerous periphery. The Greek poleis to the west, of which Massalia was one, were small societies on the limits of the *oikoumene*, and therefore potentially strange and dangerous places to those living in Hellas proper (Fabre P., 1981, p. 1–7).

Fig. 1. World map of Ephorus (4th Century BC). Based on Kosmas Indikopleustes (6th Century AD). From Wolska-Konus W. 1968, 397.

1 pav. *Eforo pasaulio žemėlapis (IV a. pr. Kr.). Remiantis Kosmas Indikopleustes (VI a. po Kr.). Iš Wolska-Konus W. 1968, 397*

The two great rivers of the Nile in Africa and the Istros (Danube) in Europe where both thought to have a twin mouth corresponding to the ones in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea – in the Atlantic Ocean (probably the Senegal) and the Mediterranean (the Rhône) respectively. This curious idea stemmed from the idea of a symmetrical *kosmos.* The idea of the second mouth was also assumed for the Tanais, as it emptied into the Maeotis (Azov Sea). Thus the claim by Pytheas that he reached the northern mouth of the Tanais lead us to search for river mouths along Europe's northern seaboard, of which more below.

The basic design of this *kosmos* was not fundamentally altered during Antiquity. It had to be adjusted to the circular Earth in the 5th century BC, and the Persian and Alexandrian Wars opened the world to the east up, as the Massaliot and Carthaginian explorers did in the west, but mostly these new discoveries were suppressed in literature and often presented as adjustments to the already existing knowledge (Bianchetii, 2008, 2020; Clarke K., 1999, p. 308–312; Fabre P., 1981, p. 20–22).

It would seem that the concept of the Earth as round came to be in the late 5th century BC. "The Clouds" clearly allude to a circular Earth suspended in "aether" by Aristophanes of about 423 BC. Meton, who is lampooned in "The Birds" (998 ff.) is a likely early proponent for the idea, since he also developed the Metonic cycle based on the 19 year cycle of the Moon, later a central component of the

Antikythera mechanism (Jones A., 2017, pp. 47–52).

It is important to understand that only with further observations concerning the movement of the Sun, the Moon and the planets it was possible to scientifically determine the sphericity of the Earth in the first half of the 4th century BC through Eudoxus of Cnidus, who also realised the importance of the tropics and the northern polar circle (Mittenhuber F., 2003, p. 44–45).

Instruments and measurements in Pytheas

The following will focus on instruments, stadia and solar heights and their assumed and apparent real precision. Up until the age of Pytheas we have no actual measurements of geographical distances, and his measurements of parallels are thus probably the oldest available (Heidel W. A., 1937, p. 8–11, 56–59). We find a number of measurements in the corpus of Pytheas the Massaliot – stadia, solar heights, sailing days and sailing days-and-nights. Therefore it is necessary to ascertain, if possible, which measurements Pytheas used.

Often it has been stated that the measurements were executed with a simple gnomon and a measurement pole with scaled and movable plates and the basic measurements of a foot, a cubit and a stade (Lewis M., 2001, p. 40–46). Recent research, notably on the aforementioned mock description of one of Meton's instruments, and in the description of Eratosthenes' instruments, notably the 'skiotherikos gnomon' have, however, cast doubts on the simplicity and scarcity of types of the instruments involved (Leigemann D. et al., 2005, p. 238–39). Further, the imprecision amounting to 3–400 stades or 34 arc seconds, assumed by many, including

Eratosthenes (Heidel W. A., 1937, p. 125), have been questioned while using a device reconstructed based on ancient descriptions of Meton's instruments, called a 'diabetes' (fig. 2, Leigemann D. et al., 2005, pp. 240). This instrument is basically a 'shadow catcher' placed on top of a turntable with 360 degrees and the 24 Greek 'winds' marked on the turntable, and the measured precision is down to 50 stades (8 km) or 5 arc seconds, i.e. close to that of a sextant. As we shall see the precision indicated by the preserved measurements of Pytheas the Massaliot would seem to be greater than 34 arc seconds and closer to 5 arc seconds, thus indicating the use of such a 'shadow catcher'.

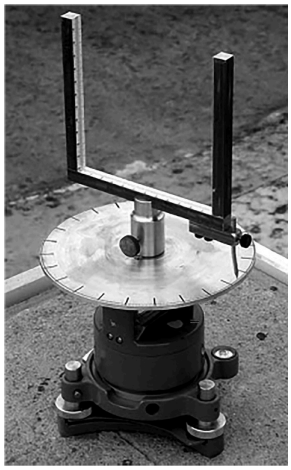

Fig. 2. Reconstructed "shadow catcher" based on descriptions in ancient sources. Possibly called a 'diabetes'. Leigemann et al. 2005, Abb. 4, p. 243.

2 pav. *Remiantis senovės šaltinių aprašymais rekonstruotas „šešėlių gaudytojas". Galbūt vadinamas „diabetu". Leigemann et al. 2005, Abb. 4, p. 243*

As for the specific measurements there were some constants. Thus a cubit was divided into 24 daktyls ('fingers'), and 12 daktyls corresponded to one foot. Further 600 feet corresponded to one stadion (*Historia* 2.149), and one degree in the sky corresponded to one foot or half a cubit. However, the exact length

of the daktyl, foot, cubit and stadion varied widely across the ancient world (Gulbekian E., 1987, p. 357; Lehmann-Haupt K., 1929, col. 1931–1933).

The archaeologically preserved athletic stadiums from Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic Greece fall into three general groups where the stade must be considered to be circa 165, 180 or 191 metres. Thus the stadiums in Korinth, Delphi and Halieis were 165, 167 and 166.5 metres (median 166.17 metres). The stadiums in Delphi, Nemea, Athens, Epidauros and Isthmia were 177.15, 177.6, 184.3, 181.3 and 181.2 metres, respectively (median 180.32 metres). This is also the length a modern athletics stadium is modelled after, at 177.82 metres. Finally, the stadiums in Olympia, Milet and Priene were 191.28, 192.3 and 191.3 m, respectively (median 191.63 metres). The medians correspond to feet of circa 27.5, 29.6 or 32 cm, in Antiquity known as the Oscan-Italic, Attic (later Roman) and Doric foot (Romano D., 1993, p. 17–22; Gulbekian E., 1987, p. 357, 362–363).

Relating to the subject of this article archaeological excavations point to the preferred foot in Massalia was about 30 centimetres (i.e. the Attic foot) in 6th–4th century BC, and 27.5 cm (i.e. the Oscan-Italic foot) in 4th–3rd century BC (Tréziny H., 1989, p. 11–14, 18–20, 46).

Let us now proceed to what the sources tell us about Pytheas' measurements.

Our main source here is Strabo:

Geographika 2.1.12, 18:

"2.1.12. Since Byzantion (Istanbul) and Massalia are almost under the same parallel of latitude, as Hipparchus tells us they are, on the authority of Pytheas, and since Byzantion and

the Borysthenes have also the same meridian, as Hipparchus equally assures us, if we take his assertion that there is a distance of 3700 stadia between Byzantion and the Borysthenes, there will of course be a like difference between the latitude of Massalia and the Borysthenes. This would make the latitude of the Borysthenes identical with that of Keltike next the Ocean; for on proceeding 3700 stadia, we reach the ocean.
2.1.18……Hipparchus narrates that at the Borysthenes and the north of Keltike, during the whole of the summer nights there is one continued twilight from sun-set to sun-rise, but at the winter solstice the sun never rises more than nine cubits above the horizon. He adds that this phenomenon is yet more remarkable in regions 6300 stadia north of Massalia, (these regions he supposes to be peopled by Kelts, but I believe are inhabited by Britons, and 2500 stadia north of Keltike) where the sun at the winter solstice rises only six cubits above the horizon. That at 9100 stadia north of Massalia it only rises four cubits, and not so much as three in the countries beyond, and which I consider much farther north than Ierne (Ireland). However, Hipparchus, on the authority of Pytheas, places them south of Britain, and says that the longest day there consists only of 19 hours; while in countries where the sun rises but four cubits above the horizon, and which are situated 9100 stadia north of Marseilles, the day has 18 hours. Consequently the most southerly parts of Britain must be north of these regions."
(English translation slightly adapted from *The Geography of Strabo.* Literally translated, with notes, in three volumes. London. George Bell & Sons. 1903. At:
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0239%3Abook%3D2%3Achapter%3D1%3Asection%3D18)

We are here told that Massalia and Byzantion is almost on the same latitude, off by about two

degrees (43’17 N vs. 41 N) and we are provided a notation of the distances between parallels north of Massalia of 3,700, 6,300 and 9,100 stadia where the sun rises nine, six and four cubits at winter solstice, i.e. 12, 8 and 6 degrees if 0.5 cubit is one degree. It should thus be possible to pinpoint the latitudes and thereby the stadion used, since the inclination of the Earth relative to the ecliptic today is almost the same as in the 4th century BC (23’43’28 relative to 23’43’40 degrees).

The crucial information given is the one where we are told that at 9,100 stadia north of Massalia the midsummer day is 18 hours long. This corresponds to 58’13 north and to a winter solstice rise of 8 degrees or 4 cubits. The distance in kilometres between 43’17 and 58’13 north (14’56 degrees) is 1659.39 km, i.e. 14 degrees of 111.12 km, 56 arc minutes of 1.852 km. This would correspond to a stadion of about 182.35 metres and a foot of 30.4 centimetres. Very close to the foot known archaeologically in Massalia in the 6th–4th century BC and the Attic foot. Incidentally, 58’13 is tangential to Cape Wrath, Scotland’s northernmost point and very likely the Orkas of Pytheas the Massaliot. This parallel is also “right below the head of the Dragon (constellation)” as the expression goes in Krates of Mallos and Aratus, possibly reflecting a Pythean tradition, and coinciding with the Arctic circle as seen from Rhodes (Bilic T., 2012, p. 304).

Accepting 182.35 m as the stadion used here, 3,700 stadia north of Massalia corresponds to 48 degrees North, a parallel following the north coast of Britanny which is Pytheas’ most probable route, and besides there are several sites with evidence of cross-channel contact on the north coast of Britanny from this period. Most importantly the apparent emporium at Le Yaudet and the necropolis at Urville-Naqueville

(Cunliffe B. & Galliou P., 2004; Fischer C. et al., 2018).

Still using 182.35 m as the stade, 6,500 stades north of Massalia corresponds to 54 degrees north. In the British Isles this parallel runs along the northern Irish coast, through Morecambe Bay with its heavy tide, possibly the site of Pytheas' "sea lung" on the west coast and the prominent Flamborough Head on the east coast and across the North Sea to the mouth of the Elbe and along the northern Baltic coast.

Finally the three cubits or six degrees at winter solstice mentioned by Strabo corresponds to the situation on the Shetlands (61 N) where the midsummer day is 19 equinoctal hours, among the parallels mentioned by Geminos in *Phainomena* (see below).

To conclude the measurements of Pytheas, accepting a stadion of 182.35 m shows a remarkable precision consistent with the use of an instrument like the reconstructed "shadow catcher". Given this it is very probable that Pytheas used a stadion of 182.35 metres, but notes concerning Thule complicates matters a bit.

Strabo tells us in Geographika 2.5.8:

"It is true that Pytheas the Massaliot affirms that the farthest country north of the Brittanides is Thule; for which place he says the summer tropic and the arctic circle is all one. But he records no other particulars concerning it; whether Thule is an island, or whether it continues habitable up to the point where the summer tropic becomes one with the arctic circle."

And according to Eratosthenes in Strabo, Geographika 1.4.2:

"…Again; from thence [the Hellespont] to the Borysthenes, 5000; and thence to the parallel of Thule, which Pytheas says is six days' sail

north from Britain, and near the Frozen Sea, other 11,500 [stadia]."

And finally according to Ptolemaios Klaudios in Description of the Geography 8.2:

"Thus it is that at Thule the longest day is 20 equinoctal hours."

This latter claim is corroborated by Stephanos of Byzantion in the *Suda*.

These facts are somewhat contradictory. The central point is Ptolemaios. If Thule is where the longest day at midsummer is 20 hours this would mean a parallel of about 62 degrees North, a parallel passing through the Faroes and south central Norway near Ålesund. This corresponds quite well to six days sailing north of Britain, since this is likely what it would take a Greek ship travelling about 2 knots to reach the Faroes from Cape Wrath. Experimental sailing with a replica of the Kyrenia wreck, Kyrenia II, put the average speed at 2–3 knots, less in weather where the ship had to cross to the wind (Katzev, 1987, p. 250). This is also comparable to experimental sailing with replicas of Viking Age ships (Englert A., 2012, pp. 275–278). Some researchers believe that Ptolemy's latitude of Thule is a matter of speculation to accommodate his geographical-mathematical theories, and not based on actual observations (Shcheglov D., 2007, p. 5–7). However, the correspondence between experimental archaeology, the six days and nights and the 20 equinoctal hours of the longest day strongly suggest that Ptolemaios' Thule is real enough, and probably can be identified with the Faroes.

This conclusion is at first sight at odds with the measurement in stades. Thus we are told that Thule's position is six days north of Britain where the summer tropic is the same as the Arctic Circle (i.e. the actual Arctic circle). If the 11,500 stades north of Borysthenes mentioned

are 182.35 m this would mean that Thule would be in 65’07 degrees North, a parallel crossing northern Iceland and entering Norway in Nord-Trøndelag not too far from the actual Arctic circle. Thus this would indicate that Thule is Iceland or Norway, but also that Eratosthenes, Strabo’s source in this case, and Pytheas used the same length of the stadion.

However, 11,500 stades north of Massalia using 182.35 metres corresponds to 62 N, i.e. the place where the Arctic circle would be as seen from Massalia and also the parallel of 20 equinoctal hours where Thule is supposed to be according to Ptolemaios Klaudios and the *Suda*. Thus a mistake in mixing different measurements, done by either Eratosthenes or some later scribe, is all it would have taken to create the confusion, i.e. mistaking the 11,500 stades north of Massalia for 11,500 stades north of Borysthenes. Given the great precision shown above in all the other measurements by Pytheas the Massaliot it seems unlikely that he should have missed so massively on the parallel of Thule, and a later error by Eratosthenes, Strabo or someone else mistaking Borysthenes for Massalia most likely created the confusion.

A final example concerning the stadion Pytheas used. In Strabo Britain’s circumference is stated to be 40,000 stades. In Diodorus Siculus it is stated to be 42,500 while Pliny in his Naturalis Historia has it at 4,875 Roman miles. Using 182.35 m as the stade the former two translates as 7,294 km and 7,749.5 km, while 4,875 Roman miles correspond to 7,220 km. Based on this it would seem that Pliny recalculated a measurement akin to the one mentioned by Strabo. This circumference has been claimed to be way too high by Strabo and many modern researchers. However, through dynamic coastal theory this point is moot. A coast line is measured in steps, and it is important how many ‘steps’ any given

coastline is divided in. Unfortunately it is rare that the number of ‘steps’ and conditions for any given coastline measurement is relayed. And different ‘steps’ entails different lengths (Mandelbrot B., 1967; Lynch P., 2013; Rae A., 2016). Surprisingly, few researchers have actually tested Strabo’s claim. Even researchers who ought to know better postulates that Caesar’s 2,000 Roman miles are more precise than Pytheas (e.g., Horst Roseman C., 1994, p. 126; Steensby H. P., 1918, p.16). True enough Caesar’s numbers are possible within dynamic coastal theory, even if it is distinctly at the lower end of the scale, but so are Pytheas’. Thus Pytheas’ circumference of Britain is a qualified guess and reinforces the likelihood of his use of the stade of 182.35 metres as Pliny’s length in Roman miles corresponds well to at least one measurement given by the Greek sources, i.e. Strabo.

Thus Pytheas the Massaliot knew the Earth was round, and his measurements likely proved this as verifiable fact, just as his observations in the north of Europe formed the core of later Greek, Roman and even Medieval and early modern beliefs about the farthest north of Europe (Small M., 2007, p. 321).

A short note on Massalia

Massalia was founded through a journey from Phokis in Asia Minor around 600 BC according to archaeological as well as historical sources (Tréziny H., 2011, p. 42; Clavel-Leveque M., 1977, p. 7). In the following centuries it became the preeminent Greek site in the northwestern part of the Mediterranean well known for its flourishing trade, and it was a node in a sea route from Greece along the Italian peninsula past another Phokaian colony, Velia, and on to Massalia, Emporion and Gades on the Atlantic coast of Iberia. As other Greek ‘apoikiai’ (i.e. “houses away from home”) Massalia existed in

a complex interaction with the native population of the region (Dietler M., 2009, p. 8–10; Hermary A. et al., 1999, p. 31–33).

Massalia's development in the first half of the 6th century BC seems to reflect that of open and dynamic emporia in the Mediterranean at the time such as Pyrgi, Emporion and Huelva (Tartessos?), possibly best understood as gateway communities (Py M. & Trézinny H., 2013, p. 238–239). As it swelled due to an exodus, yet another journey from Phokaia recently conquered by the Persians (cf. Morel J. P., 2006, p. 1728–1745) in the 540s BC, it obtained dominance of the exchange routes of southern Gaul and founded trading stations at Theline/Arelate (Arles) in the mouth of the Rhône and at Agathe (Agde) at the mouth of the Hérault connecting it with the Gironde, and thus the Atlantic facade (Hermary A. & Tréziny H., 2015, pp. 237–238).

During the 5th and early 4th centuries BC there seems to have been two realignments of the exchange routes around Massalia, one around 475–450 BC, the other around 400 BC related to the breakdown of the Hallstatt D complex in Central Europe, and both realignments were followed by Massaliot expansions, in the latter of which Pytheas journey fits well. During all three expansive periods Massaliot pottery, coins and other Greek objects spread deep into the interior of Gaul and spurred complex multilayered local developments, though Etruscan and Phoenician influences are also palpable especially in the 6th century BC (e.g., Fernandez-Götz M., 2018, p. 121–126, 148; Bizot B. et al., 2007, p. 30–31; Clavel-Léveque M., 1977, p. 20–26; Van den Boom H. / Pape J., 2000, p. 48–61; Pape J., 2000, p. 71–74, 112–119).

The richness of Massalia and its place on the edge of the world known to the Greeks (and later the Romans) led to an idea of Massalia as

a ‘soft’, effeminate and decadent society with special rites and cults (i.e. syncretism). This is famously expressed in Petronius’ *Satyricon*, and the sentiment may have had negative influence on the scientific information relayed by Massaliots such as Pytheas (Arcelin P., 1992, p. 318–319; Jensson G., 2018, pp. 11–13). This is probably the reason for the apparent ignorance of Massaliot geographical exploits in the 6th as well as the 4th century BC by the likes of Herodotus, Polybius and Strabo (Bianchetti S., 2008, pp. 23–24).

Born out of several journeys to what was then the end of the world it should come as no surprise that someone from Massalia travelled further north than ever before in the search of resources and knowledge and the end of the world, or at least the oikoumene, just as Kolaios of Samos and Aristeas of Proconessus before him.

The journey as far as the western Baltic

Pytheas probably went from Massalia along the exchange route past Emporion through the Straits of Gibraltar to Gades (Cadiz). It has often been claimed that he would not have been able to pass the Straits due to a Carthaginian blockade, but this blockade is neither evident in the abundant material on Graeco-Phoenician interaction in Iberia and Gaul, nor in the historical sources (Py M. & Tréziny H., 2013, p. 267; Bianchetti S., 2008, p. 17–20).

Then he seems to have turned south following the ocean currents, possibly to avoid the kelp forests around Cape Spartel, later turning north towards Cabo Sao Vicente, one of many so designated holy promontories of the ancient world. Then he apparently went due north to Finisterre in Galicia, probably named

Oestrymnis by the locals, meaning “westernmost”. Then he seems to have taken the direct route across the Bay of Biscay to reach Brittany, apparently also known as Oestrymnis, and settled by a people variously spelled by Strabo (Geographika 1.4.5, 4.4.1) and Stephanus of Byzantium (*Ethnoi* 712.21) as Ostidaeans, Ostidamnioi, Ostidaei, Ostiones or Oisismioi (also probably meaning something like ‘the westernmost’). Pytheas most likely knew them as Ostidamnioi. He also notes another (?) name for Oestrymnis, Kabaion, probably meaning a rock dipping into the sea, which could well be Pointe du Raz on the western tip of Britanny.

It should be noted that the route from Agde (Agathe) up the valley of the Hérault and Garonne to the Gironde, past the mouth of the Loire and the trading station Korbilon, is also a possibility (Cunliffe B., 2001; Horst Roseman C., 1994). There is also no doubt that this route was much frequented during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.

However, Pytheas’ journey seems in part to retrace the periplous behind *Ora Maritimma* by Rufus Festus Avienus, probably dating somewhere around 500 BC, and the aim of the journey seems to have been to establish new trading contacts in the far north as well as exploration (Bianchetti S., 2008, p. 27–29). Judging from the finds of Greek and Carthiginan coins in Wales and southern England as well as the expansion of trading centres along the English coast in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC Pytheas’ journey was successful in this respect. The presence of Carthaginian coinage and finds also speaks toward competition in trade, not war between Phoenicians and Greeks. Further there is evidence that after Pytheas the land route was considered the more efficient one, and that it was heavily used leading to an expansion of the settlement at Agde.

Finally, one of the main arguments for the land based first leg of the journey is that Polybios through Strabo stated that the people of the trading station at Korbilon in the mouth of the Loire “had never heard of him (Pytheas)” (Strabo, *Geographika* 4.2.1). Thus invalidating the journey to Strabo, Polybios and many later researchers. However the statement only tells us that Pytheas was not at Korbilon, and since Polybios is a century and a half younger we cannot know if Korbilon existed in Pytheas’ time.

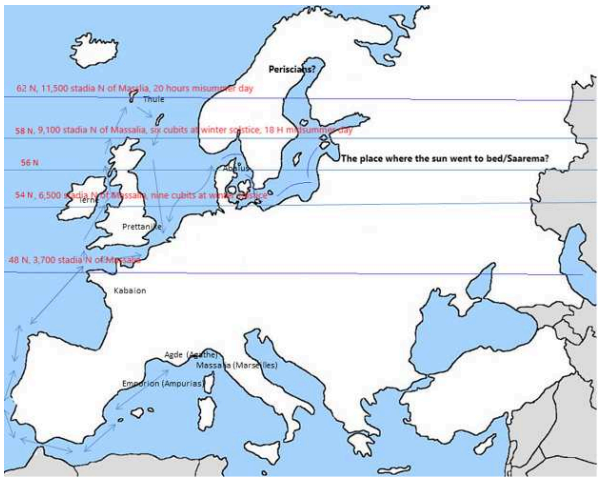

Fig. 3. Sketch map of Europe with parallels and distances indicated in stadia of 182.35 metres.

3 pav. *Eskizinis Europos žemėlapis su paralelėmis ir atstumais – 182,35 metro*

Indeed no trading settlement has been traced in the estuary of the Loire in the correct time slot, and the 3,000 stades mentioned by Pytheas for crossing from Oestrymnis to Kabaion corresponds well to the distance between the Finisterres in Galicia and Britanny (Strabo, *Geographika* 1.4.5), and for that matter also reflects the ancient Greek estimate of a ship covering 1,000 stades in one day. Further Polybius had acute interest in downplaying Massaliot exploits and enlarging his own in the face of his Roman patron, Scipio the Younger (Bianchetti S., 2008, p. 38).

Reaching Oestrymnis/Kabaion he passed Uëxisame, known to the Romans as Axanthos and today as Ile d'Ouessant or Ushant. As noted, he took a parallel close to this area. Then he probably crossed to Pretannike (Britain) from Britanny and made landfall at Land's End (Belerion), and from there he seems to have sailed north through the Irish Sea to the Hebrides (Hebudes) and on to northern Scotland and the Orkneys (Orkas). Then further north to the Shetlands (Haemodes) and, as we have seen, Thule, i.e. the Faroes. Thule probably means 'hill' or 'promontory' and since the ancient writers clearly include Thule in the Bretannides, the lesser British Isles, it is very difficult to conclude that Thule is Iceland or Norway. Indeed the Latin epitet "ultima Thule", i.e. "the farthest hill/promontory" would fit well with the Faroes.

From the Faroes Pytheas may have continued west or north, but given the distances already covered and the probably looming winter, it is more likely that he turned south and wintered at Kantion (Kent). In Kantion there is plenty of evidence for southern contacts in etymology as well as archaeology. Thus the area west of the now silted Wantsum Channel was known as the Isle of Thanet, and it has been suggested that the etymology for this name is the Phoenician goddess Tanit (Vennemann T., 2006, p. 357–359), much as Gades had a "temple of Juno" according to Pliny (i.e. Tanit). Archaeologically the strongest evidence come from Cliff's End Farm which was a liminal place with burials of people with Scandinavian, British, Mediterranean and North African descent stretching over several centuries in the Bronze and Iron Age (McKinley J. et al., 2017, p. 166–168).

From Kantion the following spring it is likely that Pytheas followed the European coastline to the north east. Thus he had the land of the Belcae to the right, probably the later Belgae,

and he passed the *aestuarium* Metuonidis, probably the marshy coast from the Schelde estuary to the Watten Sea. From here he seems to have continued north along the Jutland coast and reached Abalus, the holy island, also known as Basilia, i.e. ‘royal’. The name is cognate with Celtic *aball, Gaulish *avallo, meaning ‘apple’ and reminds us of the name of the holy island Avalon in Arthurian legend (Hawkes C. F. C., 1978, p. 9). One is also reminded of the Idun’s golden apples of Nordic mythology and the apples of the Hesperides in Greek mythology. This island is almost certainly Thy, and the Limfjord, at this time entered from the north through the Sløj Channel, and may well be “the northern Tanais”. It also seems that Pytheas explored “the land along the Ocean”, probably Norway and the “Periscians”, literally those who live around the shadow, i.e. the Polar Circle (fig. 4).

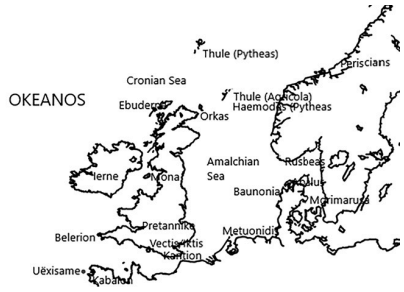

Fig. 4. Map of NW Europe with most notable names originating from Pytheas the Massaliot.

4 pav. *Šiaurės Vakarų Europos žemėlapis. Dauguma jame esančių pavadinimų kildinami iš Pitėjo Masiliečio*

But did he also reach the Baltic and possibly even Saaremaa? Let us have a look at the archaeological, scientific and written evidence.

The scientifc and archaeological evidence – the Kaali Crater

The Kaali crater and its eight satellite craters is on Saaremaa at 58’22 N, 22’40 E. Successive radio carbon dates on various parts of the debris, wood and peat inside the crater at different levels before 1995 has produced dates ranging in 1800–600 BC (Losiak A. et al., 2016, p. 688–690; Veski S. et al., 2004, p. 198–199). Two outliers are represented by testing microspherules in nearby bogs and suggested a date of 6500–6270 BC while testing the Ir-rich peatlayer apparently connected to the formation of the bog at Piila-raba 6 km away produced a date of 400–370 BC (Rasmussen K. L. et al., 2000; Veski S. et al., 2001, p. 1367, 1371–73; Veski S. et al., 2004, p. 199). A new date from 2001 inside the main crater produced a date of 1690–1510 BC, in accordance with one of the other C14-values at 1740–1620 BC. The very latest C14-dates from the proxima ejecta give a date of 1590–1450 BC (Losiak A. et al., 2016, p. 688–690). Thus a date in the middle of the 2nd millenium BC seems to be all but certain.

Further there is comparative mythological evidence, not only from Estonia and Finland, but also from Mesopotamia, most notably the myth of Erra, Silver and Fire and in the Americas (James P. & van der Sluijs M. A., 2016, pp.70–78). It seems that the comet 2P/Encke broke in several pieces from an interpolated “proto-Encke” and may have produced frequent events of fireballs on Earth in the period 3600–1800 BC (James P. & van der Sluijs M. A., 2016, pp. 83–85). Clearly Euripides and Ovid also correlates the fall of Phaethon with some heavenly object, Ovid thus mentions the following obscuration of the sun produced by the ejecta from a meteorite (*Metamorphoses* 1.751–756) and Plato notes in *Timaios* 22c-e that heavenly objects sometimes graze the Earth and connects this to the myth of Phaethon.

Archaeologically the crater is completely surrounded by a wall made of granite blocks 2.3–2.8 m wide and 470 metres long in two clearly separate stages, one older wider and a younger, narrower version. A short section of this wall was excavated. It was not possible to closely date the finds, but the animal bones, primarily bovid, point towards sacrifices being made (Lougas V., 1980, p. 358–359).

Further there was a fortified settlement protected by a wall at least 2 m wide and 2.2 m high and 110 m in cirumference inside which was at least two buildings or platforms, a burnt layer and burnt logs as well as pottery characteristic of the late Bronze Age in Estonia and also found at nearby contemporary settlements of Asva, Ridala and Iru. There was also clay moulds and crucibles for bronze casting, amber pearls, a possible amber double button of Scandinavian type mirrored in Asva, bone awls and a bone arrowhead. Some of the ceramics may be parallelled to ceramics from Gotland and the Mälar valley. Again there was plenty of animal bones. The size and layout of the site, the walls much larger than any other on Saaremaa, and the archaeological finds, dated roughly 700–200 BC strongly sugget that it was a central place of some (ritual?) importance (Luik H. & Ots M., 2007, p. 124–126; Lougas V., 1978, 1980).

This impression is reinforced by an Iron Age silver hoard with a neck ring, a spiral bracelet and a finger ring, and medieval reports calling the place holy (Lougas V., 1978, p, 329; Veski S. et al., 2004, p. 201, 204). This later period seems to be placed in the 3rd–4th century AD. The fortified sites of Võhma and Pidula, probably of Iron Age date, are also interesting in that they seem to mimic the site at Kaali lake (Veski S. et al., 2004, p. 204).

There is thus ample evidence that the crater and its surroundings were very important

symbolically in two distinct archaeological phases. It is conceivable that the circumferential wall in two stages may reflect these two different periods of use, but it cannot be ascertained based on the available material.

That the region had widespread contacts, apart from the pottery connections mentioned above, may be shown by a Härnev type pin from Kaali and corresponding mould found at Asva, indicating either the presence of smiths from Scandinavia proper or locals trained in the Scandinavian technique as well as confirming a connection between the sites at Kaali and Asva (Haas A. et al., 2004, p. 61, 83). Besides recent research has shown Saaremaa to be quite a centre for seal hunting and the resulting products: skins, leather and blubber (Sperling U., 2013).

The wider scientific and archaeological evidence

The beginning of the site of Asva is generally dated to the Late Bronze Age (cf. Sperling U. et al., 2021), circa 850–800 BC. The Kaali site stretch across the Late Bronze Age and the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age. It may be noted that axes of Mälar type, pins of Härnev type, ceramics and bronze buttons, some times remade in bone, antler and amber (Paavel K. et al., 2020; Luik H. & Ots M., 2007), were all transported along the exchange routes in the eastern Baltic. It would seem that in the 7th and 6th centuries BC there was a westward movement of some eastern populations, and a rise in importance of Estonian sites such as Kaali, Asva and Ridala. It has even been suggested that the Scandinavian Bronze Age ended ‘early’ in Håga, Uppland through the deposition in a conspicuous position of a ceramic bowl of eastern type in the local “death house” (Eriksson T., 2022, pp. 124–126). On Saaremaa ceramic traditions from

Sweden and Poland are also visible in the local ceramics, and therefore the direction of cultural impulses cannot have been a one-way street. But Saaremaa definitely had a nodal status in the network with very close contacts to the Estonian mainland, the Mälar valley and central/eastern Poland.

Further archaeological indicators are the bell situlae from Tishkovo (Ukraine) and Keldby (Møn, Denmark) and the stamnoi from Tarnobrzeg (Poland) and Langå (Denmark). Made in the 4th century BC but, for the Danish finds apparently only deposited in the late 2nd or early 1st century BC. It is possible that these objects arrived in Denmark passing through Germany on the way. But it is also possible, even probable, that these objects arrived in Denmark through the south eastern connection to the Black Sea via the Baltic. This exchange route is also evidenced through neck rings, so-called “kronehalsringe”, and the Thracian type ear rings from Sojvide and Änge (Sideris A., 2021, p. 44; Kaul F. & Martens J., 1995, p. 121; Riis P. J., 1959, p. 22). Since the bell situlae, widely circulated in Europe, seems to have originated in Macedonia or Thrace in the 4th century BC (Sideris A., 2021, p. 44) this is a strong indicator for the continent wide contact network given the obvious close connections between Macedonia, Thracia and Scythia at this point in time.

Considering the find of mixed Greek bronze vessels from Peschanoe in Ukraine one might consider the possibility that the stamnos from Langå and the situla from Keldby may be considered parts of “a very expensive matching set” used as reciprocative gifts by a Greek explorer in the far north in the 4th century BC, and only deposited much later as heirlooms much in the way we know from the Musov burial of the late 2nd century AD or the Lefkandi burial in Greece of Geometric age

(e.g., Künzl S., 1997, pp. 41–42; Popham M. & Lemos I. S., 1996).

The exchange network and the kind of objects associated with it, all elite objects, even suggest some kind of “world system” in action. One might also cite a Bronze Age burial at Hangaskangas Oulu in northern Finland placed on an island off the coast and probably containing a “ritual specialist” of some sort and a nearby site, Halosentörmä, associated with bronze working (Herva V-P. et al., 2020, p. 90–92). This “world system” had its heyday before Pytheas, but at least parts of it seems to have functioned in the 5th–3rd centuries BC based on the archaeological evidence.

Towards the eastern Baltic - Geminos

First let us have a closer look at the Geminos quote.

Geminos. *Phainomena* 6.8-9

“6.8. Among those who live even farther north than Propontis the longest day is 17 equinoctal hours, and again among those further north 18. 6.9. It seems as if Pytheas the Massaliot actually were in these parts. He says in what he has recorded in “On the Ocean”: “Several times the Barbarians showed us the place where the Sun went to bed [...]. But it so happens that in these parts the night is very short, in some places two, in others three hours. Thus there is only a short while from sunset to sunrise”

Kosmas Indikopleustes. *Topografia Christiana* 2.18

“Pytheas the Massaliot says in ‘On the Ocean’, that while he was himself in the northernmost places the Barbarians who lived there showed

him the bed of the Sun, since there the Sun stayed with them through all the nights."

In this we are told that Pytheas writes that the Barbarians showed him the place where the sun went to bed, and this is echoed 500 years later by Kosmas Indikopleustes. This has, as mentioned in the introduction, been claimed to be a reference to Odyssey I, 22–25:

He [Poseidon] was now away and visited a far away tribe of the Ethiopians
one of the two living at the ends of the world.
Some where Hyperion sets and others where he rises,
there to receive a hecatomb of bulls and rams.

We know that Geminos had a lot of material from Krates of Mallos, who was a geographer prone to use the Homeric poems as an exegesis on his geographical teachings, including constructing a sphairopoiia to visualise his ideas (Bilic, 2012, p. 297–298), and thus we cannot be certain that the Homeric elements we think we have preserved from Pytheas have not actually been transferred through Krates first. Notably, Cimmerians, often conferred to 'the North' by Greek ethnographers are by Krates placed at both poles, and toponyms associated with Hades are placed at the south pole, such as "the marsh of Acheron" (Bilic, 2012, pp. 298–301).

So it is possible that an original observation by Pytheas may have been twisted beyond recognition to form the basis for yet another Homeric argument. But it is equally possible that Pytheas made this observation and referenced the Odyssey. Thus the six days and nights sail north of Britain for Thule could very well be a reflection of the island of the Laistrygonians in the Odyssey and the name of their capital, Telepylos, "distant gate", is even reminiscent of the most probable meaning of

“ultima Thule”, namely “farthest height” (Bilic, 2020, pp. 578–580; Bilic, 2012, pp. 319–321).

The question therefore is not whether we can assume a Homeric refrence here, but whether the allegory may also refer to a real event, such as a meteorite impact in the Baltic.

Towards the eastern Baltic – the Argonautika

In the Argonautika where we are told how the Argo entered the mighty stream of the Eridanus river.

“…...4.590. where once, smitten on the breast by the blazing bolt, Phaethon half-consumed fell from the chariot of Helios into the opening of that deep lake; and even now it belcheth up heavy steam clouds from the smouldering wound. And no bird spreading its light wings can cross that water; but in mid-course it plunges into the flame, fluttering. And all around the maidens, the daughters of Helios, enclosed in tall poplars, wretchedly wail a piteous plaint; and from their eyes they shed on the ground bright drops of amber. These are dried by the sun upon the sand; but whenever the waters of the dark lake flow over the strand before the blast of the wailing wind, then they roll on in a mass into Eridanus with swelling tide. But the Celts have attached this story to them, that these are the tears of Leto’s son, Apollo, that are borne along by the eddies, the countless tears that he shed aforetime when he came to the sacred race of the Hyperboreans and left shining heaven at the chiding of his father, [...] …sorely afflicted all day, heavy and faint at heart, with the noisome stench, hard to endure, which the streams of Eridanus sent forth from Phaethon still burning; and at night they heard the piercing lament of the daughters of Helios, wailing with shrill voice; and, as they lamented, their tears were borne on the water

like drops of oil. Thence they entered the deep stream of Rhodanus which flows into Eridanus; and where they meet there is a roar of mingling waters. Now that river, rising from the ends of the earth, where are the portals and mansions of Night, on one side bursts forth upon the beach of Ocean, at another pours into the Ionian sea, and on the third through seven mouths sends its stream to the Sardinian sea and its limitless bay. And from Rhodanus they entered stormy lakes, which spread throughout the Celtic mainland of wondrous size; and there they would have met with an inglorious calamity; for a certain branch of the river was bearing them towards a gulf of Ocean which in ignorance they were about to enter, and never would they have returned from there in safety..."

And here they are saved by Hera from the Hercynian rock (unspecified mountains in Keltike) and led past 'countless tribes' past the 'midmost mouth', that is the Rhone, and behind a 'line of islands' presumably the Iles d'Hyères some way east of Massalia, before they were finally provided a safe haven on Aethalia (Elba).

It is from this section clear that the Eridanus river in this version have three mouths, one in the Northern Ocean, the others the Rhône (Sardinian sea and boundless bay, i.e. the Golfe du Lion) and the third the Po (pouring into the Ionian Sea). As we saw above with the Rhône, the Nile and the Tanais, there is nothing strange in this idea to an ancient Greek.

The "stormy lakes" in the inner part of Keltike may be a faint reflection of the Baltic, and the "offstream bearing them into the ocean-gulf" could then be one of the three Danish Belts. The mention of Hyperboreans, Celts and Apollo supports the idea that this part of the Argonautica actually could reflect one or several real event(s).

Towards the eastern Baltic – Pliny the Elder and Ptolemaios Klaudios

Let us now have a closer look of what Pliny the Elder tells us in his *Natural History*.

The relevant section is 4,94-96 which is a mix of early Greek and later Roman sources on the European coast line from the Rhine to the "Ripaean mountains" which in this case must be considered completely mythical.

« 4.94. We must now leave the Euxine to describe the outer portions of Europe. After passing the Riphæan mountains we have now to follow the shores of the Northern Ocean on the left, until we arrive at Gades. In this direction a great number of islands are said to exist that have no name; among which there is one which lies opposite to Scythia, mentioned under the name of Raunonia, and said to be at a distance of the day's sail from the mainland; and upon which, according to Timæus, amber is thrown up by the waves in the spring season. As to the remaining parts of these shores, they are only known from reports of doubtful authority. With reference to the Septentrional or Northern Ocean; Hecataeus calls it, after we have passed the mouth of the river Parapanisus, where it washes the Scythian shores, the Amalchian sea, the word 'Amalchian' signifying in the language of these races, frozen. Philemon again says that it is called Morimarusa or the "Dead Sea" by the Cimbri, as far as the Promontory of Rubeas, beyond which it has the name of the Cronian Sea. Xenophon of Lampsacus tells us that at a distance of three days' sail from the shores of Scythia, there is an island of immense size called Baltia, which by Pytheas is called Basilia [...].
4.96. Leaving these however, we come to the nation of the Ingævones, the first in Germany;

at which we begin to have some information upon which more implicit reliance can be placed. In their country is an immense mountain called Sevo, not less than those of the Riphæan range, and which forms an immense gulf along the shore as far as the Promontory of the Cimbri. This gulf, which has the name of the ‘Codanian,’ is filled with islands; the most famous among which is Scandinavia, of a magnitude as yet unascertained: the only portion of it at all known is inhabited by the nation of the Hilleviones, who dwell in 500 villages, and call it a another world: it is generally supposed that the island of Aeningia is of not less magnitude. Some writers state that these regions, as far as the river Vistula, are inhabited by the Sarmati, the Veneti, the Sciri, and the Hirri, and that there is a gulf there known by the name of Cylipenus, at the mouth of which is the island of Latris, after which comes another gulf, that of Lagnus, which borders on the Cimbri. The Cimbrian Promontory, running out into the sea for a great distance, forms a peninsula which bears the name of Tastris »
(The English translation here slightly adapted from:
https://www.gutenberg.org/files/57493/57493-h/57493-h.htm)

In the first section we are concerned with the Jutland peninsula, that is the Cimbrian promontory, and the Amalchian, that is ‘unfrozen’ (‘a-malchos’) sea, probably the North Sea, and the Morimarusa, meaning “the dead sea”, probably the Kattegat bordered by Rusbeas, probably Lindesnes in southern Norway. Thus the westernmost part of the Baltic.

Then we enter the Baltic, apparently from the east seen from the Vistula and learn about the islands Aeningia, Latris and Scatinavia, the bays of Cylipenus and Lagnus.

Scatinavia could be Scania in southern Sweden, at least the name was later extended to cover the entire Scandinavian Peninsula. Aeningia would seem to be an unspecified landmass to the north of Vistula, possibly the Baltic countries or Finland. Then the Cylipenus would be the Pomeranian coast and Latris the island of Rügen. Lagnus would then be the bay from Rügen to the Jutland peninsula, and Tastris would be Skagens Odde. Stettiner Haff for Cylipenus, Zealand for Latris and Kurisches Haff for Lagnus has been suggested (Rasch G., 1950, p. 45, 61–62) but this makes little geographical sense if the point of view is from east towards west.

Concerning the Graeco-Roman knowledge of the far north of Europe we know that most of Ptolemaios' material was Roman imperial, but there are older elements, and it seems clear that the farthest north with Thule is among them. There are different versions of Ptolemaios' text, but some versions, such as Codex Vaticanus VF 32 clearly place what looks like a temple in the far north eastern corner of Europe at 58 degrees north (fig. 5).This could reflect a memory of a holy site on an island far to the north.

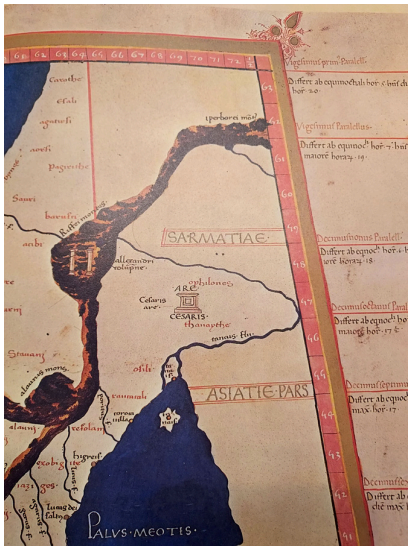

Fig. 5. Ptolemaios Klaudios, CodVat VF32. Focus on the temple (?) at 58 degrees N.

5 pav. *Ptolemajas Klaudijas, CodVat VF32. Dėmesys į šventyklą (?) ties 58 laipsniais šiaurės platumos*

Concluding remarks

In conclusion, archaeology, notably the evidence of travelling tradesmen in the Baltic in the Bronze and Iron Age, indirectly supports the idea of Pytheas the Massaliot exploring the Baltic as do the disparate written sources. This would, among the ancients, place Pytheas in the same category as Kolaios of Samos, Aristeas of Proconessus and Hanno of Carthage, all heading wide ranging expeditions searching for trade, resources and the end of the *oikoumene* as it was known to them. Further, the Homeric allusions in the corpus of Pytheas the Massaliot also seems fitting for a true travelling trader exploring the world as never before. That he backed his discoveries and allusions with remarkably precise factual information is our luck today since we are able to confirm or make probable most of his observations.

Based on this I here propose a journey of Pytheas the Massaliot that went into the Baltic along 54 degrees north (fig. 6), a parallel Pytheas would have known through his parallel taken at either Morecambe Bay, Flamborough Head or the mouth of the Elbe, and then northwards to Saaremaa at 58 degrees north, again a parallel he already knew from measuring it at Cape Wrath (fig. 3). The very precise parallels taken at 48, 54 and 58 degrees north, where two are confirmed by the solar height at the winter solstice present hard facts anchoring the other evidence as does the solar height coupled with 19 equinoctal hours at summer soltice at Shetlands and the 20 equinoctal hours and 11,500 stades north of Massalia at the Faroes.

Fig. 6. Pytheas in the Baltic? With probable identifications of names from the Pythean corpus and important archaeological sites mentiones in the text.

6 pav. *Pitėjas Baltijos jūroje? Žemėlapis su identifikuotomis ir pažymėtomis Pitėjo nurodytomis vietovėmis ir pavadinimais ir svarbiomis archeologinėmis vietovėmis, minimomis tekste*

In conclusion. It is possible to argue that Kaali on Saaremaa was visited by Pytheas the Massaliot, that he knew it as the “place where the sun went to bed” and that the myth of the fall of Phaethon is a reflection of the meteorite impact a millenium before.

This reconstruction lacks the strong corroborating archaeological and ethnographical evidence that makes it a lot easier to chart Pytheas’ journey as far as Abalus, but the journey further east is plausible and while the archaeological and written evidence are more ambiguous it is by no means an implausible reconstruction. It makes archaeological as well as geographical sense.

It is no wonder that some in the ancient world had a hard time believing in this tall tale, since it was also used in a fantastical novel called “On the Hyperboreans” by Hekataios of Abdera not much later than Pytheas in date

and in the Roman Imperial period by Antonios Diogenes in “On the wonders beyond Thule”.

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A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE JUDEAN RESTORATION*

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THE literature dealing with the fifth and fourth centuries in Palestine appears to expand by geometric progression. I think it is fair to say, however, that little progress has been made in solving the hard problems in the history of the Restoration since the assimilation of new evidence from the Elephantine papyri published in 1911.[1] If one compares the review of literature on the date of Ezra's mission by H. H. Rowley published in 1948[2] and the review by Ulrich Kellermann in 1968,[3] one comes away disappointed; a generation of research has added at best a few plausible speculations,[4] but little, if any, hard new evidence. The scholarly procedure has been to review the same body of evidence and arguments and come boldly down on one of three dates for Ezra in relation to Nehemiah: (1) Ezra came before Nehemiah, a view we may label "the traditional view"; (2) Ezra came after Nehemiah, which for convenience we may call the "Van Hoonacker position"; (3) Ezra came during or between Nehemiah's visits to Jerusalem, the "Kosters-Bertholet view." To these we should add the position of C. C. Torrey that Ezra was a fiction of the Chronicler's imagination and, consequently, had no date. Some scholars refuse

[1] I refer in particular to *AP* 21, 30, 31, 32 (*AP* = A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century* B.C. [Oxford: Clarendon, 1923; reprinted, Osnabrück: Zeller, 1967]).

[2] "The Chronological Order of Ezra and Nehemiah," republished in *The Servant of the Lord* (2d ed.; Oxford: Blackwell, 1965) 137-68 (first published in *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume* [eds. S. Löwinger and J. Somogyi; Budapest: Globus, 1948], 1. 117-49); cf. "Nehemiah's Mission and Its Background," *BJRL* 37 (1955) 528-61; and "Sanballaṭ and the Samaritan Temple," *BJRL* 38 (1955) 166-98.

[3] "Erwägungen zum Problem der Esradatierung," *ZAW* 80 (1968) 55-87; and "Erwägungen zum Esragesetz," *ZAW* 80 (1968) 373-85.

[4] We should place J. Morgenstern's proposals ("The Dates of Ezra and Nehemiah," *JSS* 7 [1962] 1-11) and Morton Smith's assertions (*Palestinian Parties and Politics That Shaped the Old Testament* [New York: Columbia University, 1971] 99-147) in the category of the less than plausible speculations. Smith is certainly correct, however, in recognizing that "arguments from personal names (of which Rowley makes much) are generally worthless because of the frequency of papponomy at this period, and the frequency of most of the names concerned" (p. 252 n. 109).

* The Presidential Address delivered 25 October 1974, at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, held at the Washington-Hilton, Washington, D.C.

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to commit themselves in print, and others shift back and forth between two or more views — a decade, let us say, to Van Hoonacker, a decade to Bertholet or the traditional view.[5]

The time has come, however, for the study of the era of the Restoration to take new directions. Over the last twenty years tidbits of new evidence have accumulated and now, when brought together, give new contexts or perspectives with which to approach old problems. None of these bits of new evidence is particularly dramatic or conclusive. Taken together, however, they provide new solutions which can move the present discussion out of stalemate.

The discovery in 1962 of fourth-century legal papyri executed in Samaria is perhaps the most important source of new data.[6] From the papyri we can reconstruct the sequence of governors in Samaria by virtue of the practice of papponymy, the naming of a child after his grandfather (see the appended genealogical chart). The Samaritan genealogy overlaps with the genealogies of the Judean Restoration from the sixth to the tenth generation after the return. Sanballaṭ I, the Ḥoronite, is the founder of the dynasty, as his gentilic suggests, the contemporary of Nehemiah and 'Elyašîb, as biblical references make clear, and the contemporary of the high priests Yōyada' and Yōḥanan, as we can deduce from biblical and Elephantine references.[7] The Sanballaṭ of Josephus proves to be Sanballaṭ III, the contemporary of Darius III and Alexander, the builder of the Samaritan temple on Gerizim.[8] Equally important, the sequence of Sanballaṭids makes certain what has long been suspected, that two generations are missing in the biblical genealogy of Jewish high priests.[9] This lacuna in the fourth century is supplied by Josephus, who is correct in his record that a certain Yōḥanan killed his brother Yēšūa' in the temple in the time of the infamous Bagoas, the commander-in-chief of Artaxerxes III (Ochus, 358-38 B.C.) in his expeditions to Phoenicia, Palestine, and Egypt during the western insurrections,[10] and that Yōḥanan's successor was Yaddūa', high priest in the days of Darius III (335-30) and Alexander.[11] In short, we can now reconstitute the end of the list of high priests as follows: Yōḥanan father of Yaddūa',

[5] This last-mentioned option, I must confess, is the one I have chosen. It at least has the advantage of giving variety.

[6] See F. M. Cross, "Papyri of the Fourth Century B.C. from Dâliyeh: A Preliminary Report on Their Discovery and Significance," *New Directions in Biblical Archaeology* (eds. D. N. Freedman and J. C. Greenfield; Garden City: Doubleday, 1969) 41-62. A first volume of the final report is now in press.

[7] *AP* 30:29 and *AP* 30:18.

[8] *Ant* 11.7, 2 §302-3; 11.8, 2 §306-12; 11.8, 4 §325. Sanballaṭ III died in 332 B.C., of an age to have had a marriageable daughter.

[9] 1 Chr 5:41; Neh 3:1, 21; 12:10, 22-23; 13:4; Ezra 10:6.

[10] Most of us have assumed that Josephus confused Bagoas the general with Bagoas (*bgwhy*) of *AP* 30–32, a successor to Nehemiah, as governor of Judah; it proves to be an instance of hypercritical presumption on our part.

[11] *Ant.* 11.7, 2 §302-3; 11.8, 2 §306-12; 11.8, 7 §347. Yaddūa' died, we are told (11.8, 7 §347), ca. 323 B.C. (the time of Alexander's death).

Yaddūa' father of Onias I.[12] Or in other words, in the sequence Yōḥanan, Yaddūa', Yōḥanan, Yaddūa' there has been a simple haplography with the loss of two names, in extremely easy consequence of the device of papponymy. Whether Josephus' list of high priests was defective or he merely telescoped the genealogy in writing the history of the fifth-fourth centuries, it is clear that he confused Yaddūa' II and Yaddūa' III as well as Sanballaṭ I and Sanballaṭ III with diabolical results for the history of the Restoration. Thus the Yaddūa' of Neh 12:10, 22 (Yaddūa' II, the grandson of Yōyada', the first of the name)[13] is correctly attributed to the time of Darius II (Nothus 423-404) in the Bible, and the Yaddūa' of the *Antiquities* is correctly attributed by Josephus to the time of Alexander. Similarly, we can observe that Josephus is probably correct in his remark that "Israelites" (i.e., Yahwists of Samaria) frequently intermarried with the high-priestly family in Jerusalem.[14] At least two instances must be admitted, the son of Yōyada' I, who married the daughter of Sanballaṭ I,[15] and Manasseh the brother of Yaddūa' III, who married Nikasō the daughter of Sanballaṭ III.[16] The narratives of these two marriages can no longer be regarded as the reflexes of a single instance of intermarriage. This circumstance is not unimportant in assessing the "Zadokite" character of Samaritan religion or in reconstructing the relations between Samaria and Jerusalem in the era of the Restoration. The Tobiads of Ammon appear to have enjoyed similar relations with the ruling priestly family of Jerusalem despite Nehemiah's polemics.[17]

The practice of papponymy in ruling houses of the Persian period has long been recognized. Still, new evidence for its practice has drawn our attention more sharply to its importance as a control in reconstructing genealogies. If B. Mazar's reconstruction is correct, the name Tobiah alternates over nine generations of Tobiads.[18] In a newly published Ammonite inscription the royal name 'Ammīnadab alternates over six generations.[19] Sanballaṭ repeats over six generations at Samaria, and if our reconstruction of the Judean family of high priests is correct, the name Yōḥanan (or the caritative Ḥōnay) occurs no fewer

[12] As we shall see, Onias I (ibid.) is in fact Yōḥanan IV. The name Onias is the Greek form of Hebrew Ḥōnay (byform: Ḥōnī), a typical hypocoristicon of the pattern *qutay* used for so-called biconsonantal roots. Both the name Ḥōnay and the pattern *qutay* are well known at Elephantine as well as later. Cf. M. H. Silverman, *Jewish Personal Names in the Elephantine Documents* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1967) 95-96 and references. The name Ḥōnay is, in fact, merely the caritative or diminutive of Yōḥanan. Similarly, *yaddūa'* is the *qattūl* hypocoristicon, a caritative of Yōyada'.

[13] See the discussion in n. 11.

[14] *Ant.* 11.8, 2 §312.

[15] Neh 13:28.

[16] *Ant.* 11.8, 2 §306-12. See the discussion in "Papyri of the Fourth Century B.C. from Dâliyeh," 54-55.

[17] Neh 13:4-9.

[18] B. Mazar, "The Tobiads," *IEJ* 7 (1957) 137-45, 229-38.

[19] See F. M. Cross, "Notes on the Ammonite Inscription from Tell Sīrān," *BASOR* 212 (1973) 12-15.

than seven times over twelve generations. Over against this, happily, the royal house of Judah does not practice papponymy in the first seven generations of the Restoration, giving us a measure of control over the parallel list of high priests, as we shall see.

The dating of Nehemiah's mission to 445, the twentieth year of Artaxerxes I, has not been in serious dispute since the appearance of Sanballaṭ in an Elephantine letter of 407 B.C. The new list of Sanballaṭids further confirms the fifth-century date, and finally the discovery of a silver bowl inscribed by "Qaynu son of Gašm [biblical Gešem, Gašmu],[20] king of Qedar,"[21] would appear to settle the matter finally.[22] The script of the bowl cannot be dated later than 400 B.C., placing Geshem, Qaynu's father, precisely in the second half of the fifth century B.C.

Another series of advances has been made in the developing study of the Greek versions of Ezra, notably in the recognition of the importance of the text of 1 Esdras for historical reconstruction. H. H. Howorth, C. C. Torrey, and S. Mowinckel have pioneered in these studies.[23] With the discovery of the Qumran scrolls, and their evidence for the history of Hebrew textual families, earlier views of the importance and priority of the Hebrew recension of Ezra underlying the Greek of 1 Esdras have been vindicated. The relation of the two recensions of Ezra, one preserved in the Palestinian text known from Qumran Cave 4 (4QEzra) and from the Masoretic text, the other preserved in the Alexandrian translation of an Egyptian text type (1 Esdras), has an almost precise analogy in the two recensions of Jeremiah, the long and the short, both preserved in Hebrew manuscripts from Qumran, 4QJer[a], the Palestinian text preserved in the

[20] Neh 2:19; 6:1-2, 6.

[21] The bowl was published with other finds in the Wādī Ṭumeilāt by Isaac Rabinowitz, "Aramaic Inscriptions of the Fifth Century B.C.E. from a North-Arab Shrine in Egypt," *JNES* 15 (1956) 1-9. He dates the script of the bowl to ca. 400 B.C., a date I should term correct but minimal. See also W. J. Dumbrell, "The Tell el-Maskhuṭa Bowls and the 'Kingdom' of Qedar in the Persian Period," *BASOR* 203 (1971) 33-44. The discovery of the bowl supports the fifth-century dating of an early Liḥyanite inscription from El-'Ulā (Dedan), which mentions Gašm bin Šahr and 'Abd, governor (*paḥat*) of Dedan, a dating held by Winnett and Albright against strong opposition. See W. F. Albright, "Dedan," *Geschichte und Altes Testament* (Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, 16; Tübingen: Mohr, 1953) 1-12, esp. p. 4 and n. 5. Albright's conjecture that the biblical formula *ṭwbyh ʿbd ʿmny* (Neh 2:10, 19) should be read *ṭwbyhw wʿbd ʿmny* (with the haplography of a single *waw*) is most tempting. It would not be strange at all if ʿAbd, a Persian governor of Dedan, were an Ammonite and associated on the one side with Tobiah of Ammon, and Geshem, the Arab king of Qedar.

[22] It must be observed, however, that there is evidence of papponymy in the Qedarite house. See Albright, "Dedan," 6-7.

[23] See especially Torrey's *Ezra Studies* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1910); and S. Mowinckel, *Studien zu dem Buche Ezra-Nehemiah* (3 vols.; Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1964-65). The citation of 1 Esdras is from the excellent new critical edition of R. Hanhart, *Esdrae Liber 1* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum graecum, 8/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974).

later Masoretic text, and 4QJer^{b}, the Egyptian text found also in the Old Greek translation of Jeremiah. The Egyptian textual tradition is pristine, short, and follows an earlier ordering of chapters; the Palestinian textual family is expansive and conflate, with its ordering of pericopes secondary.[24] Ralph Klein has brought together the evidence for the two recensions of Ezra.[25] The Palestinian recension is conflate, expansionistic, and follows a late, secondary ordering of pericopes. It is reflected in 4QEzra, in Esdras B, a Palestinian translation by a forerunner of the school of Theodotion,[26] and in the rabbinic recension which developed into the Masoretic text. The Egyptian textual family is reflected in 1 Esdras, translated in Egypt in the mid-second century B.C.[27] In parallel passages, 1 Esdras proves on the whole to have a shorter, better text, and, as generally recognized, its order of pericopes reflects an older, historically superior recension of the Chronicler's work (Chronicles, Ezra). Most important, 7:72b through 8:12 of Nehemiah (1 Esdr 9:37-55) is placed immediately after Ezra 10 (1 Esdr 8:88–9:36). That is to say, the entire Ezra-narrative is separated wholly from the memoirs of Nehemiah. Thus it must be said that in an earlier recension of the Chronicler's work, the missions of Ezra and Nehemiah did not overlap. Moreover, in 1 Esdr 9:49 (= Neh 8:9) the name "Nehemiah" is missing in the description of the reading of the law; there is only reference to the *Tiršātā*. That the name Nehemiah does not belong here is also evidenced by the chronological problem developed thereby: thirteen years would have passed between Ezra's return and the reading of the law that he brought with him — presuming the chronology of the final edition of the Chronicler's work. In short, we must consider it a fixed point in the discussion that the Ezra-narrative has no mention of Nehemiah in its original form and that the Nehemiah-memoirs contain no reference to Ezra.[28]

1 Esdras completes the Ezra-narrative (save for a fragment at its close) now found in Neh 8:13-18, the account of preparations for and the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles. Evidently, the end of the scroll of 1 Esdras, which became the archetype of the Greek text of 1 Esdras, was defective. The reading

[24] The evidence is fully presented by J. Gerald Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah* (Harvard Semitic Monographs, 6; Cambridge: Harvard University, 1973). See also E. Tov, "L'incidence de la critique textuelle sur la critique littéraire dans le livre de Jérémie," *RB* 79 (1972) 189-99.

[25] "Studies in the Greek Texts of the Chronicler" (Cambridge, MA: unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1966). A summary can be found in *HTR* 59 (1966) 449; see also his paper "Old Readings in 1 Esdras: The List of Returnees from Babylon (Ezra 2 = Nehemiah 7)," *HTR* 62 (1969) 99-107.

[26] The translator of 2 Esdras is not Theodotion (*contra* Torrey), nor is he identical with the so-called καίγε recension, though he shares some of the latter's traits.

[27] See the arguments of Klein in the work cited in n. 25.

[28] The appearance of the name Nehemiah in Neh 10:1, of Ezra in Neh 12:36, and the mention of both in Neh 12:25 all stem from the hand of the editor of the final edition of the Chronicler's work (Chr_8, see below).

of the Law and the celebration of the high holidays[29] were the appropriate climax and conclusion. That one recension of the Chronicler's work ended at the close of ch. 8 of Nehemiah (i.e., at the end of the original ch. 9 of 1 Esdras) is confirmed by the text of 1 Esdras used by Josephus, who carries the story of Ezra, following precisely the order of 1 Esdras through ch. 8 of Nehemiah, including the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles.[30] As we shall see, the Chronicler's work once circulated with only the Ezra-narrative appended. The Nehemiah-memoirs were not part of the work but were circulated separately. Josephus knew a Greek translation (no doubt Alexandrian) of the Nehemiah-memoirs quite different from the received text of Nehemiah. However, the integration of the Nehemiah-memoirs into the Chronicler's history belongs to the latest stage of revisions of the Chronicler's work and did not finally oust the earlier recension until the rabbinic recension of the first century of the Christian era became authoritative following the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70.

1. *Reconstruction of the List of High Priests in the Fifth Century* B.C.

We have discussed the problems of the fourth-century sequence of high priests, restoring a haplography of Yōḥanan and Yaddūa' on the basis of data from the new list of Sanballaṭids and from the *Antiquities* of Josephus. The genealogy of the priests from the sixth to the fourth centuries without the addition of Yōḥanan (III) and Yaddūa' (III) records eight generations for a period of 275 years. This yields the figure of 34.3 years per generation, an incredibly high figure. In Near Eastern antiquity, the generation (i.e., the years between a man's birth and his begetting his first-born son) is ordinarily 25 years or less. The inclusion of the priests, Yōḥanan and Yaddūa', reduces the average generation to about 27.5, still suspiciously high.

The genealogy of the Davidids gives a measure of control for the first seven generations of the Restoration and, happily, does not follow the fashion of papponymy, so that the risk of names lost by haplography is slight. In any case, it appears to be complete. The list names seven Davidids, six generations of the Restoration. These occupy a period of years from before 592 (the thirteenth year of Nebuchadrezzar), to ca. 445 B.C., the birth date, roughly, of 'Ananī, a total of 147 years. This gives the figure of 24.5 years per generation, which is close to what we should expect. Synchronisms exist for two or three of the

[29] Apropos of the high holidays, there is no reason to suppose that Ezra followed a pre-pentateuchal calendar, moving up *Sukkôt* and ignoring *Yôm Kippûr* (*pace* Morton Smith). Preparations for *Sukkôt* took more than one day.

[30] There is no allusion in Josephus to the covenant-document preserved in Nehemiah 9 (historical prologue in the form of a confession) and 10 (witnesses and stipulations). The chapters belong to the latest stratum of the Chronicler's history (Chr_3); it is not clear whether it is an expanded doublet of Ezra's covenant (Ezra 10:3-5) or represents a parallel covenant enacted by Nehemiah. The stipulations conform closely to Nehemiah's reforms. Greek Nehemiah (Esdras B) attributes the confession to Ezra (at 19:6 = Hebr. 9:6).

generations of the Davidids. Zerubbabel and Yēšūa', the high priest, are linked. Ḥaṭṭūš returned with Ezra.[31] 'Ananī, the last of the line recorded in 1 Chr 3:17-24, *may* be the 'Ananī named in *AP* 30:19 (410 B.C.); on the other hand, his brother *'wštn* mentioned in the papyrus is not listed among his six brothers in 1 Chronicles 3 by the Persian name.

The list of high priests in the sixth-fifth century, from Yōṣadaq to Yōḥanan, extends over a period of 150 years.[32] Six priests are named in the five generations giving the figure of 30 years per generation, some five years or more per generation too high. We suspect that at least one generation, two high priests' names, has dropped out of the list through a haplography owing to the repetition produced by papponymy.

Turning to the list, we note that the first three names appear to be in order. Yōṣadaq went captive.[33] Yēšūa' and his son Yōyaqīm returned with Zerubbabel.[34] Similarly, the last three names — Yōyada', Yōḥanan, Yaddūa' — seem to be correct.[35] The center of difficulties, however, is the high priest 'Elyašīb. As brother of Yōyaqīm, in the third generation of the Return, he should have been born about 545 B.C. This would make him 100 and more, when he built the wall of Jerusalem with Nehemiah,[36] and about seventy-five, when he begot Yōyada'. The key to the solution, however, is in the juxtaposition of the priests Yōḥanan son of 'Elyašīb[37] and Yōyada' son of 'Elyašīb.[38] We must reckon with two high priests named 'Elyašīb, and given papponymy, two priests named Yōḥanan. Thus we have the following sequence: (1) 'Elyašīb I,[39] father of (2) Yōḥanan I, the contemporary of Ezra, followed by (3) 'Elyašīb II, contemporary of Nehemiah and father of (4) Yōḥanan II. Evidently, one pair fell out of the list by haplography. This reconstruction solves all chronological problems. The

[31] Ezra 8:2.

[32] We reckon from 595 B.C., a minimal birthdate of Yōṣadaq, who went into captivity (1 Chr 5:41; cf. *Ant.* 20.10, 2 §231, 234; and 1 Esdr 5:5), to the birth of Yōḥanan ca. 445. In Neh 12:22 Yōḥanan (along with Yaddūa') is said to have flourished in the reign of Darius (II, Nothus, 423-404 B.C.), and he (Yōḥanan) is high priest in 410 B.C. according to *AP* 30:18.

[33] 1 Chr 5:41.

[34] The key passage, to which we shall return, is 1 Esdr 5:5-6, which dates Zerubbabel's return in "the second year," i.e., the second year of Darius I, 520 B.C. The text is slightly in disorder. It should read: Yēšūa' the son of Yōṣadaq the son of Śarayah and Yōyaqīm his son and Zerubbabel. . . ." Cf. *Ant.* 11.5, 1 §121; 11.5, 5 §158.

[35] Neh 12:10, 22.

[36] Neh 3:1, 21; cf. 13:4.

[37] Ezra 10:6; Neh 12:23.

[38] Neh 12:10, 22. It is possible, even likely, given the practice of papponymy, that 'Elyašīb the father of Yōyada' (who succeeded him) had an older son Yōhanan, who died young or for some other reason did not succeed to the high-priestly office. This would explain the intrusion of the Yōyada'-Yaddūa' sequence of names. This does not solve our problems of chronology; it still leaves a lacuna in the list.

[39] Given the change of names and the requirements of chronology, it is likely that 'Elyašīb I is the brother of Yōyaqīm, or in any case belonged to the same generation.

list of high priests from Yōṣadaq to Yōḥanan II spans 150 years, a generation averaging 25 years (see chart).

More important, it places the mission of Ezra in the seventh year of Artaxerxes I, 458 B.C.,[40] and the mission of Nehemiah in 445 B.C., the twentieth year of Artaxerxes I.[41]

2. *Editions of the Chronicler's Work*

We have noted above the evidence from 1 Esdras and from Josephus' *Antiquities* that in an earlier edition of the Chronicler's work the narrative of Ezra and the memoirs of Nehemiah were separate and that in all likelihood Nehemiah's memoirs were only attached to the Chronicler's work in its final edition. Confirmation of this view may be found now in Neh 12:23. We read: "the sons of Levi, the heads of fathers' houses, were written in the Book of Chronicles (*sēpęr dibrê hay-yāmîm*) even until the days of Yōḥanan the son of 'Elyašīb." In this text there is evidently a reference to an edition of the Chronicler's work which ended in the days of Yōḥanan son of 'Elyašīb, the contemporary of Ezra, in the fourth generation of the Restoration, according to my reconstruction. Thus this earlier edition reached only the era of Ezra and Yōḥanan I, and not to the era of 'Elyašīb II, the son of Yōḥanan I, who was high priest in the days of Nehemiah's governorship. Our conclusion that Nehemiah's memoirs were composed and circulated independently of the Chronicler's work also gives an explanation of the repetition of the list of those who returned with Zerubbabel in Ezra 2 (1 Esdr 5:7-47) and in Nehemiah 7. The Nehemiah-memoirs quote the Chronicler's work or draw on a common source at the time when Nehemiah was composed as an independent work.

The evidence for the two editions described above appears clear enough; however, there are also good reasons to posit three editions of the Chronicler's work. We shall label them Chr_1, Chr_2, and Chr_3.

Chr_3 is the final edition, made up of 1 Chronicles 1–9 + 1 Chr 10:1–2 Chr 36:23 + Hebrew Ezra-Nehemiah. Chr_2 includes 1 Chronicles 10–2 Chronicles 34 + the *Vorlage* of 1 Esdras. The two editions differ at the beginning, Chr_3 introducing the genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1–9. The latest member of the high priesthood mentioned within the Esdras narrative is Yōḥanan I, son of 'Elyašīb I (1 Esdr 9:1), and the latest member of the Davidic house named is Ḥaṭṭūš (1 Esdr 8:29). On the other hand, in the introductory genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1–9, the list of Davidids continues on two generations to 'Ananī, the contemporary of Yōḥanan II and probably also the contemporary of Yaddūa' II toward the end of the fifth century. Chs. 12 and 13 of Nehemiah refer to these two priests as well; moreover, Neh 12:22 names Darius II (423-404 B.C.) in its latest references to a Persian king. These dates in Chr_3 all stop at the same

[40] The seventh year is given in Ezra 7:7 and again in 7:8.

[41] Or more precisely, December, 445. Cf. Neh 1:1 and Neh 13:6 (the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes I, 433-32).

time, shortly before 400 B.C. These data suggest dates for Chr_2 and Chr_3, the former toward 450 B.C., the latter toward 400 B.C. or slightly later.

Other arguments can be put forth for dating Chr_3 to ca. 400 B.C. No hint of the conquest of Alexander is to be found, and perhaps more important, no reference to the suffering and chaos of the mid-fourth century B.C., when Judah joined in the Phoenician rebellion,[42] harshly put down by Artaxerxes III and his general, Bagoas.

A surprising contrast between Chr_2 and Chr_3 is in the treatment of Zerubbabel. Ezra intrudes the list of those who returned with Zerubbabel at ch. 2, making it appear that both Sin-ab-uṣur (Σαναβασσαρ)[43] and Zerubbabel returned more or less together in the reign of Cyrus. The 1 Esdras account places the list of returnees in ch. 5 after the return of Sanabassar in the days of Cyrus and after the narrative recounting Zerubbabel's return to Jerusalem in the second year of Darius.[44] This appears in a *plus*[45] in 1 Esdras and is almost surely authentic. Since we are told that Sin-ab-uṣur, the governor, returned and built the foundations of the temple, and since Zerubbabel completed the temple upon Darius' decree,[46] it is quite natural to attribute the return of Zerubbabel to the beginning of the reign of Darius. The chaos which marked the beginning of Darius' reign was the appropriate time for a return to Zion, as it was an appropriate time for prophets to arise anew and proclaim a new David and a new temple, i.e., the re-establishment of the Judean kingdom. Again, the wisdom tale of Zerubbabel's brilliance and reward in 1 Esdr 3:1–5:6 is fixed unalterably in the reign of Darius. 1 Esdr 4:56 says explicitly that the building of the temple began in the second year after he came to Jerusalem. At the same time, there is a conflict between the account of Zerubbabel's being rewarded by Darius with "letters for him and all the treasurers and governors and captains and satraps" and the Aramaic source in Ezra 5 where Darius, before answering Tattenay the "governor of 'Abar-nahara" and his companions, is said to search out his records for the decree of Cyrus. There can be little doubt that the wisdom-tale is secondarily attached to Zerubbabel and interpolated at some point into one recension of the Chronicler's work.[47]

David Noel Freedman has written a persuasive paper sketching the Chronicler's purpose.[48] If he is correct, we must posit a still earlier edition of the

[42] For the extent of the rebellion and evidence of destroyed cities in Palestine in this period, see D. Barag, "The Effects of the Tennes Rebellion on Palestine," *BASOR* 183 (1966) 6-12.

[43] As has long been argued by W. F. Albright, *šśbṣr* (Ezra 1:8, 11), *šn'ṣr* (1 Chr 3:17), and Σαναβασσαρ all reflect Sin-ab-uṣur, a well-known name-type; Sin-ab-uṣur, Sin-apal-uṣur, and Sin-aḫ-uṣur are all documented in cuneiform sources.

[44] 1 Esdr 5:6; cf. 5:2.

[45] 1 Esdr 4:58–5:7.

[46] Ezra 5:16-20; 1 Esdr 6:18-20.

[47] We are inclined to believe that this happened after Chr_1, before Chr_2, and that Chr_3 suppressed the tale in accord with his anti-monarchic, theocratic views (see below).

[48] "The Chronicler's Purpose," *CBQ* 23 (1961) 436-42.

Chronicler's work, Chr_1. He contends that "the Chronicler establishes through his narrative of the reigns of David and Solomon the proper, legitimate pattern of institutions and their personnel for the people of God; and they are the monarchy represented by David and his house, the priesthood by Zadok and his descendants, the city and the temple in the promised land. City and ruler, temple and priest — these appear to be the fixed points around which the Chronicler constructs his history and his theology."[49]

The ideology of the Chronicler found in Chr_1, i.e., in 1 Chronicles 10–2 Chronicles 34 plus the *Vorlage* of 1 Esdr 1:1–5:65 (= 2 Chr 34:1 through Ezra 3:13), calls upon the old royal ideology of the Judean kings — chosen David, chosen Zion — as that ideology has been reformulated in Ezekiel 40–48, and especially in the oracles of Haggai and Zechariah. In Haggai and Zechariah, king and high priest constitute a diarchy, son of David, son of Zadok. Zerubbabel is called "my servant" by Yahweh and told, "[I] will make you as a signet; for I have chosen you."[50] In ch. 3 of Zechariah, Joshua the priest is crowned and robed for office in the prophet's vision, and the angel of Yahweh announces: "Hear now, O Joshua the high priest, you and your fellows who sit before you ..., for behold I shall bring my servant, the Branch ...."[51] In Chr_1 "the parallel between the first building of the temple under the direction of David (and Solomon), and the second building under Zerubbabel is too striking to be accidental, and must have formed part of the original structure of the work."[52] In short, the original Chronicler's work was designed to support the program for the restoration of the kingdom under Zerubbabel. Its extent reached only to Ezra 3:13 (1 Esdr 5:65), with the account of the celebration of the founding of the Second Temple. The future is open, and the work of restoring the ancient institutions is well begun; all is anticipation.[53] Here the program or propaganda document should end.

In order to supply the full story of the completion of the temple, the editor of Chr_2 added the Aramaic source in Ezra 5:1–6:19 as the preface to the Ezra-narrative which begins at Ezra 7:1. Chr_2 still breathes some of the monarchist fire of Chr_1. Zerubbabel is called the "servant of the Lord."[54] The story of his wisdom is preserved[55] by Chr_2, and the proper order of the Ezra-narrative is kept for the most part, found now only in 1 Esdras. The Nehemiah-memoirs were introduced only by Chr_3, who, following his belief that Ezra and Nehemiah were contemporaries, created confusion by interlarding the Nehemiah-memoirs with part of the Ezra-narrative. To Chr_3 we are indebted for the genealogies

[49] "The Chronicler's Purpose," 437-38.

[50] Hag 2:23.

[51] Zech 3:8; cf. 4:14.

[52] "The Chronicler's Purpose," 439-40.

[53] Here I cannot agree with Freedman that the original story of Zerubbabel is suppressed in favor of the Aramaic source (Ezra 4:6–6:18).

[54] 1 Esdr 6:27; the parallel passage in Ezra 6:7 suppresses this exalted title.

[55] See above, esp. n. 47.

of 1 Chronicles 1–9. On the other hand, Chr_3 apparently suppressed elements exalting Zerubbabel, including his title "servant of the Lord" and the heroic tale of Zerubbabel's wisdom and piety (1 Esdr 3:1–5:2).

The primary argument which may be brought against our view of the original Chronicler's work is that the Ezra-narrative and even the Ezra-memoirs reflect the characteristic language and style of the Chronicler.[56] The argument is not compelling; a member of the school of the Chronicler (i.e., Chr_2), imitating the master's style, may easily be responsible for the similarity of style. The two editions of the deuteronomistic history provide a perfect analogy.[57] Moreover, Sara Japhet has recently attacked the thesis of the common authorship of Chronicles and the Ezra-narrative[58] with persuasive evidence of differences of style and linguistic usage. On the other hand, there seem to be distinctions to be drawn between the royal ideology of the Chronicler (Chr_1) and the final edition of his work (Chr_3). Chr_3 appears to have omitted some material which tends to exalt Zerubbabel, the anointed son of David, presumably because his movement was snuffed out and his end ignominious or pathetic.[59]

In summary we may list three editions of the Chronicler's work, Chr_1 composed in support of Zerubbabel shortly after 520 B.C., Chr_2 written after Ezra's mission in 458 B.C., and Chr_3 edited about 400 B.C. or shortly thereafter.[60]

[56] The strongest statement of this view is perhaps that of C. C. Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 238-48.

[57] See F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1973) 274-89.

[58] S. Japhet, "The Supposed Common Authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah Investigated Anew," *VT* 18 (1968) 330-71. Some of her arguments are based on distinctions between different orthographic practice and the use of archaic or pseudo-archaic forms; these arguments do not hold, I believe, as can be seen by an examination of the two Isaiah scrolls of Qumran Cave 1, or a comparison of $4QSam^a$ and $4QSam^b$, where common authorship is certain.

[59] In "The Purpose of the Chronicler" (p. 440), Freedman argues that in the final edition of the Chronicler's work (he reckons with only two editions), there is a positively anti-monarchical, clericalist tendency. However, none of his arguments is particularly strong.

[60] The fact that all genealogies in Chr_3 end shortly before 400 B.C. virtually eliminates the popular view that Ezra followed Nehemiah in the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes II, 398 B.C. Of the many arguments brought forward to support the position that Ezra followed Nehemiah to Jerusalem, most are without weight. The most plausible of them, perhaps, is the notice in Ezra 9:9 that God has given "to us a *gādēr* in Judah and in Jerusalem." The term *gādēr* has been taken sometimes as a reference to the city wall of Jerusalem. It must be said that there may have been attempts to build the wall of Jerusalem before Nehemiah succeeded. This would explain his surprise at his brother Ḥanānī's report that "the wall of Jerusalem (*ḥwmt yrwšlm*) is shattered" (Neh 1:3). On the other hand, it is by no means clear that the term *gādēr* here refers to a city wall. Ordinarily, it refers to an "enclosure wall" (of fields or vineyards) or "fortifications." Thus it refers to the enclosure wall which fortified the temple (Ezek 42:7 and *gdrt*, Ezek 42:12). In Mic 7:11 the expression is used in the plural, *gdryk*, and evidently refers generally to the defenses or fortifications of a city. Specifically in Ezra 9:9, how-

3. A Sketch of the Era of the Restoration

In the first year of his reign, 538 B.C., Cyrus the Great published an edict directing the temple in Jerusalem to be rebuilt, returning the sacred vessels taken as loot by Nebuchadrezzar to their place, thereby initiating the restoration of the Jewish community.[61] The leader of the first return was Sin-ab-uṣur, the heir to the house of David, son of Jehoiachin. He is given the title *nāśî'*, which Ezekiel and his circle in the Exile preferred to *meleḳ,* "king," in designating the new David's office. Beyond the fact that Sin-ab-uṣur led a group of captive Jews to Jerusalem bearing the temple treasures, we know very little. Evidently it was a token return, for we know that a large number of Jews were flourishing in the Babylonian community under the tolerant Persian regime. Sin-ab-uṣur is credited with laying the foundations of the temple in the Aramaic source,[62] as well as being named governor.[63] Since the Persian administration frequently appointed a member of the native royal house as governor of a local state, and indeed made the governorship hereditary, there is no reason to doubt the notice. In any case, his nephew Zerubbabel succeeded to the governorship of Judah.

Zerubbabel the governor and Jeshua the Zadokite high priest, according to 1 Esdras, returned at the beginning of the reign of Darius.[64] This was a time of widespread rebellion in the Persian empire, and in Judah a nationalist spirit stirred up the populace. The prophets Haggai and Zechariah arose and gave oracles reviving the old royal ideology of king and temple. Zerubbabel and Jeshua were named the new David and new Zadok, the "sons of oil," and a program was promulgated to re-establish Israel's legitimate institutions. Above all, the prophets urged the building of the temple and envisioned the return of Yahweh's "glory" to Jerusalem, there to "tabernacle" as in ancient days. Haggai prophesied the downfall of the Persian empire and blamed the little community's troubles on their failure to build the house of God.

In support of the messianic movement the Chronicler composed a history which reviewed and reshaped Israel's historical traditions to give urgency and meaning to the tasks at hand, the restoration of the Davidic rule, the building of the temple, and establishment of the divinely appointed cult with all its kindred institutions and personnel. This first edition of the Chronicler's work is to be dated to the five-year interval between the founding of the temple and the completion of the temple (520-15 B.C.).

ever, the context is quite clear. In rhetorical parallelism, Ezra speaks of "raising the house of our God," "making its ruins stand up," and "giving us a *gādēr* in Jerusalem and Judah." As Ezekiel uses *gādēr* of the temple-fortification, so does Ezra speak of the *gādēr* of the temple. Each parallel refers to Zerubbabel's temple and its enclosure wall. The temple was, of course, a bastion as well as a sanctuary.

[61] The Aramaic text is found in Ezra 6:3-5; compare the ornamented version in Ezra 1:1-4.

[62] Ezra 5:16.

[63] Ezra 5:14.

[64] The floating piece in 1 Esdr 5:63-70 (= Ezra 4:1-5) appears self-contradictory; cf. 1 Esdr 5:1-6.

In the face of harassment by Persian officials, including the satrap of Syria, and the jealousy and hostility of peoples who surrounded Judah, Zerubbabel and his party completed the temple on 12 March 515. The service of God "as it is written in the book of Moses" was thus restored.

We then hear no more of Zerubbabel. The prophecies of glory, wealth, and peace faded away into silence. We have no hint of Zerubbabel's fate. More than half a century passes before the story of the Restoration is taken up again. This gap in the record is significant also in reconstructing the history of the Chronicler's work. When the record resumes with the narrative of the mission of Ezra, the messianic themes of the earlier narrative are no longer to be heard. Hierocracy supplants the diarchy of king and high priest. We hear nothing of the Davidic prince either in the Ezra-narrative or in the memoirs of Nehemiah.

In 458 B.C. "Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of the heaven," set out with his company of Zionists, armed only with Artaxerxes' commission, some offerings sent to the temple in Jerusalem, and the Book of the Law. Ezra's first major effort on his arrival in Jerusalem was to undertake stern action against intermarriage with foreigners, especially marriage to foreign wives. He proposed that all enter into a covenant to put away foreign wives, and the issue of such marriages, in fulfillment of the Law. Armed with royal authority to appoint magistrates and judges, he vigorously pressed the reform against all opposition. Two months after he arrived in Jerusalem, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, in the seventh month, on New Year's Day, he gathered all the people in an assembly before the Water Gate, and standing on a wooden pulpit read from "the book of the Law of Moses." We judge this book to have been the Pentateuch in penultimate form.[65] On a second day, he read from the Law and then dismissed the congregation in order that they might prepare for the Festival of Succoth.[66]

Here ended the second edition of the Chronicler's work, the recension reflected in 1 Esdras, combining the Ezra-narrative with the older Book of Chronicles. The date of Chr_2 must fall about 450 B.C.

In 445, Nehemiah, the cupbearer to king Artaxerxes I, learned of the troubles of the restored community in Jerusalem and its defenselessness. With the king's commission as governor of Judah, he set out with a contingent of the king's cavalry for Jerusalem.[67] Spying out the city by night, he kept his own counsel as to his plans, knowing full well that his mission would be hindered by the hatred and schemes of his fellow governors round about, viz., Sanballaṭ, governor of Samaria, Ṭobiah, governor of Ammon, Gašmu, the king of the

[65] The arguments of S. Mowinckel are compelling; see *Studien zu dem Buche Ezra-Nehemia*, 3. 124-41.

[66] Mowinckel is surely right in assuming that the Day of Atonement was fully known and celebrated despite the omission of reference to it in Nehemiah 8.

[67] Josephus (*Ant.* 11.5, 7 §168) gives 440 as the date of Nehemiah's arrival in Jerusalem. The wall was completed in December, 437 B.C., according to Josephus (*Ant.* 11.5, 8 §179), two years and four months after he began.

CHART OF THE HIGH PRIESTS OF THE RESTORATION
AND OF THEIR CONTEMPORARIES

Generation of High Priests	*Generation of Dividids*	*Generation of Sanballatids*
1. Yōṣadaq before 587	1. Sin-ab-uṣur b. before 592 (13th year)	
father of	uncle of	
2. Yēšūa' b. ca. 570	2. Zerubbabel b. ca. 570	
father of	father of	
3. Yōyaqīm b. ca. 545	3. Ḥananyah b. ca. 545	
(brother of)	father of	
[3. 'Elyašīb I b. ca. 545]		
(father of)		
[4. Yōḥanan I b. ca. 520]	4. Šekanyah b. ca. 520	
(father of)	father of	
5. 'Elyašīb II b. ca. 495	5. Ḥaṭṭūš b. ca. 495	
father of	uncle of	
6. Yōyada' I b. ca. 470	6. 'Elyō'enay b. ca. 470	6. Sanballaṭ I b. ca 485
father of	father of	father of
7. Yōḥanan II b. ca. 445	7. 'Ananī b. ca. 445	7. Delayah b. ca. 460
(AP 30.18)	(cf. AP 30.19)	father of
father of		
8. Yaddūa' II b. ca. 420		8. Sanballaṭ II b. ca. 435
father of		father of
		9. Yēšū'a (?) b. ca. 410
		brother of
[9. Yōḥanan III b. ca. 395]		9. Yēšūa' (?) b. ca. 410
father of		father of
[10. Yaddūa' III b. ca. 370]		10. Sanballaṭ III b. ca. 385
father of		d. 332
11. Onias I b. ca. 345 (= Yōḥanan IV)		
father of		
12. Šim'ōn I b. ca. 320		

Qedarite Arabs, and perhaps 'Abd, the governor of Dedan. Upon his announcement of plans to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, supported by 'Elyašīb II, the high priest, he was accused by the neighboring governors of rebellion against the king. When work began the governors took action and conspired to send contingents of their troops to harry them. Nehemiah countered these devices by arming his workers, so that a worker "with one of his hands worked, and with the other grasped his weapon." Ultimately, the walls were finished in fifty-two days of labor (Neh 6:15), though work must have continued longer to complete the details of the fortifications,[68] and a service of dedication was held with processions and singing to the sound of harps and cymbals. With his primary task completed, Nehemiah returned to the king in 433 B.C., leaving his brother behind to rule in his stead. On his return he appears to have carried out a number of reform measures: enforcing the payment of tithes for the benefit of Levite

[68] See n. 67 above and W. F. Albright, *The Biblical Period* (Pittsburgh: Private Distribution, 1950) 51-52.

and singer, and preventing the violation of the Sabbath, including the hawking of merchandise by Phoenicians on the Sabbath. Like Ezra, he attempted to put an end to foreign marriage, a perennial problem, it appears. The final words of his memoirs are these: "Thus I cleansed them from all that was foreign .... Remember me, O my God, for good."[69]

The memoirs of Nehemiah here briefly summarized must have been composed and circulated in the late fifth century. Toward 400 B.C. a final editor combined the Nehemiah-memoirs with the Chronicler's work (Chr_2), prefixed a collection of genealogies (1 Chronicles 1–9) and otherwise edited the whole. Again, darkness falls so far as the Bible is concerned, and the history of the fourth century remains a virtual blank until the advent of Alexander III of Macedon.

[69] Neh 13:30-31. It is often said that it is unlikely that great Ezra so failed in his reform that Nehemiah was required to institute a similar reform. But in the Bible the great leaders, Moses and the prophets, regularly fail, or to take a closer analogy, the deuteronomistic reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah certainly were short-lived. Moreover, laws against intermarriage are notoriously difficult to enforce in any age.

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

by PETER GARNSEY

I

TOLERATION IMPLIES disapproval or disagreement coupled with an unwillingness to take action against those who are viewed with disfavour in the interest of some moral or political principle. It is an active concept, not to be confused with indifference, apathy or passive acquiescence.[1] In this paper I reexamine, in the light of this strong definition of toleration, the contrast commonly drawn for the world of classical antiquity between a tolerant paganism and an intolerant Christianity. Toleration implies a degree of acceptance as well as a degree of disapproval. In evaluating the attitudes of pagans to other pagans in antiquity we must satisfy ourselves, first, that ancient polytheistic systems were as open and inclusive as is often assumed, and second, that where mutual acceptance might be said to have prevailed, this was not merely casual acceptance, but entailed compromise between competing gods and rituals. Again where religions can be seen to have been seriously at variance with each other, as were the sundry pagan cults with

[1] I employ the definition of B. Crick in 'Toleration and tolerance in theory and practice', *Government and opposition: A journal of comparative politics* 6 (1971) pp 144–71; cf. P. King, in the same volume, 'The problem of tolerance', pp 172–207, and *Toleration* (London 1976). I have not however found it useful to reproduce their distinction between toleration and tolerance.

The literature on persecution in antiquity is large, whereas that dealing with toleration is insubstantial—which gives me a justification for adding to it. But see A. Momigliano in S. Humphreys, *Anthropology and the Greeks* (London 1978) pp 179–93; [J. A.] North, 'Religious toleration [in Republican Rome', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* n s 25 (1979)] pp 85–103. Other relevant work that I have read with great profit includes [P.] Brown, ['Religious coercion in the later Roman Empire: the case of North Africa', *History* 48 (1963)] pp 283–305; 'St. Augustine's attitude [to religious coercion', *JRS* 64 (1974)] pp 107–16; *Augustine [of Hippo* (London 1967)]; [H.] Chadwick, 'Gewissen', [*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 10 (1978)] pp 1026–1107. I am grateful to G. E. M. de Ste Croix for adding to my collection of references to toleration from his vast knowledge of the literature of late antiquity. My debt is substantial to these and other scholars, especially Richard Gordon, and to Myles Burnyeat and Moses Finley who showed me ways of improving an earlier draft of this paper.

Judaism and Christianity, where therefore toleration was at least in principle a possible option, we must ask how far pagan authorities and (in so far as this can be discerned) ordinary pagans were inclined to choose that option. A pertinent issue is whether any general arguments for toleration or religious freedom were produced from the pagan side before Christianity became the religion of the emperor. The existence or absence of a 'literature of toleration' may legitimately be taken as a pointer (no more) to religious attitudes and policies. The Christian church, for its part, stands accused, and convicted, of intolerance towards pagans, Jews and nonconformists within its own ranks (heretics, schismatics). But it is appropriate to ask how speedily and comprehensively the principle of religious freedom, advanced first by Tertullian at the turn of the second century AD, was abandoned once Christianity captured the throne.

II

Ancient religions, with the exception of Judaism and Christianity, were polytheistic.[2] In response to the mysterious forces of nature the ancients summoned up a throng of deities, with various, sometimes overlapping, competences. The gods were looked to by the community for protection against nature and against man. Misfortune was an infallible sign of the displeasure of the gods and the failure of men to propitiate them; few held that the gods were uninterested in men and their affairs; even fewer that the gods did not exist at all. The reality of the gods of another community was similarly taken for granted. The very existence of that community was proof not just of the existence of its gods, but also of their general satisfaction at the attentions they were receiving from the people whom they were protecting.

But the case for a tolerant paganism cannot rest on the mere recognition of and respect for gods of other communities. What counts for more is the attitude of a community to religious dissension and non-

[2] On Greek religion see [E. R.] Dodds, [*The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley 1951)]; [M. P.] Nilsson, [*Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (3 ed München 1967)]; W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart 1977). On Roman religion, see [K.] Latte, [*Römische Religionsgeschichte* (München 1960)]; J. Le Gall, *La religion romaine* (Paris 1975); J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and change in Roman religion* (Oxford 1979); [R.] MacMullen, [*Paganism in the Roman empire* (New Haven 1981)]; [J. A.] North, ['Conservation and change in Roman religion', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 44 (1976)] pp 1–12.

conformity at home, and to the intrusion of new religious influences from outside.

Democratic Athens was responsible for the death of Socrates in 399, charged with corrupting the youth, introducing new gods and showing disrespect for the old. Moreover, the democracy may have (the tradition is suspect): passed a law against 'impiety' on the proposal of one Diopeithes and prosecuted among others the philosopher Anaxagoras and the sophist Protagoras for impiety—all in the late 430s. Protagoras' treatise began with the agnostic sentence: 'Concerning the gods, I am not able to know either that they do exist or that they do not exist, for many are the obstacles that impede such knowledge, notably the obscurity of the question and the brevity of human life.' The democracy certainly in 415 punished with exile or death a number of Athenians accused of mutilating the Herms and parodying the Eleusinian mysteries, and, in a separate but roughly contemporaneous incident, expelled Diagoras of Melos for mocking the mysteries. 'The Great Age of Greek Enlightenment', wrote E. R. Dodds, 'was also, like our own time, an Age of Persecution.'[3]

Two things should be said in explanation, though not exoneration, of the Athenians. First, it was entirely logical for a pagan political community in antiquity to be intolerant of nonconformity and protective of its gods. The polis protected its gods because the gods protected the polis. Religious deviance was dangerous in principle because it prejudiced the good relations between gods and men on which the safety of the state was held to depend. Second, the acts of intolerance listed above (there were a few other isolated incidents) are concentrated in the period of the Peloponnesian war and its immediate aftermath, a critical period for Athens and Athenian democracy. To consider only the last and best known incident, a defeated and humiliated Athens found a scapegoat in Socrates. Its choice of victim was explicable. Quite apart from the embarrassment which this 'diabolic needler'[4] had brought to individuals in public or private debate, he had played an important role in the education of traitors like the arch-oligarch Critias and the maverick Alcibiades. This last issue is alluded to in the charge of corrupting the youth. It is only an

[3] Dodds p 189. For references and source-criticism see K. J. Dover, 'The freedom of the intellectual in Greek society', *Talanta* 7 (1976) pp 24 seq Cf. the wide-ranging article of G. W. Clarke, 'Books for the burning', *Prudentia* 4 (1972) pp 67–82. Best on Socrates is [G. X.] Santas, [*Socrates* (London 1979)].

[4] Santas p 6.

allusion because the amnesty oath, taken after the Thirty Tyrants (led by Critias) gave way to a restored democracy, precluded a direct attack; the accusers fell back on charges not overtly political. The actual charges did however have strong political overtones, for secular and sacred, patriotism and piety, were inseparable in antiquity. Their gravity is not in doubt: no less an issue was at stake than the health and prosperity of the community.

Of the two religious charges, which are connected, that of introducing new deities holds a special interest for our subject. If Athenian, or Greek, religion was for whatever reason a closed system, then religious strife and compromise—toleration in fact—become possibilities, at least in principle. If on the other hand Athenian polytheism was supple and inclusive, then toleration is, strictly, an irrelevant concept. It is this latter view of ancient paganism which is normally held.

The history of pagan communities shows a pattern of change as well as continuity in the character and content of religious practice. But there never was an open-door policy, and at least in some periods strict limits were set to the willingness of any given community to receive and assimilate foreign gods and rituals. The civic cult of Athens in the classical period, for example, was expanded only in response to crisis, when a sharp downturn in the public fortunes of the community appeared to necessitate a religious innovation.

In fifth century Athens, the entry of Bendis,[5] a non-Greek deity, into the Athenian pantheon by decree is without parallel. Even the admission of the cult of the Greek hero Asclepius from Epidaurus in 420 was a rare event. The first steps in Asclepius' introduction were taken as early as 430–29, the year in which the decree for Bendis was passed. These are the years of the great plague. Asclepius was to be admitted into the Roman state cult in 293 in similar circumstances: his was the quintessential cult of crisis. Bendis, a Thracian Artemis worshipped with orgiastic rites, is the more unlikely arrival.

The well-known penchant of ordinary Athenians in the years of the Peloponnesian war for mystery religions of an orgiastic character with origins in the north and east provides only part of the explanation.[6] A political element in the decision cannot be ignored. In 433

[5] W. S. Ferguson, 'Orgeonika', *Hesperia* Suppl. 8 (1949) pp 131; Nilsson pp 833–5 (Bendis), pp 806–8 (Asclepius).

[6] M. P. Nilsson, *Greek popular religions* (New York 1940) pp 84–101.

some Thracians received permission from the Athenian assembly to acquire a site and place on it a shrine of Bendis. It was in this year that an alliance was struck between the Athenians and the Thracian king Sitalces. The timber reserves of Thrace and the proximity of the kingdom to the trade route from the Black Sea made Sitalces a highly desirable ally for Athens, a naval power dependent on grain and timber imports. The upgrading of Bendis a few years later points to the value placed on the alliance by the Athenians in the early years of the war. But without the plague Bendis would never have received a public cult. And the treatment of Bendis was exceptional.[7]

That a charge of religious innovation should have been levelled (however unjustly) against Socrates, then, becomes intelligible. The state religion of Athens *was* exclusive. In theory at any rate the pantheon was complete, and the gods of Athens did not ordinarily tolerate intruders. The promotion of Bendis by decree of the assembly was carefully prepared for by an official visit to the oracle of Dodona. Divine approval had to be won. Even the earlier concession of 433 required similar measures: it was not a trivial event, then, perhaps the first of a limited series.[8]

To return to the original question: is the language of toleration appropriately applied to the religious climate of classical Athens? I do not think so. The Athenians actively defended their gods against, as they put it, impiety (*asebeia*). The private performance of foreign cults, which could not in any case be kept out of a cosmopolitan city such as Athens was, was not attacked. But then to many or most Athenians it was quite acceptable and not felt to subvert the worship of the official gods. The 'conservative opposition's' disdain for popular religion—as witnessed for example in the banishment of Sabazios and the other foreign cults in Aristophanes' *Horai* or in the ridicule that Demosthenes heaped on Aeschines for his youthful participation in the rites of Sabazios at the side of his priestess mother[9]—

[7] The introduction of the Egyptian God Ammon by the 370s BC is a superficial parallel. But Ammon had an oracle (Delphi was frequently in the hands of enemies of Athens), he had Greek intermediaries (the Cyrenaeans), and he was closely identified with Zeus. See H. W. Parke, *The Oracles of Zeus* (Oxford 1967) pp 217–19; S. Dow, 'The arrival of Isis at Athens', *Harvard Theological Review* 30 (1935) pp 184.

[8] *IG* II^2 1283, a third century inscription, refers back to the Athenian decree of 433 which fulfilled an oracle from Dodona. *IG* II^2 337 (333–2 BC) is a decree giving traders from Citium, Cyprus, area for a shrine to Aphrodite, just as the Egyptians have one to Isis.

[9] Cic., *de leg.* 2.37, cf. Aristoph., *Wasps* 9 seq, *Birds* 875; Dem. 18. 259–61; Nilsson pp 836–7.

was essentially a manifestation of class and cultural snobbery. In any case the 'official' position could always be restated at the expense of an individual or a group whose activities had earned the public displeasure.[10] Similarly, the 'exclusiveness' of the state religion was not based on any idea that the Athenian religious heritage was incompatible with or 'truer' than that of any other community. Finally, there is no hint of a debate about toleration. Notoriously Socrates, whom many would like to see as the prototype conscientious objector, did not offer a plea for the liberty of conscience. It is a fact that no doctrine of active rights made an appearance in the ancient world.[11] The interests of the individual were not entirely neglected—in particular as citizen he was allowed the passive right of protection against the arbitrary acts of magistrates and judges—but it was taken for granted even by democratic theorists and spokesmen that the best interests of the individual would coincide with those of the community as a whole. Coincidence of interests did not mean parity of interests. The citizen was not so much encouraged to exert his individuality as reminded of his duty to abide by the customs and laws of the community. At his trial, and indeed by standing trial rather than running away, Socrates announced his submission to the authority of the city and its laws and courts.

III

Roman religion has the reputation of having been decidedly receptive to and tolerant of alien influences. Did not the Romans in the third century BC alone introduce, among other things, the Greek cults of Ceres and Asclepius, Venus Erycina from Sicily, the Magna Mater from Asia Minor, the first Secular Games for Dis Pater and Proserpina—king and queen of the underworld—and the first human sacrifice. One scholar has even seen a resemblance between Roman 'openhandedness' in religion and in the political sphere, between the adding of new gods and cults and the adding of new citizens.[12]

The admission of new gods was characteristically a consequence of the expansion of Rome. Some gods, for example those of states

[10] Dem., 19.281 (execution of Ninos, priestess of Sabazios)

[11] R. Tuck, *Natural Rights Theories* (Cambridge 1979) ch 1; cf. M. I. Finley, 'The freedom of the citizen in the Greek world', *Talanta* 7 (1975) pp 1–23.

[12] North p 11. For innovations in general, Latte pp 213–63.

whom the Romans were bent on destroying, were simply annexed. The Romans were skilful at inventing institutional mechanisms to defuse the issue of god-snatching. One such was the quaint ritual of *evocatio*.[13] The gods of an enemy were 'summoned out' of the besieged city; their 'abandonment' of the community they were supposed to protect, in response to the offer of 'the same or even more splendid worship among the Roman people', sealed the fate of the city. This rite, which took the form of a contract between the Roman attackers and the gods, more particularly the tutelary god, of the doomed city, was turned against cities in Tuscany, notably Veii, the city in southern Etruria which blocked Rome's advance to the North; it may also have been brought into service against other Italian communities; it was certainly revived for the final, spectacular, destruction of Carthage in the middle of the second century BC. Other stratagems were developed for other situations. One was *exoratio* by which gods were induced to change sides but not homes. It suited the Romans to afford some defeated opponents continued existence and a measure of autonomy. Local cults and rituals were permitted to continue. The religion of a defeated state could do no harm for like the state itself it had lost its sting. In favoured cases the Roman state cult was expanded to accommodate it.

Another setting for the admission of foreign cults is familiar to us from the Greek context. In times of emergency the Romans were driven to religious experiment under the direction of the Sibylline books and their official interpreters. The invasion of Hannibal led to an extraordinary series of innovations, designed to restore the *pax deorum*.[14] The climax came in 205 when the Decemvirs discovered an oracle in the Sibylline books to the effect that 'if ever a foreign foe should invade the land of Italy, he could be driven out of Italy and defeated if the Idaean Mother should be brought from Pessinus to Rome'. This was the Great Mother of the gods, or Cybele, a Phrygian goddess whose worship was marked by ecstatic dancing culminating, at least when practised at the cult centre of Pessinus, in self-castration. One would like to know how much advance knowledge Roman senators had about the cult which they so clearly coveted. When the goddess arrived they quickly banned Roman citizens from her procession and the attendant ceremonies, which were

[13] See R. Ogilvie, *Commentary on Livy I–V* (Oxford 1965) pp 674 seq. Citation from Pliny, *hist. nat.* 28.18.

[14] Latte pp 251–62; citations from Livy 29.10, Dion. Hal. 2.19.5.

shorn of their more extreme elements. 'So cautious are they', wrote Dionysios of Halicarnassos, 'about admitting any foreign religious customs and so great in their aversion to all pompous display that is wanting in decorum'. Concerning the manner of the removal of the goddess from Asia Minor there is doubt on several points, in particular on the part played by Attalos king of Pergamum, friend but not official ally of Rome, and the circumstances surrounding his handing over to the Romans of the black stone, apparently a meteorite, which represented the goddess. There are echoes here of *evocatio*, especially as a feature of that rite appears to have been the physical removal of the cult statue of the deity who was held to have changed sides.

Livy's account implies that Roman senators made a connection at the time between this case and the summoning of Asclepios from Epidaurus at the time of a prolonged epidemic in Rome in the late 290s.[15] On that occasion the Roman ambassadors brought away (no doubt together with the rest of the cult apparatus) a serpent which passed for the god himself. In later times the story that the god came of its own free will achieved popularity: understandably, since the voluntary accession of a god was confirmation of Rome's greatness. Contemporary Greeks presumably saw the affair as a straightforward act of *Machtpolitik*.

Thus far in discussing the attitude of Romans to foreign cults there has been no temptation to introduce the concept of 'toleration'. Roman-style polytheism was disposed to expand and absorb or at least neutralize other gods, not to tolerate them. The admission into the state cult of a captive and tamed Magna Mater does not break the pattern.

The Romans remained deeply suspicious of exotic mystery cults. The brutal attack on Bacchic rites in 186 BC—less than two decades after the importation of Magna Mater—was not out of character.[16] Bacchus was not a recent arrival in Rome and Italy. But the worship of the god had taken on new elements which were bound to attract the hostile attention of the state authorities: it was not merely the orgiastic rites, described and no doubt embroidered by an indignant Livy, which offended, but also and more importantly the cell structure, marked by an oath of membership, a common treasury, a broadly-based following and a hierarchy of lay officials as well as a priesthood. The whole organization was in effect autonomous, re-

[15] Latte pp 225–7.
[16] North 'Religious Toleration' with bibliography

moved from the supervision and control which the state expected to exert over religious activities. It is hardly surprising that it was regarded as subversive and that the rites of Bacchus were only allowed to survive in an emasculated form.

The Bacchanalian affair can be regarded as a turning point in the religious history of the Roman state. It marked the appearance within the Roman community itself of the first of a succession of specifically religious organizations devoted exclusively to religion, culminating in Christianity. None of these (basically oriental) cults were invited guests—there was, significantly, no successor to Magna Mater for a long period—but on the other hand there was no way in which their entry could be barred. What was the Roman response?

One option that was in principle available was systematic persecution. It was not taken up. A lapse into active persecution was always a possibility as is demonstrated by the periodic expulsions of Chaldaeans, Isis-devotees, Christians and Jews—even Jews, who at least from the period of Julius Caesar's ascendancy enjoyed a privileged status in Rome. But for the most part, religious organizations that were unauthorized, that were viewed as out of step with the *mos maiorum* or just illegal, were 'allowed' to exist because there was no way of excluding them or stamping them out. 'Toleration by default' would seem a possible, if charitable, description of the attitude of the Roman authorities. It would be more in line with our definition of toleration to say that governments showed by their inaction an appreciation of the limits of their power or a passive acquiescence in the presence of cults which they could not control. The Jews are the exception that proves the rule. In a letter of Julius Caesar to the city of Parium quoted by Josephus, the dictator instructs the Parians to permit the Jews resident in their city to carry out their traditional rites and practices, pointing out that he himself had excused only Jews from his general ban on *thiasoi*, religious associations, in Rome.[17] As to Christians, Trajan's famous ruling[18] that they were not to be hunted down (*non conquirendi sunt*) did not create a privileged status for Christianity, and certainly does not amount to a policy of toleration. Christianity was never an authorized religion—

[17] Jos., *Ant. Jud* 14.213; cf. Suet., *Div. Iul.* 42.3.

[18] Pliny, *Ep.* 10.97. For the position of Christianity with relation to the state see G. E. M. de Ste Croix, 'Why were the early Christians persecuted?' in M. I. Finley ed *Studies in Ancient Society* (London 1974) pp 210–49; *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (London 1981) pp 396–405; 419–41, etc.

religio licita, in Tertullian's phrase;[19] in fact simply being a Christian was an offence. The claim that theirs was the one true religion, their active proselytism and their obstinate refusal to participate in the imperial cult meant that Christians were always vulnerable to the charge of disloyalty to emperor and state.

But at least we can use the term 'toleration' in good conscience with respect to the Jews. The Jewish religion was disliked by Romans of Caesar's class and generation,[20] it was incompatible with the *cultus deorum*, but it was nevertheless given official sanction. The Roman *beneficium* to the Jews, however, was not secure; it had to be renewed with every change of government. Moreover, those Romans who were friendly to the Jews were guided primarily by political considerations, not moral principles. And the initiative always came from the Jewish side.

Toleration for the Jews had its origin in the attempts of the Jews of Judaea to free themselves from Seleucid control, and specifically in the approach of Judas Maccabee to the Romans in 161 BC in the aftermath of the persecution of Antiochus IV, culminating in the attempt to convert the temple of Yahwe into a temple of Zeus. Interference in the ancestral cults of a nation on this scale was 'unheard of in the Greek-speaking world from immemorial times'.[21] The Roman senate received the Jewish envoys and agreed to a declaration of friendship. The senatorial decree, a copy of which went back to Judaea, was engraved on bronze tablets and set up in the Capitol. Jews and Romans were drawn together by strategic considerations, which on the Roman side consisted in a desire to embarrass and weaken Syria. The pattern was repeated in the following century in the civil war period, when first Julius Caesar and subsequently Octavian (later Augustus) received valuable military assistance from the Jews. Caesar cashed in on Jewish resentment at Pompey's outrageous conduct in violating the Holy of Holies after besieging and taking Jerusalem; while Herod moved faster than most after the

[19] Tert., *Apol.* 21.1.

[20] e.g. Cic., *pro Flacco* 67–9.

[21] A. Momigliano, *Alien wisdom* (Cambridge 1975) p 100, and in general, pp 97–122; E. Schürer, *The history of the Jewish people in the age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)* (rev. edn. G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Black Edinburgh 1973–79). Other work on the Jews and Romans includes J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain: leur condition juridique, économique et sociale* (Paris 1914); E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman rule* (Leiden 1976); A. M. Rabello, 'The legal condition of the Jews in the Roman empire', H. Temporini ed *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II Principat 13 (1980) pp 662–762.

battle of Actium to join the winning side. The reward was a series of official edicts and letters instructing their recipients—Greek cities in the East—to allow the Jews resident in their cities to live in accordance with their traditional customs and laws.

Three points are worth noting about the documents. First, they came about as a result of Jewish initiative. Shrewd, energetic and on the whole effective diplomacy, built on a close personal relationship between Jewish and Roman leaders, is a striking feature of the hundred years from Caesar to Claudius, carrying the Jews through even the crisis years of the reign of Gaius—when the Jews were compelled to play their last card, a threat to lay down their lives *en masse* in defence of their religion and way of life. Second, the documents are numerous—and presumably Josephus' dossier is not complete—and repetitious. But this is an indication of not so much Roman enthusiasm as Greek hostility. The letters and edicts of Caesar, Augustus and Claudius were a direct consequence of anti-Jewish sentiment and activity in provincial cities in the Greek East. Toleration rested on an ephemeral foundation if it had to be constantly reasserted. Moreover, Jewish credit inevitably wore thin, as rulers who had been the private beneficiaries of Jewish support gave way to others who lacked cause for gratitude and were more inclined to see Jews as trouble-makers. Third, the documents regularly acknowledge that the Romans are extending privileged treatment to the Jews because of services rendered. And that is all. No further motivation or justification is offered. There is an absolute lack of any apologia for religious pluralism or religious freedom. The Jewish right to their ancestral customs is not built up into a general principle applicable to every *ethnos* (people) let alone every individual.

Nor does anything of the kind surface in pagan literature as a whole. It is particularly noteworthy that the philosophical sceptics were barren of ideas in this area, unlike some of their successors in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, who developed rationalistic arguments for toleration on the basis of the uncertainty of religious knowledge.[22] Cotta, who acts as the spokesman of the Academic Sceptics in Cicero's *de natura deorum*, energetically refutes the sundry philosophical proofs of the existence of the gods and the various dog-

[22] The main classical texts are Cic., *de natura deorum* and *Academica*, and Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* (*P. H.*). For later sceptics see R. H. Popkin, *The history of scepticism from Erasmus to Spinoza* (Berkeley 1979); [Q.] Skinner, [*The Foundations of modern political thought* (Cambridge 1979)] esp vol 2, pt 3, ch. 8.

mas about their character, but then falls back upon the assertion of an undogmatic belief in the Roman ancestral religion, which he announces himself fully prepared as a pontiff to uphold.[23]

Cotta's position finds an echo in pre-Cartesian sceptics such as Montaigne. Montaigne's sceptical attitude to proof in the area of religious belief coexisted with a firm and conventional Catholicism. The liberal humanists of a sceptical bent were in general sincere believers. On the issue of persecution they typically equivocated. Montaigne, for example, was a supporter of religious unity but an opponent of persecution. The ancient sceptics make no statement about persecution and toleration. Cotta's stress on his obligation as a religious official to protect the state religion implies, among other things, a readiness to limit the religious choices of Romans, or at any rate those of Romans of Rome and Italy. Disapproval of atheism is similarly implicit in the references in the same treatise to the sentences passed on such as Protagoras and Diagoras and the attack on Epicureanism for undermining religion. But atheism was a peripheral phenomenon in antiquity.[24] Oriental cults, indeed all non-Roman cults, are largely ignored in the *de natura deorum* and also in the work of Sextus Empiricus, the main source for Pyrrhonian as opposed to Academic Scepticism. Sextus notes that local sacrifices and ritual practices are diverse, but this is merely to prepare the ground for the sceptical decision to suspend judgment 'as to the natural existence of anything good or bad or (in general) fit or unfit to be done'.[25] He can be said to have tacitly accepted but not openly advocated religious diversity. Roman government attitudes, as we saw, were no different. The emperors in their edicts showed a disinclination to lay down general principles. In the absence of such statements, it is permissible to attribute to Rome's leaders nothing more grandiose than an appreciation of the distinctness of the different peoples who made up their empire, combined with an implicit recognition of their inability to control their subjects beyond a certain point and the unwisdom of rousing local passions.

[23] Cic. *de nat. deorum* 3.5–9; cf. Sex.Empir., *P.H.* 1.16–17.
[24] Cic., *de nat. deorum* 1.63, 115; 3.5–7; cf. Sex.Emp., *c. Phys.* 1.51; A. B. Drachmann, *Atheism in classical antiquity* (London 1922).
[25] Sex.Empir., *P.H.* 3.235.

IV

Arguments for religious toleration, when they do emerge in antiquity, are part of a response to active or threatened persecution or intolerance from those under attack. Jewish apologetic is not very creative in this area. It sets for itself the limited objective of gaining protection for Jewish religion and culture, and employs to this end specific arguments relating to the nature of the Jewish religion, its piety, high moral standards and ancient origins, and to the record of Roman recognition and favour and Jewish support and loyalty. Only one writer puts forward arguments of broader significance—Josephus. In a speech[26] given by Josephus to Nicolaos of Damascus before Augustus' lieutenant Agrippa, the platitude 'for each community (*ethnos*, *polis*) its own ancestral customs' is transformed into a prescription which an imperial government could not ignore without jeopardizing not only civil order (for the Jews will fight to the death) but also the prosperity of the whole empire. The index of prosperity which Nicolaos offers is precisely the ability of every community to follow its ancestral traditions without harassment: 'And the happiness that the whole human race enjoys, thanks to you, we measure by the fact that it is possible for people in every country to live and prosper while respecting their own traditions'. This prosperity moreover has a divine underpinning, it is a reward for those who tolerate. As Nicolaos goes on to say: 'For if the Deity delights in being honoured, it also delights in those who permit it to be honoured.' Agrippa was ultimately persuaded by more tangible factors, in paricular, Herod's friendship and the calculation that confirming Jewish privileges would not 'cause the Roman government any trouble'—the ultimate criterion. Yet it would be a mistake to underrate the appeal of Nicolaos' argument. This was a world in which all alike, pagans, Jews and Christians, thought that the fortunes of men and states were dependent on divine goodwill.

The argument of Nicolaos is bold but slippery; it depends on the premise that religious freedom for Jews and their enemies (Greeks) could be put on the same level, that in each case it was a *beneficium* (privilege or favour) which was revocable. This is false. The local cults (and especially the civic cults of the poleis) were not at risk, unless as in the case of the Druids they offended against Roman sacrificial rules. And the Jews did present special problems, both abroad,

[26] Jos. *Ant. Jud.* 16.31–57.

where they breached the unity of the polis, and at home, where they sought to exclude all other religions. In a later passage[27] Josephus, this time speaking in the first person, again glosses over the 'awkwardness' of the Jews, but this time argues for mutual tolerance by pleading shared moral values. It is not differing customs that truly divide men, that are the essence of 'foreignness', but contrasting moralities. Josephus is optimistic: 'goodness (*kalokagathia*) is common to all men and alone enables society to endure'. The tactic is not unlike that employed by Castellio, Professor of Greek at Basle and opponent of Calvin in the mid-sixteenth century, when in the anonymous treatise *de haereticis* he made a plea for toleration between Christians on the basis of the common ground that they all shared, 'the gold coin which is everywhere acceptable, no matter what the image'.[28] Josephus' idea lacks a precise parallel in ancient thought, and in so far as he is ascribing virtue to ordinary humanity, it is decidedly anti-philosophical.

Early Christian apologetics has as its standard themes the unique truth of Christianity, the harmlessness and innocence of Christians, the folly of pagans, and the iniquity of Jews. When the injustice of persecution is brought up, the argument quickly disintegrates into a threat of divine judgment.[29] Tertullian, an African of the late second and early third century AD, breaks new ground. In the *Apologeticus* 24.5 he writes:

> Look to it, whether this may also form part of the accusation of irreligion—to do away with freedom of religion (*libertas religionis*), to forbid a man choice of deity (*optio diuinitatis*), so that I may not worship whom I would, but am forced to worship whom I would not. No one, not even a man, will wish to receive reluctant worship.

and in the *ad Scapulam* 2.2. we read:

> We worship the one god whom you all know through nature; it is his thunder and lightning at which you tremble, his blessings in which you rejoice. The rest you think are gods, but we know are demons. Nevertheless it is ordained by both man-made and natural law that each person may worship whatever he wishes, nor does one man's religion either injure or benefit the next

[27] Jos., *Ant. Jud.* 16.174–78.
[28] S. Castellio, *Concerning heretics: whether they are to be persecuted*, (trans R. H. Bainton New York 1935) at p 130; Skinner 2 pp 245–8.
[29] e.g. Justin, *Apol.* 1.68.

> man. It is however not for religion to compel religion, which is something to be taken up voluntarily not under duress. Sacrifices are demanded only of those willing to perform them. You will render no real service to your gods by compelling us to sacrifice. For they can have no desire for sacrifices from the unwilling, unless they are animated by a spirit of contention, which is a thing altogether undivine.

About a hundred years later another African, Lactantius, reacted to the Great Persecution of Diocletian with an expanded version of Tertullian's statement.[30] This is a summary of his arguments:

1. Religion is not something that can be imposed: 'There is nothing so voluntary as religion.'

2. Persecution is a violation of both human and divine law.

3. There follows a moral/linguistic argument: persecution is bad; religion is by definition about the good: *Necesse est bonum in religione uersari, non malum*. It is, as it were, a contradiction in terms to persecute, to do evil, in the name of religion.

4. Persecution is not good for the persecuting religion, in three ways:

> 4.i The gods won't welcome the sacrifice that is forced out of the unwilling, because it is in effect a curse, *execratio*, not a sacrifice.
>
> 4.ii If you try to defend religion by bloodshed, torture, evil, it will be polluted and violated, not defended.
>
> 4.iii Those who persecute will receive their just deserts. God, to whom it falls to punish those who despise him (for that is not our job), will do so, just as surely as he will avenge the toils and injuries of us his servants. (This is spelled out in grisly detail by the same author in *de mortibus persecutorum*.).

5. There is another way. It is to talk things out, to use debate (*oratio*) and persuasion (*hortamenta*). The debate might well be public. Let us call the pagan priests to a public meeting (*contio*) and give them the chance to urge us to take up their religion. We will listen. We don't want anyone to worship our god, the god of all, against their will; and if anyone refuses, we don't get cross. They ought to be like us: out style is to die rather than kill, to be patient rather than cruel, faithful rather than criminal.

None of this sounds very sophisticated to modern ears. We have a bald statement of principle, the beginnings of an empirical argument—persecution is bad for the persecutor—and an alternative

[30] Lactantius, *Inst. Div.* 5.19.9–24; 5.20.7–10; *Epit.Inst. Div.* 47 (52).3–49 (54).7.

strategy—argue it out. It is however a fresh start. The sources of Tertullian are an unsolved and probably insoluble problem. Tertullian's 'no one, not even a man, will wish to receive reluctant worship' recalls in Josephus 'They are not grateful for honours conferred under compulsion and constraint' (referring to Roman emperors).[31] But Tertullian has turned an empirical observation into a general principle and in so doing coined a phrase: *libertas religionis*. His 'religious liberty', moreover, is an attribute of individuals, not the exclusive possession of an *ethnos* or *polis*.[32] The breeding ground of this idea is perhaps the tension, which receives its first exposure in St Paul's writings, between the authority of individual conscience and the wisdom of the Christian community.[33] At any rate, it does seem to be a breakthrough that only a Christian could make, because the Christian, notoriously, had abandoned his ancestral tradition and embraced a supranational universal religion. Finally Tertullian has firmly rooted his doctrine in both human and natural (or divine) law; compare Nicolaos' tentative suggestion that the free exercise of *ta patria* has divine approval. There seems no escape from the hypothesis that the mind at work was in fact Tertullian's. This is not as unsatisfactory a solution as it may sound, since his work as a whole is full of novel argumentation, even if the quality is variable.

The Christian contribution to toleration theory peters out with the cessation of persecution and the upturn in the Church's fortunes. For example, Ambrose is capable of mouthing the precepts that religion is not to be forced and that everyone has the right to defend and practise his religion, but the remarks are intended merely for the ears of a raw fourteen-year-old emperor, Valentinian II, it is *his* 'right' to stand by his Christian faith (and by extension, to uphold his brother Gratian's anti-pagan actions) which Ambrose claims to be defending (*Ep.* 17.7). Ambrose's aim is to persuade Valentinian to *reject* the option of toleration—for which, incidentally, his favoured word is *dissimulatio,* pretence. Themes introduced by Tertullian and Lactantius

[31] Jos., *c. Apion* 2.73.

[32] I emphasise 'exclusive'. Tertullian was of course capable of employing the familiar argument more appropriate to Jewish apologetic that all others (who turn out to be *provinciae* or *civitates*) are permitted their gods; e.g. *Apol.* 24.7–10; cf. Athenagoras, *Embassy* 1. Both Geffcken's criticism and Crehan's defence of Athenagoras miss the point. See J. H. Crehan, *Athenagoras: Embassy for the Christians* (Trans and comm London 1956) at p 123. The standard works on Tertullian do not appear to notice the innovation which I have signalled above.

[33] Chadwick, 'Gewissen' pp 1066 seq.

were also utilized by Donatists.[34] In particular, they stated much more clearly than their predecessors had done that to advocate and practise coercion was to fly in the face of traditional Christian doctrine. Their criticism of the church establishment not only for favouring persecution but also for calling in the legislative and coercive arms of the state provoked Augustine into developing a doctrine of 'just persecution'. Donatists were not averse to appealing to imperial enactments for their own purposes, specifically, to justify their suppression of the Maximianist schism in 393–4, and their main tactic against orthodox coercion was not argument but violence. Insofar as they resorted to argument, they were mainly concerned to press their claims to be the Catholic Church, and were not much inclined to fall back on the essentially defensive strategy of setting up a debate on toleration. This can be said of all Christian sects in this age of religious fervour and fanaticism. Few Christian writers reveal a non-sectarian spirit. We might single out Socrates the ecclesiastical historian, who frequently expresses distaste for bigotry and strife, which is contrary to the spirit of Christianity and disturbs the peace of the Church and the world;[35] or Salvian, bishop of Marseilles, who excuses barbarian heretics (they were Arians) on the grounds of ignorance and inferior instruction, and even suggests that they may not fare badly on the day of judgment;[36] or the shadowy Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite who argues in the sixth century for instruction rather than punishment for those in ignorance and error, basing his case on the mildness and mercifulness of Jesus.[37] These are, however, peripheral figures compared with Ambrose and Augustine who dominate the debate with pagans and dissenting Christians in the crucial late fourth and early fifth centuries AD. Meanwhile it is worth pondering the fact that our three conciliatory authors, and other Christians who take a similar line, were writing after the Christian church committed itself irrevocably under Theodosius I to a policy of persecution in alliance with the state.

[34] Donatist arguments are mostly buried under the massive weight of Augustinian scholarship. But see the useful reconstructions of P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique Chrétienne* (Paris 1920) 5 pp 309–39. The best discussion is in P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (London 1967) chs 19–21, esp 21. W. H. C. Frend, *Donatist Church* (Oxford 1952) remains a classic; see ch 20.

[35] Socrates, *HE* 7.15; 1.23.

[36] Salvian, *De Gub. Dei* 5.2.5–11.

[37] Ps.-Dionysius, *Ep.* 8.5 (MPL 3.1096C–7B). Translation by R. F. Hathaway, *Hierarchy and the definition of order in the letters of Ps.-Dionysius* (The Hague 1969) 148–9.

From the preceding age, between the collapse of the persecution of Christianity and the inauguration of the persecution of paganism, a period when Christian emperors on the whole pursued a policy of toleration, no justification of this policy survives beyond that offered by Constantine (and Licinius) in the so-called 'Edict of Milan' of 313.[38] Of special interest in the Edict are the fleeting evocation of an eirenic motive for toleration:

> Your Devotion understands that to others also freedom for their own worship and cult is likewise left open and freely granted, as befits the quiet of our times.

and the assumption—which seventy years later Ambrose would resoundingly reject—that toleration would be pleasing to God and would guarantee the prosperity of the realm:

> Our purpose is to grant both to the Christians and to all others full authority to follow whatever worship each man has desired; whereby whatsoever Divinity dwells in heaven may be benevolent and propitious to us, and to all who are placed under our authority.

In a second pronouncement of 324[39] issued after the defeat of Licinius, Constantine has abandoned his respect for non-Christian worship, and is now openly contemptuous of the error of those who practise it. But they are still free to do so:

> With regard to those who will hold themselves aloof from us, let them have, if they please, their temples of falsehood: we have the glorious edifice of the truth. We pray, however, that they too may receive the same blessing which thou hast given in accordance with thy nature, and thus experience that heartfelt joy which unity of sentiment inspires.

This prayer for the salvation of the pagans contrasts strangely with the dark threat of imminent heavenly medicine in the document with which the emperor wound up his fruitless persecution of the

[38] See Eusebius, *HE* 10.5.1–14 with Lactantius, *De Mort. Pers.* 48.1–12.

[39] Eusebius, *Vita Const.* 2.56. T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge Mass. 1981) pp 209 seq, has recently revived the contention that Constantine had earlier in 324 revoked the policy of toleration in an edict which among other things banned pagan sacrifice. He rests his case on Eusebius, *Vita Const.* 2.45. A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1966) 1 pp 91–2, also believes in this law, but is unimpressed by the Eusebius text, preferring to argue from *CTh.* 16.10.2, 341 (Constans and Constantius II). On the other side, H. A. Drake, *In Praise of Constantine* (Berkeley 1975) pp 65–6, attacks only the text in the Code. It would be easier to believe Eusebius, and the sons of Constantine, if the alleged law had been quoted, and if it could be reconciled with the friendlier document issued subsequently.

Donatists three years earlier.[40] For Constantine heretics and schismatics were wicked and criminal, pagans merely in error.

Here he was merely echoing conventional ecclesiastical wisdom. *Hairesis*, a neutral word meaning, in relevant usages, 'school of thought', received in a Christian context the derogatory sense of a school of thought which deviated from the orthodox line dictated by the Church. Pagans could never have given the word this twist; their religion was a matter of ritual and worship, not doctrine. Heresy was from New Testament times regarded as a stain on the image of the Church, even if there was little agreement on what heresy was.[41] The readiness of Christians to dispute amongst themselves over matters of doctrine and discipline was noticed and exploited by pagan apologists from Celsus onwards, and Augustine in a moment of candour acknowledged that Christians in North Africa could learn something from the cohesiveness of the pagan communities.[42] He did not it seems make the deduction that tranquillity could be achieved through mutual toleration. Similarly, Origen, who is found candidly admitting in his reply to Celsus that in matters of morality and religion unanimity was impossible, in another work ranks orthodoxy above piety. Ironically, Origen was not himself considered a model of orthodoxy.[43]

To return to Constantine: there was not felt to be any contradiction in his persecuting dissenters within the Church and tolerating pagans. There had been no practical possibility of persecuting heretics before. A Christian emperor had the means to repress, and had no choice but to repress, to preserve the unity of the Church, to assert the indivisibility of the body of Christ. The suspension of persecution of Donatists in 321 was a tacit acknowledgement of the limits of power; it did not lead to a policy of toleration, let alone reconciliation. A renewal of persecution was always in prospect.

Paganism, however, was tolerated in the period from Constantine to Gratian. Emperors were tolerant in deed, if not always in word.

[40] Optatus, *de schism. Don.* 9.

[41] Chadwick, 'Gewissen' pp 1098–9. On intolerance within the Christian (and Jewish) community, see G. Forkmann, *The limits of the religious community; expulsion from the religious community within the Qumran sect, within Rabbinic Judaism, and within primitive Christianity* (Lund 1972). On *hairesis* see J. Glucker, *Antiochus and the Late Academy* (Göttingen 1978) pp 166 esp 167–8, 184–7.

[42] Origen, *c. Celsum* 3.10–12; 5.61; cf. Julian in Amm. Marc. 22.5.3–4; Aug., *de util. jejun.* 9, *PL* 40.712–3.

[43] Origen, *in Mt. comm. ser.* 33, Chadwick, 'Gewissen' p 1098; cf. Tertullian, *monog.* 2.3 (another heretic).

Constantius issued general prohibitions of sacrifice but did nothing to have them enforced; it was as if merely by issuing anti-pagan legislation he had salved his conscience and appeased God.[44] The essential fact is that the pagan priesthoods of the state cult, the augurs, flamens and vestals, continued to receive their subsidies, Christian emperors bore the official pagan title of *pontifex maximus*, and the worship of dead emperors was allowed.

It is often assumed that a degeneration of pagan-Christian relations was inevitable: an aggressive monotheistic religion would inevitably descend to active persecution once it had convinced itself of the likelihood of success, once it had persuaded the political authorities to turn the full coercive apparatus of the state against its rivals. Ambrose is usually branded the villain of the piece, the powerful bishop of Milan of whom it was said even the devil was afraid, who intimidated weak emperors, forcing them to disestablish the pagan cults and then suppress them. But what of the emperor Julian, at least the equal of Ambrose in fanatical zeal and strength of personality (to the chagrin of the moderate pagan historian Ammianus Marcellinus), whose shortlived pagan reaction put the wind up the Christian establishment? Until the reign of Julian peaceful competition with paganism had seemed a winning strategy, and justifiably: with the authority and financial resources of the emperor behind the Christians, the contest had been unequal.[45] Julian, to be sure, professed to be uninterested in persecuting Christianity: 'It might be proper to cure them, even against their will, as one cures the insane, except that we concede indulgence to all for this kind of disease. We ought I think to teach, but not punish, the demented' (*Ep.* 36 Wright). And again, Christians 'have strayed rather from ignorance than of set purpose'. They are suffering enough already, and there is no need to add to their burden: 'We ought to pity rather than

[44] Constantius: *CTh.* 16.10.2, 341; 16.10.6, 356. But cf. 16.10.3, 342; Symm., *Rel.* 3.7; '*nihil ille decerpsit sacrarum uirginum priuilegiis, repleuit nobilibus sacerdotio. Romanis caerimoniis non negauit inpensas . . .*' Valentinian I was unambiguously for toleration: *CTh.* 9.16.9. 371 (referring to earlier law); cf. Amm.Marc. 30.9.5. Gratian issued an act of toleration after the disaster at Adrianople, see Socr., *HE* 5.2.1; Soz., *HE* 7.1.3; it was rescinded on 3 August 379, from Milan: *CTh.* 16.5.5. For Gratian's measures against paganism, see A. Cameron, 'Gratian's repudiation of the pontifical robe', *JRS* 58 (1968) pp 96–102.

[45] Cf. P. Brown, 'Aspects of the Christianization of the Roman aristocracy', *JRS* 61 (1971) pp 1–11. On the role of Ambrose, see J. F. Matthews, *Western aristocracies and imperial court A.D. 364–425* (Oxford 1975) ch 8, esp pp 186–92. Ambrose was particularly upset by the edict on teaching. See *Ep.* 17.4, on *CTh.* 13.3.5, 362 with Julian, *Ep.* 36 (Wright); cf. Amm. Marc. 22.10.7; 25.4.20.

hate men who in matters of the greatest importance are in such a bad way. For the greatest of blessings is reverence for the gods, just as irreverence is the greatest of all evils. So those who have turned aside from the gods to corpses and relics pay this as their penalty. We suffer in sympathy with those who are afflicted by disease, while rejoicing with those who are being released and set free by the aid of the gods' (*Ep.* 41 Wright). Julian did not launch a persecution, but the signs were ominous. His reign was sufficiently disturbing to persuade the Church to strike for a quick victory.

Julian was not the man to produce novel arguments in favour of toleration. His sentiments, if we disregard the Platonic colouring, resemble those of the reluctant tolerators, Constantine and, on the pagan side, Maximin Daia.[46] This was the contribution of Themistius, philosopher, rhetorician and courtier, who though a pagan had served Christian emperors and had been passed over by Julian.[47] A plea for toleration forms a substantial part of an oration delivered to Jovian on 1 January 364, in the hope that the new emperor, succeeding shortly after the death of Julian, could be steered into enacting laws of toleration. Almost at once Themistius lays down the axiom that moral and religious matters lie outside the sphere of legislation. This is an astonishing statement coming from an avowed champion of Hellenism. In ancient Greek thought the authority of the polis was held to be total. Unfortunately Themistius does not develop this highly promising line of argument, but he turns instead to the more conventional notion of the impotence of legislation. Laws can produce only apostasy and opportunism. He who changes his religion at the drop of a hat will change it back again with equal facility when the government is captured by the other side. This proposition is backed up with some homespun psychology: you cannot win support from someone who has not chosen to

[46] Maximin Daia: Eusebius, *HE* 9.9a.1–10: not persecution, but persuasion.

[47] Themistius, *Orat.* 5, ed G. Downey, *Themistius* (Teubner 1965), 1 esp 67b–70c. See [G.] Dagron, ['Empire romaine d'Orient au IVe siècle et les traditions politiques de l'hellénisme: le témoigne de Themistius', *Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation byzantine* 3 (Paris 1968)] pp 1–242, at 163–72 (transl. and discussion); L. J. Daly, 'Themistius' plea for religious tolerance', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 12 (1971) pp 65–79. A lost *Orat.* 12 (AD 375–6), see G. Downey and A. Norman, *Themistius* (Teubner edn 1974) 3 pp 137–44, was held by several Christian commentators to have persuaded Valens to moderate his persecution of the Nicenes. See Dagron p 13 and n 73, pp 22, 186–90. Themistius is omitted in the otherwise useful B. Croke, J. Harris, *Religious conflict in fourth-century Rome: a documentary Study* (Sydney 1982).

give it to you in his heart. The same point is made more pungently by the pagan rhetorician of Antioch, Libanius, in his *pro templis*:[48]

> If they tell you that some others, in response to these measures, have been converted and now share their faith, don't be deceived, for they are talking of conversions that are apparent and not sincere. They say they have changed their beliefs; but they have not. This is the truth. They haven't abandoned their ancestral gods to worship new ones, but rather are cheating their persecutors. They go to their services, mix with their congregations, follow their other practices; they look as if they are praying, but they call on no one unless it is their own gods. It is wrong that they should be doing it in those surroundings, but all the same it is their own gods they are addressing. Just as in a tragedy, the man who plays the part of a tyrant is not himself a tyrant, but he who wears the mask of a tyrant, so each of them has remained himself; the change is merely apparent.

This is a powerful argument, drawing credibility from recent happenings when Julian put the clock back, but only momentarily.

Legislation is impotent and impermanent. In addition, the legislation of intolerance is out of step with the law of god, which states that every man must choose his own route (*hodos*). The existence of this law is confirmed for Themistius not by theological argument, but by an appeal to the nature and experience of man. On the one hand, as Homer says, 'Everyone sacrifices to a different god' (but it is a truth that is older than Homer), and God approves of this; on the other hand, anyone with a deep understanding of human nature knows that competition, 'a healthy rivalry in piety', brings out the best in men. There follow two similes. The first is of a race, in which all the competitors are striving toward the same goal, but not by the same route. The second is a comparison with the imperial army, which is not monolithic but consists of various elements with various functions and at various distances from the emperor—but all are devoted to him. The section ends with Themistius' vision of three principal cultures engaged in healthy competition: Syrian (that is, Christian), Hellenic, and Egyptian. The contrast with Julianic doctrine is marked: what Julian had seen as a fundamental conflict of religions

[48] Libanius, *Orat.* 30.28 (AD 386); R. Van Loy, 'Le "Pro Templis" de Libanius', *Byzantion* 8 (1933) pp 7–39, 389–404 (transl. and comm.); P. Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IVe siècle après Jésus-Christ* (Paris 1955) pp 191–216. Libanius is attacking the destructive activity of monks in the train of Cynegius, Praetorian Prefect of the East (384–6).

(Christianity versus Hellenism) Themistius reduces to the more manageable problem of the contiguity of rival civilisations. Themistius is prepared to draw a discreet veil over the religious side of Hellenism, to sever culture from religion, in the interests of survival.

We come finally to the well-known exchange between the Roman aristocrat Symmachus and Ambrose, bishop of Milan.[49] Symmachus was no more inclined to theological argument than Themistius. He was responding to a concrete issue, the disestablishment of the *cultus deorum* by Gratian, and he addressed himself to the political role of the old religion and the social consequences of its neglect rather than to matters spiritual. The ritual observance of the state religion was the means of victory over the barbarians and the basis of the glory of Rome for some 1,200 years. When the *cultus deorum* was abandoned, disaster followed: 'While the vestals and priests were treated fairly, things prospered. When their emoluments were taken away, universal famine followed'. There was in fact a food crisis in Rome in the following year, 383.

So far the argument is solidly conventional and based on the *mos maiorum*. But Symmachus also uses the argument from tradition to clinch the case for religious diversity. Tradition told him that the mystery of godhead was not brought within man's understanding by any one means. Hence the form of religious observance could and should vary: 'to every man his own custom and his own ritual' (*suus enim cuique mos, suus ritus est*). The gods were known by the benefits they conferred, and they have sent man more ways than one in which to express themselves; there was no one way to so tremendous a secret.

Ambrose was prepared to debate the origin of Rome's greatness. It was not, he retorts, the worship of the gods which made Rome great, as for example the capture of the emperor Valerian by the Persians showed. Ambrose then boldly contradicts the assertion that the repudiation of the gods by Gratian had produced natural disaster: 'everything since then has progressed for the better'; there was no universal disaster—some provinces experienced ample harvests—and no punishment for sacrilege. In fact the bumper crops of the following year may be seen as a reward for faith. The two men, it is

[49] Symm., *Rel.* 3, ed O Seeck, *MGH Auct. Antiq.* 6.1 (1883) pp 280–3; R. H. Barrow, *Prefect and Emperor* (Oxford 1973) (with transl); see also M. Lavarenne's Budé edition of Prudentius vol. 3, (3 edn 1963), where the *Relatio* and the reply of Ambrose, *Ep.* 17–18 may be found together, and also Prudentius, *c. Symm.*

clear, had a similar idea of the role of religion in the world; they agreed that the security of the empire rested on the goodwill of the divine power or powers. Again, each accepted that the foremost issue between them was political, the safety of the state, Symmachus defending the guardianship of the traditional gods of Rome against Ambrose's conviction that in Christ the best insurance policy could be found. Against the argument from tradition, which Ambrose could not employ—his sensitiveness in this matter is shown by his talk of the pervasiveness of change—Ambrose pressed the claims of revelation. Thus on the issue of the toleration of dissent—for the state had now adopted the ideology of Catholic Christianity—Symmachus' assertion of a god-given diversity of forms of worship was met by Ambrose's retort that God revealed to man in Christ was an exclusive doctrine. God was a jealous god and had to be worshipped alone. Thanks to Scripture, his identity was clear—in contrast with that of the *numen multiplex*, the pagan supreme unknowable divinity in its various manifestations—and a Christian emperor could not condone idolatry. 'A Christian emperor has learned to honour the altar of Christ alone.' In a word, Ambrose's position was that the safety of the empire could be secured only by the exclusive worship of the Christian god.

V

Paganism in Graeco-Roman antiquity was not one religion, but a plethora of cults varying with the countless ethnic and political communities which made up the ancient Mediterranean world. No community claimed privileged or exclusive access to the divine, none denied the reality of another's gods or their viability for that other community. Each community, however, was proud and protective of its indigenous cults and in normal circumstances was not disposed to supplement them or permit them to be undermined or subverted from within. The trial and death of Socrates and the suppression of the Bacchanalia give an indication of the way the charge of subversion might be applied. The usual picture of civic cults as supple and receptive to foreign influences is a distortion of the truth. In any case, toleration is not synonymous with inclusiveness. In the case of Rome neither term seems to direct us to the essential point, which is that this was an expanding community bent on subjecting foreign peoples and their gods. Gods were treated as booty to be des-

troyed, transported, selectively assimilated, or simply left behind, defeated gods in defeated communities. It has been said of the Roman empire when the process of expansion was complete that it was 'completely tolerant, in heaven as on earth'—with acknowledged partial or total exceptions, notably Jews, Christians and Druids.[50] This is simply a misuse of terminology. The gods in question had been made subject together with the communities to which they were attached; the Romans had nothing to fear from them and cannot be said to have extended to them that combination of disapproval and acceptance which is toleration. To be sure, it suited Jews and Christians to argue that they were or should be on the same footing as the mass of pagan cults and rituals, but the argument is totally unconvincing.

The Roman state tolerated the Jews, at least from time to time, but hardly anyone else, certainly not the Christians. Toleration of the Jews was sporadic because their loyalty to the empire was an uncertain factor, dependent on close relations marked by exchanges of *beneficia* between individual leaders. Even from the most friendly Romans the Jews secured no more than *ad hoc* pronouncements supporting their freedom to practise their traditional rites and customs on grounds that were avowedly strategic and therefore ephemeral. The Roman authorities never committed themselves to a general statement on toleration. If they possessed the concept—and no doubt they did implicitly—they kept it to themselves.

Toleration theory was a byproduct of persecution and came from those in a position of weakness. The Christians proved more fertile in this area than the Jews, partly perhaps because they lacked most of the Jews' assets and bargaining points. It must be stressed, however, that very few out of the many Christian apologists contributed to the 'toleration debate', such as it was. Again, theoretical arguments for toleration were not a crucial weapon in the battle of paganism against Christianity.

As for the arguments themselves: Jewish, Christian and pagan apologists alike elevated the principle of religious autonomy and diversity into an argument for toleration—it was precisely this move which the leaders of the pagan establishment under the early empire failed to make. Conversely, there were individual moments of inventiveness when a breakthrough was made against the whole weight of classical tradition: Josephus' idea of common goodness,

[50] MacMullen p 2.

Tertullian's doctrine of *libertas religionis* and Themistius' glimpse of a political community in which personal morality and religion are not tampered with by legislation, are cases in point. The ancient 'literature of toleration' though unimpressive in bulk contained promising ideas which in some cases were to be elaborated and extended in later periods.

This paper has discussed policy and attitudes of governments and members of the elite. The impression has perhaps been created that ancient society was marked by intolerance at all levels, at any rate from the time when exclusive monotheistic religions became active in the communities (particularly urban) of the Mediterranean basin. Ordinary people did not always follow the lead of their social, political and ecclesiastical betters, insofar as a lead was given; and even where the wish of the authorities was unmistakable, it did not follow that official policy would find willing and effective executors in the localities. The argument works both ways: people might be less tolerant or more tolerant than they were expected to be. But at least we can avoid blanket generalizations, for example, that pagan Greeks and Christians alike were actively hostile to Jews as a matter of course. This assumption must be qualified in the light of, first, a decree of the early 40s BC which reveals that Jews had at one stage established a particularly strong position in the city of Sardis with the cooperation of the city authorities,[51] and second, a letter of the early fifth century AD, which shows that Jews and Christians had coexisted peaceably on the Balearic island of Minorca prior to the arrival in 417 or 418 of the relics of St Stephen which inspired the bishop Severus, author of the letter, to smash the synagogue and forcibly convert the Jews.[52] Again, the inefficacy of imperial pronouncements is demonstrated by, for example, the survival in fifth century Spain of the heresy of Priscillianism with the connivance of secular as well as ecclesiastical officials,[53] and—a rather different case—the existence of pagan practices, including the frequent consultation of soothsayers, astrologers and exorcists, among Augustine's own congregation in North Africa. Time-honoured

[51] *Jos., Ant. Jud.* 14.259–61, referring to 'many great privileges' in the past and present concessions, including a site presumably for worship or communal purposes, and the provision of 'suitable food'.

[52] *Epistula Severi ad omnem ecclesiam, PL* 41.821–32; P. Brown, *The cult of the saints* (London 1981) pp 103–5; E. D. Hunt, 'St. Stephen in Minorca: an episode in Jewish-Christian relations in the early 5th century AD', *JTS* 33 (1982) pp 106–23.

[53] *CSEL* 83 (1981) *ep* 11 (ed J. Divjak). On Priscillian, see H. Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila* (Oxford 1976).

pagan remedies continued to command the respect of ordinary people, despite the promulgation of *Christiana lex* and the presence of a bishop prepared to enforce it.[54] 'In the later Roman Empire religious coercion in some form was one of the "facts of life" for a provincial bishop.'[55] Another 'given', it might be suggested, was a greater degree of coexistence, compromise—in short, toleration—between pagans and Christians than the ecclesiastical establishment would have liked.

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[54] See Brown, *Augustine* p 247; cf. Chadwick, 'Gewissen' p 1074, citing Ps.-Clem. *Rom. hom.* 1.5; Ambrosiast., *quaest.* 115.51. See G. Fowden, 'The Platonist philosopher and his circle in late antiquity', *Φιλοσοφια* 7 (1977) pp 359–83 on the coexistence of pagan and Christian intellectuals at Alexandria in the early 3rd century A.D.

[55] Citation from Brown, 'St. Augustine's attitude' p 107.

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REMARKS ON THE INSULAR CELTIC/HAMITO-SEMITIC QUESTION

Steve Hewitt

The hypothesis of a Hamito-Semitic substratum in the Insular Celtic languages elaborated successively by Morris-Jones, Pokorny and Wagner to explain a number of striking structural resemblances between Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic is enjoying a revival. While linguists have generally assumed that the parallels between Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic are to be explained in terms of Greenbergian typology (all languages of the VSO type), the recent work of Gensler, and also Jongeling and Vennemann, compels us to revisit the substratum hypothesis. The purpose of this article is to act as a guide to the main contributions on the question (several of which are reproduced in this volume), provide a table, arranged by author and language, showing the principal points of similarity, comment on a number of those points, and sound a note of caution against what might be called 'substratum frenzy'. An extensive bibliography is provided, with the following sections: 'The Insular Celtic/Hamito-Semitic question', 'Celtic – general', 'Hamito-Semitic – general' and 'Celtic influence on English'.

Main authors

Both Gensler, in his thesis 'A typological evaluation of Celtic/Hamito-Semitic syntactic parallels' (1993: 57–191), and Jongeling, in *Comparing Welsh and Hebrew* (2000: 6–64), provide extensive surveys of earlier authors on the Insular Celtic/Hamito-Semitic question. The first mention of structural similarities between Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic was in Davies, *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae* (1621), where a number of resemblances between Welsh and Hebrew were noted. Numerous other seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth-century Welsh authors draw parallels with Hebrew, but many of these focus on, to say the least, fanciful etymologies rather than structural

similarities. John Rhŷs, in *Lectures on Welsh Philology* (1877: 189 f.) and subsequent works raises the possibility that pre-Aryan languages may have exerted structural influence on the Insular Celtic languages.

Morris Jones, 'Pre-Aryan syntax in Insular Celtic' (1900, pp. 103–22 in this volume), reviews startling similarities between Welsh and Egyptian, including (pp. 625–6) the periphrastic conjugation *be* + preposition + verbal noun: 'In Welsh and Irish, although these languages retain many of the Aryan tenses, this construction is extremely common . . . The three prepositions commonly used for this purpose in Egyptian are *em* "in", *er* "to, for", *ḥer* "above" [= Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian* (1995: 80), *m* "in", *r* "towards", *ḥr* "on"] indicating the present, future, and perfect respectively. These correspond in use with the Welsh prepositions *yn* "in", *am* "for", *wedi* "after".' He also notes the surprising parallels between Welsh *yn* and Egyptian *em* [= Loprieno *m*]: (1) preposition 'in', (2) 'in' + verbal noun = progressive, and (3) predicative and adverbializing 'in'. Other similarities are noted with Berber, but no Semitic language is examined. He concludes (p. 639) that the resemblance

> seems to involve an intimate connection of some kind between the two families of speech in the prehistoric period, though they are probably not actually cognate. It is with Hamitic, however, rather than Semitic, that Celtic syntax is in agreement; for, as we have seen . . . it . . . agrees with Berber where the latter differs markedly from Arabic, as, for instance, in the shifting of the pronominal suffix from the verb to a preceding particle . . . Is the influence of a Hamitic substratum to be discovered in the simultaneous development on the same analytic lines of French, Spanish, and Italian in their use of infixed and postfixed pronouns?

Morris Jones's article was not well received by the Celtic academic establishment of the day, and he never returned to the subject.

Pokorny's *magnum opus* on the subject, 'Das nicht-indogermanische Substrat im Irischen' (1927–1930), has been conveniently reduced to 64 features by Vennemann in 'Semitic → Celtic → English: The transivity of language contact' (2002: 324–6). Pokorny's discursive text is often impressionistic, with numerous examples (never glossed, at best paraphrased) from Hamito-Semitic languages, as well as as Cushitic, Bantu (including unseemly references (1927: 137) to '*Negersprachen*' deemed '*ungemein primitiv*'), Basque, Finno-Ugric, Caucasian, etc., all grist to his substratal mill. He proposes (1927: 100 ff.) that in a language with a strong, aristocratic literary tradition such as Irish, substratal influence may take some time (even several generations) to become apparent in the written language. As may be seen from the bibliography, Pokorny continued to write on the subject throughout his life; his most concise statement of the linguistic features shared by Insular Celtic

and Hamito-Semitic is in 'Keltische Urgeschichte und Sprachwissenschaft' (1959), where he identifies a more managageable list of 20 shared features, most of which are included in the table of shared features below. See also 'The pre- Celtic inhabitants of Ireland' (1960, p. 122 in this volume).

Wagner's main work on the Insular Celtic/Hamito-Semitic question (usefully summarised by Gagnepain in 'A propos du "verbe celtique"' (1961)) is *Das Verbum in den Sprachen der britischen Inseln* (The Verb in the Languages of the British Isles) (1959), especially the third part, entitled '*Die sprachgeographische Stellung des britischen Verbums*' (the linguistic geography position of the Brittonic verb), with sections on '*Das Keltische, Berberische, Baskische, Englische und Französische als Vertreter einer nordafrikanisch-westeuropäischen Sprachschicht, dargestellt am Bau des Verbums*' (Celtic, Berber, Basque, English and French as representatives of a North African–Western European linguistic stratum, exemplified by the structure of the verb), '*Das berberische Verbalsystem*' (The Berber verb system) and '*Bemerkungen zum semitischen Verbalsystem*' (Remarks on the Semitic verb system). He describes his basic position in 'The Celtic invasions of Ireland and Great Britain: Facts and theories' (1987: 19–20) as follows:

> Between the fourth and sixth centuries A.D. Insular Celtic suffered revolutionary changes . . . As a result of it Insular Celtic developed features and grammatical categories hardly found in other Indo-European languages. They have, however, close parallels in Berber and Egyptian, the Hamitic languages of Northern Africa, as well as in Basque . . . The linguistic structure of Insular Celtic compels me to assume that, long before the arrival of Celtic or Belgic tribes, these islands were populated by people, who spoke languages or dialects which, from the point of view of E. Lewy's typology could be described as Hamito-Semitic, languages not necessarily connected with but of a similar type as Berber and Egyptian and, somewhat more distantly Hebrew and Arabic. For my latest position on this subject, cf. my articles of 1976 and 1982. When Celtic was adopted by pre-Celtic populations, the structure of their original language(s) began to impose itself on the language of the Celtic invaders. The result was a linguistic revolution which led to the making of the mediaeval and modern Celtic languages. See also 'Near Eastern and African Connections with the Celtic world' (1981, p. 133 in this volume).

Hewitt, 'Quelques ressemblances entre le breton et l'arabe: Conséquence d'une typologie ordinale commune?' (1985), was written before I became aware of the Pokorny-Wagner tradition; I assumed that the resemblances could only be typological. The similar features reviewed include head-

dependent typology, VSO~SVO word order (main and subordinate clauses), verb-subject agreement/non-agreement, collective/singulative, conjugated prepositions, expression of 'have', the construct state genitive, compound 'construct-state' adjectives, double 'topic ≠ subject' sentences, relatives (restrictive, non-restrictive, on prepositional objects, on possessives), the dummy sentential pronoun, and circumstantial subordinating *and*. The chief shared feature omitted is the verbal noun, most certainly historically speaking a verbal noun in Breton, but in modern Breton, it behaves like an infinitive (accusative rather than possessive object pronouns).

Gensler, in his doctoral thesis 'A typological evaluation of Celtic/Hamito-Semitic syntactic parallels' (1993; extensive extracts in this volume, p. 151), examines 12 Insular Celtic or Hamito-Semitic languages plus a random sample of 58 other languages from all over the world. He identifies a set of 17 'exotic' structural features shared by Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic, but not common among languages worldwide. Assigning scores for each feature in each of the 70 languages, he concludes the following (p. 426):

> On the basis of the sample used in this study, nothing remotely close to the full-blown Celtic/Hamito-Semitic linguistic type recurs anywhere else in the world. The relatively few languages which are 'best matches' – actually rather poor matches – are scattered all over the globe, from the West Coast of North America to the Caucasus and New Guinea. However, the continental average score for Africa is higher than for any other continent, and drops only slightly when the CHS languages Egyptian and Berber are omitted; West Africa scores especially well, and appears especially hospitable to several of the CHS features (adpositional periphrastic, word-initial change, kin terms, inter alia). Conversely, Europe has one of the lowest average scores, and when Welsh and Irish are excluded its score drops far below that of any other continent. Celtic is thus radically out of place in a European landscape, whereas the Hamito-Semitic languages simply intensify a structural trend seen over much of Africa. A weak form of the CHS type, then, would appear to have a natural home in Africa, in particular Northwest Africa. Within Afroasiatic, the highest-scoring languages are on the Mediterranean; scores fall away in every direction, but the Chadic language Hausa (in West Africa) scores much higher than Cushitic Afar (in East Africa). The diachronic evidence, too, argues that the (weak) CHS type is something quite old in Africa: the African and Arabian case studies all show stronger CHS-ness further back in time. All this, in conjunction with the blood-type agreement between the British Isles and Northwest Africa, argues for some sort of prehistoric scenario specifically linking these two regions.

While Gensler does not claim to have proved the Hamito-Semitic substratum hypothesis for Insular Celtic, he does appear to be saying: 'in the face of such statistical results, what else can it be?' He takes great care with the weighting (0, ±½ ±1) of scores for individual features, but no account is taken of the centrality or frequency of each feature within a particular language, such that pervasive features such as the genitive construction (feature 8) have the same weight as more marginal ones like the idiomatic genitive kinship constructions (feature 17). Furthermore, the languages that score highest in Gensler's table, thus most strongly exemplifying what he calls the 'Celtic/Hamito-Semitic type', are the Insular Celtic languages rather than the Hamito-Semitic languages, i.e. the languages that are said to have been influenced by the Hamito-Semitic substratum which purportedly gave rise to the type. Another drawback is that possible typological explanations for some of the features (cf. remarks on the genitive construction below) are not envisaged or examined. Nevertheless, with his thorough analysis and the sheer wealth of linguistic evidence he has marshalled, Gensler has certainly put the Hamito-Semitic substratum hypothesis back on the map; all authors on the subject will henceforth need to take due account of his arguments.

Jongeling, *Comparing Welsh and Hebrew* (2000), provides an excellent, lengthy introduction to the history of the subject. The features he surveys include VSO, head-dependent order, numerals, nominal clauses, circumstantial subordinating *and*, relatives, the verbal noun, conjugated prepositions, and the lack of a verb '*have*'. He proposes (pp. 149–50) an interesting variant of the substratum hypothesis:

> Supposing that the explanation of certain peculiarities of Insular Celtic are due to substratum influence, one might suppose that the same or a similar substratum has influenced some subgroupings of Afro-Asiatic [Hamito-Semitic] . . . In short, this scenario would mean that we should consider Western Europe and North Africa as an old coherent area of VSO-character. The influence on the three northern Afro-Asiatic groups, Semitic, Egyptian and Berber is comparable to the influence on the Celtic sub-grouping of Indo-European . . . one might suppose that Western Europe and Northern Africa once formed one great contiguous VSO area. This area was split by the incoming Indo-Europeans. The proportion of Indo-Europeans on the continent was so great that any influence of a pre-existing language was blotted out, while the number of pre-Indo-Europeans inhabitants on the British Isles was such that their influence there was felt long after they were gone from memory.
>
> This scenario not only explains the congruity in syntax of Welsh and Hebrew but at the same time gives a reason for the lack of lexical correspondences not only between Welsh and Hebrew, but in general between Afro-Asiatic and Insular Celtic.

Vennemann sees a Hamito-Semitic substratum as having influenced Insular Celtic, and through Celtic, English. In 'Atlantis Semitica: Structural contact features in Celtic and English' (2001) he claims (p. 351): 'The European Atlantic Littoral was, at the dawn of history, explored and colonized by Mediterranean, probably Palaeo-Phoenician seafarers.' The main features examined in this article include the verbal noun and the related progressive construction, the English 'Northern Subject Rule' reminiscent of Semitic and Celtic verb-subject agreement, and the 'replacement of the sympathetic dative by the internal possessor construction' (*Jean s'est cassé le bras* vs *John broke his arm*, see feature 22 below). Explaining why what he calls the 'Atlantic type' arose only in Middle English, he reiterates (p. 364) an argument of Pokorny's and Wagner's: 'substratal influence originates in the lower strata of a society and usually takes centuries to reach the written language, and regularly only after a period of social upheaval.' In 'Semitic → Celtic → English: The transivity of language contact' (2002), in which he draws attention to circumstantial subordinating *and*, and the prevalence of tensed verb/auxiliary responsives in Celtic and English, Vennemann states:

> In my view the case is closed, the thesis of a Hamito-Semitic substratum underlying Insular Celtic being one of the most reliably established pieces of scientific knowledge there is in any empirical discipline. As Gensler has shown, the substratum really was not simply Hamito-Semitic, which is a huge family including hundreds of languages in Africa and Asia (which is why it is also called Afro-Asiatic or Afrasian), but more specifically Hamito-Semitic of the Mediterranean type, which includes Libyco-Berber, Ancient Egyptian, and Semitic. In order to stress the similarity of the substratum to this particular manifestation of Hamito-Semitic, I sometimes refer to it as Semitidic or simply Semitic.

Celtic influence on English

Given that Vennemann sees a connection between a Hamito-Semitic substratum in Insular Celtic and possible Celtic influence on English, an extensive bibliography on this aspect is provided below. The idea that certain features of English may be attributable to Insular Celtic is particularly in vogue among Finnish and German scholars, cf. articles by Filppula, Klemola, Vennemann, and especially Filppula, Klemola and Pitkänen (eds), *The Celtic Roots of English* (2002) and Tristram (ed.) *Celtic Englishes I, II, III*, *IV* (1997-forthcoming). This theory presupposes that the Anglo-Saxons were (thinly) superimposed on a British-speaking population which eventually shifted to Anglo-Saxon, leaving subsequent substratal structural traces in English. However, a recent study by Capelli *et al.* 'A Y chromosome census of the British Isles' (2003) has found genetic evidence to support the more

Similar features in Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic according to author

Feature	*Morris Jones, 1900 W, (Ir.); Eg., Bb.*	*Pokorny, 1927–30, 1959, Irish, HS*	*Wagner, 1959 IC, HS*	*Hewitt, 1985 Breton, Arabic*	*Gensler, 1993 IC, HS*	*Jongeling, 2000 Welsh, Hebrew*
1. Conjugated prepositions	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2. Word order: VSO, head-dependent, prepositions	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3. Invariable relative clause linker, not relative pronoun		✓	~		✓	✓
4. Relative clause copying, not gapping: *the bed that I slept* ***in it***	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
5. Special relative tensed verb form		✓	✓		✓	
6. Subject and object marking in verb	✓	✓	✓		✓	
7. Object marker: preverb-infix-V/V-suffix	✓	✓	✓		✓	
8. Genitive construction: def. art. on dependent only: *house* ***the****-man*		✓		✓	✓	✓
9. Non-agreement of verb with plural noun subject	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
10. Verbal noun, not infinitive (object in genitive, not accusative)		✓	✓		✓	✓
11. Predicative particle: *he is* ***in*** *a farmer*	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
12. Prepositional periphrastic: *he is* ***at*** *singing*	✓	✓	✓		✓	
13. Periphrastic DO: *he* ***does*** *singing*	✓	✓	✓		✓	
14. Circumstantial clause *and* S PRED (subordinating *and*)		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
15. Nonfinite possible instead of finite main-clause verb			✓		✓	✓
16. Word-initial phonetic changes (mutations), various syn. functions			✓		✓	
17. Idiomatic genitive kinship constructions: *son of X*		✓			✓	
18. Nominal clause (absence of copula)	✓	✓	✓	(✓)	✓	
19. Amplification of negative by noun after verb: French *pas*	✓			(✓)		
20. Numerals followed by singular	✓					✓
21. Prepositional expression of *have*		✓	✓	✓	(✓)	✓
22. Possessive *he broke his arm* rather than dative *il s'est cassé le bras*		✓		(✓)		
23. Preference for parataxis (Pokorny: *anreihend* 'stringing along')		✓	✓		(✓)	
24. Basic unit word group rather than single word		✓	✓		(✓)	
25. Subjectless sentences (impersonal constructions)		✓			(✓)	

Similar features in Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic according to language

Feature	*Irish*	*Welsh*	*Breton*	*Arabic*	*Hebrew*	*Egyptian*	*Berber*
1.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2.	✓	✓, AUX S V	✓PSO~SPO	✓+SVO	✓>SVO	✓+SVO	✓
3.	✓	✓	✓	~✓gen num	✓	✓agreem.	✗
4.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗
5.	✓	~ *sydd, sy*	~ *so (zo)*	✗	✗	✓	✓
6.	✓ OI	~	~	~✓	~✓	✗	✓
7.	✓ OI	~	~✓trad B	✗	✗	✗	✓
8.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗
9.	~	✓	✓vs, sv aff	✓ vso	~ vso	✓	✗
10.	✓	✓ ~	✓ trad	✓	✓	? ~ ✗	✓
11.	✓ *in his*	✓	~✗ ✓adv	~✗	~✗	✓	
12.	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✗
13.	~✗	~✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	~✗, ?
14.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ < Ar.
15.	✗	✓	~✓	✗	✓		✗
16.	✓	✓	✓	✗	~✗ ✓phon	✗	~ vow. red.
17.	~✓	~✓	~✓	✓	✓		✓ < Ar.
18.	~✓	~✓ gnomic	~✓ gnomic	✓	✓	✓	✓
19.	~✓	✓	✓	~✓ (dial.)	✗	✓ (Coptic)	✓
20.	~✓ (20, x)	✓	✓	✓ (11+)	✓ (11+)	✓ ME>	✓ (11+)
21.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
22.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
23.	✓	~✓	~✓	?	?	??	✓
24.	✓	✓	✓	~✓	✓	?	✓
25.	✓	~✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Similar features in Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic according to author (*cont'd*)

Feature	*Morris Jones, 1900 W, (Ir.); Eg., Bb.*	*Pokorny, 1927–30, 1959, Irish, HS*	*Wagner, 1959 IC, HS*	*Hewitt, 1985 Breton, Arabic*	*Gensler, 1993 IC, HS*	*Jongeling, 2000 Welsh, Hebrew*
26. No present/active participle		✓			(✓)	
27. Distinction between essential and contingent BE (*is*/*tá*)		✓	✓		(✓)	
28. States/relations expressed with *N (PREP-O) PREP-S Tá scilling agam ort*		✓	✓		(✓)	
29. Welsh *yn*, Egyptian *m* 'in': predicative, locative, progressive		✓			(✓)	
30. Old Irish infixed pronoun *-d-* identical to Berber *-d-*		✓	✓		(✓)	
31. Comparatives (and superlatives) predicative only, not attributive		✓			(✓)	
32. Initial focus clefts		✓	✓		(✓)	
33. Yes/no responsives with auxiliary/verb/entire clause		✓	✓		(✓)	
34. Prepositional relative: fronting of bare preposition *the bed* ***in*** *I slept*		✓	✓		(✓)	
35. Unmarked collective, derived singulative		✓		✓		
36. Virtual complement clause VSO; factual complement clause SVO~VSO				✓		
37. Construct state *bahuvrīhi* adjectives (Ar. 'improper annexation')				✓		
38. Topic ≠ subject ('double subject' sentences)				✓		
39. Yes/no dummy sentential pronoun: *I don't know and* ***he*** *they came*				✓		

traditional picture of massive population shifts (p. 979): 'By analyzing 1772 Y chromosomes from 25 predominantly small urban locations, we found that different parts of the British Isles have sharply different paternal histories.' Coates, 'Invisible Britons: The view from linguistics' (2004) casts doubt on the influence of British Celtic on Anglo-Saxon.

Typological approaches

Not all authors dealing with similarities between Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic languages subscribe to the substratum hypothesis. Recent papers adopting a purely typological stance include Borsley 'On some similarities and differences between Welsh and Syrian Arabic' (1995), Isaac 'The function and typology of absolute and conjunct flexion in Early Celtic:

Similar features in Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic according to language (*cont'd*)

Feature	*Irish*	*Welsh*	*Breton*	*Arabic*	*Hebrew*	*Egyptian*	*Berber*
26.	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	✓
27.	✓	✗	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓
28.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
29.	~✓	✓	~✓	~✓	?	✓	✗
30.	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓
31.	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓
32.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
33.	✓	✓	✓	✗	?	✓	✓
34.	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓
35.	?	✓	✓	✓	?		
36.	✗	✗	~✓	✓	?		
37.	✓ + poss.	✓ + poss.	✓ + poss.	✓	✓		
38.	✗	✗	✓	✓	?	✓	
39.	✗	✗	✓	✓ Eg. Ar.	✗		

Some hints from Ancient Egyptian' (2001), and Roberts 'Parametric comparison: Celtic, Semitic and the anti-Babelic principle' (2004).

Shared features

The table on p. 237 shows the main features shared by Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic, according to author and language. The first 17 features correspond to Gensler's shared features (1993). These are followed by additional features identified by Morris Jones (1900), Pokorny (1927–1930, 1959), Wagner (1959), Hewitt (1985) and Jongeling (2000). Features marked with (✓) in the column for Gensler are mentioned by him, but are not central to his thesis; features 35–9 from Hewitt (1985) are given by no other author, and are purely typological in nature.

1 Conjugated prepositions

In both Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic, this looks historically very much like incorporation of a pronominal in the preposition; in Hamito-Semitic there is a single set of endings for prepositions, possessives and objects of verbs.

Breton	**Arabic**
gan-in	*maʿ-ī*
with-1.SG	with-1.SG
with me	with me
ma levr	*kitāb-ī*
my book	book-1.SG
my book	my book
. . . e' m laźhas	*qatala-n-ī*
TP OBJ.1.SG killed.PAST.3.SG	he.killed-LNK.CONS-1.SG
he killed me (traditional, Vann.)	he killed me

laźhed neus ahan-on
killed he.has of(=PRON.OBJ)-1.SG
he has killed me (modern, since eighteenth century)

2 Word order: VSO, head-dependent, prepositions

The verb-and-arguments word order typology of the languages of both families is basically verb-subject-object (VSO), with head-dependent order and prepositions. However, a number of qualifications are in order. As suggested in Hewitt, 'The impersonal in Breton' (2002), V in the formulae VSO, SVO, SOV, etc. is ambiguous, standing as it does for both the predicate (P) function and the tense-bearing element (T). Apart from a growing tendency towards SVO, Breton is at once VSO and V2. This is better described as PSO and T2, a more succinct formula being XTPSO, where X = P, S, O, Adv, etc. fronted from their base positions, or NEG, which suffices to occupy the initial position before T in second position, but also allows S, O, Adv, etc. (but not normally P) to its left; T attaches either to an auxiliary or, if there is none, to the main verb. One of the commonest realisations of XTPSO in matrix clauses, in fact probably more frequent than P(Aux)SO, is S(Aux)PO; on the other hand, . . . (Aux)PSO is generally the required order in embedded clauses (details in 'The impersonal in Breton').

Irish and Welsh are generally considered to be classic examples of VSO, and (apart from a strong V2 period in Middle Welsh, see Willis, *Syntactic Change in Welsh* (1998)) show no signs of a tendency towards SVO. However, Jones and Thomas, *The Welsh Language* (1977), analysed Welsh as TSPO, T again attaching either to an auxiliary or, if there is none, to the main verb; TSPO can thus be rewritten as either AuxSVO: *Mae Mair yn*

dysgu Cymraeg [is Mair in learn.VN Welsh] 'Mair is learning Welsh' or VSO: *Fe ddysgodd Mair Gymraeg* [AFF learnt Mair Welsh] 'Mair learnt Welsh'. So which is Welsh in the case of *Mae Mair yn dysgu Cymraeg*, SVO or VSO? It all depends on which you see as more important in V, the tense-bearing function (VSO) or the predicative function (SVO).

Most Hamito-Semitic languages are reckoned to be VSO, with the exception of Amharic (SOV, said to be due to a Cushitic substratum) and Akkadian (also SOV, said to be due to the strong influence of its predecessor and neighbour, the SOV isolate Sumerian). Hebrew shows a steady progression from clear VSO in the Biblical period to SVO in the Massoretic and modern periods. Similarly, Arabic is normally considered to be VSO, although, as in Breton, SVO is a common alternative order, even from the Koranic period; SVO has gained in prominence in modern times, to such an extent that certain styles of journalistic Arabic are reckoned to be more SVO than VSO, and some dialects, in particular Egyptian, are thought to be basically SVO, with only residual VSO effects.

However, in the case of Arabic VSO, another analysis is possible, with potentially far-reaching consequences for word order typology in general (see Hewitt, 'L'arabe – VSO ou VDN?' (2002)/'Arabic – verb-subject-object or verb-given-new? Implications for word order typology' (forthcoming)): in verb-initial clauses, there are numerous and regular violations of the canonical VSO order, such as VOS, VoS (o = pronominal object), VPOS (P = preposition), VPoSO, VPoOS, and VoOS. A principle of increasing 'information prominence' of post-verbal nominal constituents (given, known information > new information) appears to provide a unitary account of all the observable orders, *including VSO*. Strict SO order is thus called into question for Arabic, and replaced by a strict GN (given-new) order. Languages traditionally described as VSO (this principle does not appear to apply to any of the Celtic languages) or SOV (e.g. Turkish, Tibetan) might need to be revisited in order to see whether VGN or GNV does not provide a better account of their functioning than VSO or SOV. The whole question of VSO etc. is thus rather more complex than it would appear at first sight.

3 Invariable relative clause linker, not relative pronoun

The precise syntactic status of the Celtic relativizer, e.g. Breton direct (subject, object) *a*, indirect (oblique – other elements) *e* is debatable; it is usually held to be an affirmative tense particle which also functions as a relativiser of an embedded clause to its matrix clause, but it has also been analysed as a relative pronoun of sorts, particularly in the case of the cognate Welsh *a* and *y*. The invariable Hebrew *ăšɛr* has been analysed both as a relativiser and a relative pronoun, and note that the Arabic relative pronoun *al-ladhī* M, *al-latī* F, *al-ladhīna* M.PL, etc. agrees in gender and number with its antecedent.

4 Relative clause copying, not gapping: **the bed that I slept in it.**

Yes, Breton *ar gwele a meus kousked ennañ* [the bed AFF I.have slept in.it]; Arabic *as-sarīr al-ladhī nimt fī-h* [the-bed.M REL.M I.slept in-it], but such strategies are not limited to Celtic and Hamito-Semitic. Berber never has resumptive pronouns, only movement of the bare preposition; Old Irish is similar, but the order of relator and preposition is the reverse: Berber REL + PREP; Old Irish PREP + REL.

5 Special relative tensed verb form

This is present in Irish (*-as* vs. *-aidh*, *-ann*, etc.) and apparently in Egyptian and Berber; in Brythonic, the only modern trace is in the present form of the copula Welsh *sy(dd)*, Breton *so* (mod. *zo*); apart from Akkadian, this is unknown in Semitic; the Berber 'relative form' is commonly called a 'participle'.

6 Subject and object marking in verb

Yes, for both Insular Celtic and Semitic; this concerns most strongly Old Irish, Berber and Egyptian. Object pronouns are traditionally proclitic in Celtic and postclitic in Semitic; this is not the same, however, as the true subject-and-object-marking verbal morphology of Georgian. The cliticisation of object pronouns on the verb is hardly a rare trait.

7 Object marker: preverb-infix-V/V-suffix

This concerns especially Old Irish and Berber. It should be noted more generally that pre-versus post-cliticisation of object pronouns concerns many languages, cf. Romance, Serbo-Croat, etc.

8 Genitive construction: def. art. on dependent only: **house the-man**

Breton *ti ar roue* [house the king], Arabic *bait al-malik* [house the-king] 'the king's house'. Known as the 'construct state' CS among Semiticists, this is one of the most striking resemblances between the two families; however, it is not necessarily due to substratal influence. In the typology of genitive constructions, there is a limited number of parameters: (1) the order of head and dependent: H D or D H (VSO normally implies H D order); (2) the presence or absence of an article (on D only; on both D and H; no examples of the article on H only; all Insular Celtic and most, but not all, Hamito-Semitic languages have a definite article); (3) the relation marking may be on either H or D; and finally (4) a limited number of relator mechanisms (one or more are possible): (a) simple adjacency (H D, as in all Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic languages except Amharic, or D H); (b) phonetic modification of

either H or D: phonetic CS marking of H in Hebrew: *bayiṯ* 'house', but *bēṯ ham-mɛlɛḵ* [house.CS the-king]; *dāḇār* 'word', but *dăḇar ham-mɛlɛḵ* 'the king's word'; or phonetic modification of D in Berber: *agellid* 'king', but *axxam (n) ugellid* [house (of) king.CS]; (c) case: GEN, DAT, OBL, etc.; (d) possessive POSS: Turkish D-GEN + H-POSS: *kral-ın ev-i* [king-GEN house-his]; (e) link particle LNK: in both Hindi-Urdu and Sanskrit the link agrees with H: Hindi-Urdu *laṛkā* 'boy.NOM', *laṛkē kā ghar* [boy.OBL LNK_x $house_x$] 'the boy's house'; Swahili: *nyumba ya mfalme* [house.CL9 LNK.CL9 king.CL1] 'the king's house'; (f) adposition: preposition, postposition, cf. English *the door of the house* (the dividing line between (e) link and (f) adposition is not always clear, as the link could often be glossed 'of').

In Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic languages which no longer have case, the construct state is defined solely by the adjacency of the head and dependent, and the restriction of the article to the dependent. However, in both families this is probably the result of independent evolution. While Breton, Welsh, Hebrew and colloquial Arabic have no cases: Breton *dor an ti*, Welsh *drŵs y tŷ*, Hebrew *dɛlɛṯ hab-bayiṯ*, colloquial Arabic *bāb al-bait* [door the-house] 'the door of the house', Classical and formal Modern Standard Arabic and Irish (for some items at least) conserve case endings: Arabic *bāb-u l-bait-i*; Irish *doras an tí* [door.NOM the-house.GEN], and these help to define the genitive relation. It is only with the loss of the case endings that the [H [the-D]] structure becomes crucial to defining the genitive construction.

Germanic has both a compact genitive construction *the king's house*, with genitive case and only one article possible, on D, and a periphrastic construction *the house of the king* with two articles and the genitive relation expressed by the preposition *of*. While it is not obvious to ordinary English-speakers which element the article *the* applies to in *the king's house*, other Germanic languages provide a clue: German *des Königs Haus* [the.GEN king.GEN house.NOM] or Swedish: *kungens hus* [king.the.GEN house]. It therefore seems logical to bracket the phrase as follows: [[*the king's*] *house*], which is simply the reverse of the order of the two main constituents H and D in Breton [*ti* [*ar roue*]] or Arabic [*bait* [*al-malik*]]. Indeed, in one Germanic language which has lost all genitive case-marking, the [[the-D] H] order actually defines the genitive relation: the highly evolved form of English found in Jamaican Creole: [[*di king*] *hoos*]. Seen in this light, the Insular Celtic genitive structure is rather less exotic than it might appear at first sight; there is little need to appeal to Hamito-Semitic for a source.

Another factor to bear in mind in comparing the genitive construction in Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic is that of adjective placement. While neither Celtic nor Germanic languages have any problem in attaching adjectives to either or both H and D: Breton *ti bihan ar roue bras* [house little the king big] 'the big king's little house', Semitic cannot do this; any adjectives go obligatorily after the genitive construct, which is more akin to a compound noun 'king-house', so *bait al-malik al-kabīr* [house the-king

Verbal noun or infinitive?

Nominal features	*Irish*	*Welsh*	*Breton*	*Berber*	*Egyptian*	*Arabic*	*Hebrew*
Gender	✓	✗	✗	✓	–	✓	?
Article possible	✓	✓	✓	–	–	✓	?
Pronominal object: possessive	✓	✓	✓>✗	?	✓	✓	✓
Lexical object: genitive	✓	(✓)	(✓)>✗	?	(✓)	✓	(✓)

the-big] can in principle mean either 'the king's big house' or 'the big king's house'. Only in formal Arabic is it possible to tell which the adjective applies to, from the case-marking. The usual way of applying adjectives to both H and D is to use a longer construction with two articles and a preposition, structurally similar to the periphrastic construction *the house of the king: al-bait aṣ-ṣaghīr li-l-malik al-kabīr* [the-house the-little to-the-king the-big] 'the big king's little house'. If the genitive construction in Insular Celtic really had its origins in a Hamito-Semitic substratum, it is difficult to understand why this major structural constraint prohibiting the insertion of adjectives between H and D would not also apply in Celtic.

9 Non-agreement of verb with plural noun subject

Yes, this is a striking parallel, strongest in Welsh, Breton, Egyptian, Classical Arabic and to some extent Biblical Hebrew, in the last two with VSO order only; in Breton also with SVO order in the affirmative only; not in Berber. Non-agreement is fairly common with VS order worldwide (Greenberg).

10 Verbal noun, not infinitive (object in genitive, not accusative)

Is this a true dichotomy? There appears to be more like a cline between the abstract verbal noun (Arabic, Georgian *masdar*) and the infinitive (in any case said to be ultimately of nominal origin). The criterion for distinguishing between the two is whether objects are in the genitive (verbal noun) or accusative (infinitive). With the development in Breton since the eighteenth century of true 'accusative' object pronouns (etymologically '*of* + pronoun'): *ma gweled* [my seeing] > *gweled ahanon* [see.INF/VN of.me] 'to see me', little now distinguishes the Breton verbal noun from the French infinitive. In Insular Celtic, only Irish seems truly *masdar*-like.

11 Predicative particle: **he is in a farmer**

Especially in Welsh and Egyptian, if Welsh predicative *yn* really is 'in', and this has recently been challenged by Gensler in 'Why should a demonstrative turn into a preposition: The evolution of Welsh predicative *yn*' (2002).

The construction is '*In **his** farmer*' in Irish. This feature is very limited in Breton, mainly adverbial: *tri bloaż o veżañ ki, tri bloaż **en** ki, tri bloaż o vond er-maes a gi* 'three years becoming ("being") [a] dog, the years as ("in") [a] dog, three years leaving the state of doghood ("going out of dog")', and is marginal in Hebrew and Arabic.

12 Prepositional periphrastic: he is at singing

As Comrie points out (*Aspect*, 1976: 100–2), apart from Insular Celtic languages, which all have prepositional periphrastic constructions, copular locative phrases expressing the progressive are found in numerous other languages: Chinese, Georgian, Yoruba, Shona, Igbo, Kpelle, other Nigero-Congolese languages, Hindi/Urdu, Punjabi, North American, etc., not to mention Icelandic, various German dialects and Continental Scandinavian. However, no Semitic languages do this, although there is an increasing use of active participles. In Egyptian *ḥr* 'on' and *m* 'in' are both used with verbal nouns to express a progressive. Paradoxically, the Breton progressive is much closer in force to the English progressive than the Welsh or Scottish Gaelic periphrastic constructions, which have become a general cursive (imperfective) which freely allows statives (cf. Hewitt, 'Le progressif en breton . . .' / 'The progressive in Breton . . .'). Indeed, there appears to be a general tendency in various languages for a parallel evolution of simple tense > specialised uses, and progressive > general imperfective; cf. the evolution of Welsh, Hindi and Hebrew below:

Classical Welsh
siarad-af
speak-PRES/FUT.1.SG
I speak / I will speak

yr wyf yn siarad
TP be.PRES.1.SG in speak.VN
I am speaking

Modern Colloquial Welsh
siarad-a i
speak-FUT.1.SG I
I will speak

rw i 'n siarad
be.PRES.1.SG I in speak.VN
I speak / I am speaking

rw i wrth-i 'n siarad
be.PRES.1.SG I at-3.F.SG in speak.VN
I am speaking (right now)

Old Hindi
bōl-ũ̃
speak-PRES.1.SG
I speak

bōl-tā hũ̃
speak-PROG be.PRES.1.SG
I am speaking

Modern Hindi/Urdu
bōl-ũ̃
speak-SUBJ.1.SG
[that] I [may/should] speak

bōl-tā hũ̃
speak-IPFV be.PRES.1.SG
I speak / I am speaking

bōl rah-ā hũ̃
speak stay-PFV be.PRES.1.SG
I am speaking (right now)

Biblical Hebrew	**Massoretic Hebrew > later stages**
yi-ḵtoḇ	*yi-ḵtoḇ*
3.SG.M-write.IPFV	3.SG.M-write.IPFV
he writes / will write	he will write
koteḇ	*koteḇ*
write.ACT.PRT.M.SG	write.ACT.PRT.M.SG
he (was/is/will be) writing	he writes / is writing

13 Periphrastic DO: he does singing

This conflates at least three distinct uses: (1) activity DO with dynamic (non-stative) VPs: (Middle) Welsh, Breton; (2) DO with NPs: numerous languages; (3) DO as an empty auxiliary: North Welsh; Breton to avert V-1 in the affirmative (also English *do* with negative, interrogative). This is not typical of Semitic.

a thrannoeth yn jeuenctit y dyd kyuodi a oruc (1, Middle Welsh)
and next.day in youth the day rise.VN TP did.3.SG *Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed*
and on the morrow when the day was still young, he arose

dysgynnu ar y pren a wnant
descend.VN on the tree TP do.3.PL.PRES/FUT
they will alight on the tree
(1, Strachan, *Introduction to Early Welsh*, §123)

a cherdet recdi y r coed a oruc y uorwyn
and walk.VN before.3.F.SG to the wood TP did the maiden
and the maiden went on to the wood
(1, Strachan, §123)

rinne sé gáire (2, Irish, Wagner, *Das Verbum . . .*, p.101)
did he laugh.N
he laughed

na i weld o fory (3, North Welsh colloquial)
do.FUT.1.SG I see him tomorrow
I will see him tomorrow

sevel a ra tîer (3, Breton)
raise.VN TP do.PRES.3.SG houses
He/she builds houses

sevel tîer a ra (1, Breton)
raise.VN houses TP do.PRES.3.SG
He/she builds houses (lit. 'does house-building'; dynamic verbs only, not statives)

14 Circumstantial clause **and** S PRED *(subordinating* **and***)*

This feature is typical of both Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic (in Berber it is possibly borrowed from Arabic): Breton *gweled neus ahanon ha me o tond er-maes* [seen he.has me.OBJ and I PROG come.INF out], Arabic *laqad ra'ā-nī wa-'anā ṭāli'* [PFV he.saw-me and I coming.out] 'he saw me as I was coming out'. The construction is syntactically coordinate (in both Celtic and Semitic, the order after '*and*' is always SVO), but semantically subordinate; an adversive '*although*' connotation is possible.

15 Nonfinite possible instead of finite main-clause verb

This is particularly prevalent in Welsh, followed by Hebrew (infinitive absolute), but not in Arabic. There are sporadic examples in Irish and Breton.

16 Word-initial phonetic changes (mutations), various syn. functions

The Insular Celtic initial consonant mutations are hardly comparable to the Berber 'construct state' initial changes *argaz > urgaz (wərgaz)* 'man', *tamɣart > tmɣart* 'town', which appear to be more akin to vowel contraction, cf. the Hebrew construct state forms described under feature 8. As formulated, this is rather too abstract a feature to be confidently attributed to substratal influence, and there are numerous instances worldwide of results of phonetic changes acquiring a grammatical function, cf. the correlation of transitive/intransitive with unaspirated/aspirated stops in the Modern Lhasa pronunciation of Tibetan, a consequence of the phonetic evolution of initial consonant clusters in that language:

spel	*skol*	*spur*	(Classical Tibetan, Beyer, 258–9)
/¯peː(l)	¯köː(l)	¯pur/	(Modern Lhasa pronunciation)
increase (tr.)	boil (tr.)	scare away	
'phel	*'khol*	*'phur*	(Classical Tibetan, Beyer, 258–9)
/¯pʰeː(l)	¯kʰöː(l)	¯pʰur/	(Modern Lhasa pronunciation)
increase (intr.)	boil (intr.)	be scared away	

17 Idiomatic genitive kinship constructions: **son of X**

This is very productive in Semitic, cf. Iraqi Arabic *abu chegāyir* [father.CS cigarettes] '(street) cigarette seller'. It is not typical of Brythonic; the few examples in Insular Celtic are in Irish: *mac tíre* [son land.GEN] 'wolf'.

18 Nominal clause (absence of copula)

There is no copula in the present tense in Semitic, only in non-present (future, past) tenses. This is not the same as ellipsis of the copula in Insular Celtic, especially Welsh, and to a lesser extent Breton, in gnomic expressions.

19 Amplification of negative by noun after verb: French **pas**

Arabic dialects (Palestine and westwards) have developed a French-like circumfix *mā V-sh* (<*shi* 'thing'); Welsh *ni V S ddim*, Breton *ne V S ked*. This is surely part of a general linguistic tendency to amplify function words that otherwise risk being lost altogether.

20 Numerals followed by singular

Yes, in Brythonic; in Irish, originally nouns after 20 and higher multiples of 10 stood in the gen. pl.; due its identity with the nom. sg. in some declensional classes, this gave rise to its reinterpretation as singular. In Semitic, 11 and higher – 3–10 are followed by nouns in the plural. Numerals are followed by singular nouns in many languages.

21 Prepositional expression of **have**

Yes, Breton is the only Celtic language to have developed a verb 'have': *m-eus*, etymologically [to.me-there.is] 'I have'. This is used for perfect tenses . . . *meus gweled* [I.have seen] 'I have seen' and possession of indefinites *arc'hant meus* [money I.have] 'I have money', but possession of definites is usually expressed with prepositional periphrasis *an arc'hant so ganin* [the money is with.me] 'I have the money', as it is in the other Celtic languages, Hamito-Semitic and many other languages worldwide.

22 Possessive **he broke his arm** *rather than dative* **il s'est cassé le bras**

Yes, this is true of both Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic; 'internal' possession with a possessive, rather than 'external' possession with a dative is rare in European languages, with the exception of Celtic and English. It is unclear which is more common worldwide. Note that Breton requires a combination of both types (possessive + dative) where the possessor of the object is not the same as the subject (possible, but not obligatory in French):

Mae Ieuan wedi torri 'i fraich
is Ieuan after break.VN his arm
Ieuan broke his arm

Mae Ieuan wedi torri braich Pedr
is Ieuan after break.VN arm Pedr
Ieuan broke Pedr's arm

(Welsh)

Jean s' est cassé le bras
Jean RFL is broken the arm
Jean broke his arm

Jean (lui) a cassé le bras à Pierre
Jean (to.him) has broken the arm to Pierre
Jean broke Pierre's arm

(French)

Yann neus torred e vrec'h
Yann has broken his arm
Yann broke his arm

Yann neus torred e vrec'h da Ber
Yann has broken his arm to Per
Yann broke Per's arm

(Breton)

deus 'ta heol benniged da dommañ o revrioù d' ar ffiliped (Breton)
come then sun blessed to warm.INF their backsides to the sparrows
come on, dear sun, and warm the sparrows' backsides

23 Preference for parataxis (Pokorny: **anreihend** *'stringing along')*

It is unclear how such a feature, identified by Pokorny, could be measured, and if it could be demonstrated, whether it is really unique to Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic.

24 Basic unit word group rather than single word

Again, it is unclear how such a feature might be measured, and whether it is unique to Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic.

25 Subjectless sentences (impersonal constructions)

Both Pokorny and Wagner list this as a common feature. This probably covers a number of distinct phenomena which need closer definition, and in any case, it is hardly unique to Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic.

26 No presentlactive participle

Yes, for Insular Celtic, but not true of Semitic at all.

27 Distinction between essential and contingent BE **(is/tá)**

Yes, in Irish (*is*/*tá*) and Breton (*eo*/*emañ*), but not in Welsh or in Semitic. Again, such a distinction is quite common worldwide.

28 States/relations expressed with **N (PREP-O) PREP-S**

Yes, cf. Irish *Tá scilling agam ort* [is shilling with.me on.you] 'you owe me a shilling', *tá tart orm* [is thirst on.me] 'I am thirsty'. Felt to be very typical of IC; not particularly typical of Semitic.

29 Welsh **yn**, *Egyptian* **m** *'in': predicative, locative, progressive*

Attention was first drawn to this amazing coincidence by Morris Jones, and it is tantalising if true. However, there is some question as to the identity of the three *yn*'s in Welsh, cf. Isaac 'The progressive aspect marker: W. *yn*/OIr. *oc*' (1994), where he proposes that progressive *yn* derives from *wnc* 'close', and Gensler, 'Why should a demonstrative turn into a preposition' (2002), who claims that Welsh predicative *yn* is derived from a deictic *int*.

30 Old Irish infixed pronoun **-d-** *identical to Berber* **-d-**

Pokorny drew attention to this, for instance in 'Keltische Urgeschichte und Sprachwissenschaft' (1959: 157). Its significance is unclear.

31 Comparatives (and superlatives) predicative only, not attributive

This is especially true of Irish, but not of Brythonic or Semitic.

32 Initial focus clefts

Such structures are common across many languages.

33 Yes/no responsives with auxiliary/verb lentire clause

This is considered to be very typical of Insular Celtic (which is held by some to have given rise to English '*yes, it is*', '*no, I don't*', etc.), but is not particularly characteristic of Semitic.

34 Prepositional relative: fronting of bare preposition **the bed in I slept**

Only Irish and Berber have this.

35 Unmarked collective, derived singulative

This is particularly productive in Breton *blew/blewenn* and Arabic *sha'r/sha'ra* 'hair/strand of hair', cf. Hewitt, 'Quelques ressemblances structurales entre le breton et l'arabe' (1985), but less so in Welsh and Hebrew, and it is quite marginal in Irish. It is also found in other languages, such as Swahili *nywele/unywele* (ditto).

36 Virtual complement clause VSO; factual complement clause SVO ~ VSO

'Virtual' complement clauses of the type 'I want John to come' are obligatorily VSO in both Arabic and Breton, whereas 'factual' complement clauses such as 'I think John will come' are obligatorily SVO in Arabic; traditionally they have been VSO in Breton, but since the eighteenth century, an alternative SVO order has become increasingly frequent. It is unlikely that this should be French influence because Breton never has SVO order in the 'I want John to come' type, cf. Hewitt, 'Quelques ressemblances structurales entre le breton et l'arabe' (1985). This similarity is far more likely to be typological rather than substratal in origin.

Arabic	**Breton**
'urīd 'an yajī' Zaid	*me meus c'hwânt e teuffe Yann*
I.want that come.3.SG.SUBJ Zaid	I I.have desire TP come.3.SG.COND Yann
I want Zaid to come	I want Yann to come
'aẓunn 'anna Zaid sa-yajī'	*me a soñj din e teuo Yann*
I.think that Zaid will-come.3.SG	I TP think.3.SG to.me TP will.come Yann
	me a soñj din (penaos) Yann a deuo
	I TP think.3.SG to.me (how) Yann TP will.come
I think that Zaid will come	I think that Yann will come

37 Construct state **bahuvrīhi** *adjectives (Arabic 'improper annexation')*

Many languages have such adjective-noun compounds, including English, cf. '*pure-hearted*', '*great-winged*' below. The construct is formed with a possessive in Celtic, but has the form of a normal construct state in Semitic; note, however, the difference in treatment of the article between Hebrew and Arabic: in Arabic, the dependent noun always has the definite article; when the compound is definite, the whole construct state has, quite exceptionally, a definite article prefixed to it; in Hebrew, it is the article on the dependent noun that determines, in rather more orthodox fashion, whether the compound is definite or not.

un den ledan e chouk (Breton)
a man broad his nape
a well-to-do man (i.e. who can bear a heavy [financial] load)

rajul ṭāhir al-qalb (Arabic)
man pure the-heart
a pure-hearted man

ar-rajul aṭ-ṭāhir al-qalb (Arabic)
the-man the-pure the-heart
the pure-hearted man

nɛšɛr gǎḏōl kǎnāp̄ayim (Hebrew, Ezek. 17:7)
eagle great wings
a great-winged eagle

han-nɛšɛr hag-gāḏōl, gǎḏōl hak-kǎnāp̄ayim (Hebrew, Ezek. 17:3)
the-eagle the-great great the-wings
the large, great-winged eagle

38 Topic ≠ subject ('double subject' sentences)

This is very common in both Breton *Per eo klañv e vab* [Per is ill his son] and Arabic *Zaid marīḍ ibn-uh* [Zaid ill son-his] 'Per/Zaid's son is ill'; Breton *Chirac a dalc'h e fri da voanâd: c'hwessa a ra partoud!* [Chirac TP keeps his nose to narrow.INF: sniff TP he.does everywhere] 'Chirac's nose keeps getting narrower/keeps narrowing: he's sniffing everywhere [for votes]'. Again, this is surely typological; it is found in numerous languages.

39 Yes/no dummy sentential pronoun: **I don't know and he they came**

This concerns a partial resemblance between Breton and Egyptian Arabic, cf. Hewitt, 'Quelques ressemblances structurales . . .'; the main difference is that in Breton the dummy pronoun is invariable, whereas in Egyptian Arabic it must agree in number with the subject: Breton *n-onn ked hag-eñv e oa aed ar baotred* [NEG-I.know not and-**he** TP was gone the boys] 'I don't know whether the boys went'; Egyptian Arabic *sa'al-ni humma r-riggāla rāḥu* [he.asked-me **they** the-men they.went] 'he asked me whether the men had gone'. This is unlikely to be substratal.

Concluding remarks

The existence of striking structural similarities between the Insular Celtic and the Hamito-Semitic languages is beyond question. However, the matter

of whether this is to be attributed to substratal influence through prehistoric contact or to typological tendencies and correlations remains unresolved. Indeed, we have no reliable diagnostic for deciding which of the two factors may be in operation in a given situation. Gensler's statistical approach (the low likelihood of such clustering of 'exotic' features in two genetically unrelated families) is in itself skewed: by focusing on the shared features, he loses sight of the bigger picture, including all the features that are not shared by the two families. Furthermore, he has no way of accounting for the relative frequency or centrality of his various features in the languages concerned.

Authors who are inclined towards a substratal explanation for these shared features appear at times to be prey to a kind of 'substratum frenzy', as if prehistoric contact can be the only possible explanation for 'un-Indo-European' traits in an Indo-European language. This attitude may be rooted in traditional historical linguistics, which has tended to focus on the phonetic and lexical components to the detriment of more abstract structures. With lexical items, for instance, the number of plausible phonetic sequences is so vast that any significant accumulation of lexical similarities between two genetically unrelated languages can hardly be anything other than a sure sign of some sort of contact and borrowing. With structures, however, the range of possibilities across languages is far more limited – there are, for instance, only so many ways of expressing a genitive relation – so it is far less surprising for unrelated languages to possess analogous structures. It is therefore important always to bear in mind and investigate thoroughly the possibility of a typological explanation.

A major problem with the substratal explanation is the precise identity of the substratum. A subsidiary puzzle is the special affinities noted between Welsh and Hebrew (several authors, most recently Jongeling), Welsh and Egyptian (Morris Jones), Irish and Berber (Morris Jones, Pokorny and Wagner), and Breton and Arabic (Hewitt – probably typological: both SVO~VSO topic-prominent languages); in each case, however, the number of features concerned is low enough for the 'special affinity' to be coincidental.

As noted above, Gensler's scores suggest that it is the Insular Celtic languages which are most typical of the 'Celtic/Hamito-Semitic type' rather than the Hamito-Semitic languages. This is also borne out by the above table of shared features by author and language, where the various features are more consistently present in Insular Celtic than in Hamito-Semitic. This is the reverse of what one would expect if the shared features had their origin in Hamito-Semitic. We may take a cue from Jongeling, who, rather than assuming a specifically Hamito-Semitic substratum in Insular Celtic, moots a single prehistoric substratum to both Hamito-Semitic and Insular Celtic. We might go one step further and raise the possibility that such a substratum could have been centred on north-western Europe or even the

British Isles, where it affected the incoming Celtic languages strongly, but the more distant Hamito-Semitic and North African languages less so. The identity of such a substratum, however, would perforce be so shrouded in the mists of prehistory as to be quite unknowable. Clearly, more work is needed on both the substratal and typological approaches to this fascinating question.

Tibetan for 'dog', pronounced /¯k^{h}i/, cf. Welsh *ci*, Breton *ki*, Irish *cú*.

Abbreviations

ACT	active
ADV	adverb
AFF	affirmative tense particle
Ar.	Arabic
ART	article
AUX	auxiliary
Bb.	Berber
Br.	Breton
CL	class
COND	conditional
CONS	consonant
CS	construct state
D	dependent
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
Eg.	Egyptian
F	feminine
FUT	future
G	given
GEN	genitive
gen.	gender
H	head
HS	Hamito-Semitic
IC	Insular Celtic
INF	infinitive
INTR	intransitive
IPFV	imperfective
Ir.	Irish
LNK	link
M	masculine
N	new
NEG	negative tense particle
NOM	nominative
num.	number
O	object
o	pronominal object
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
P	predicate
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PREP	preposition
PRES	present
PROG	progressive
PRON	pronoun
PRT	participle
REL	relator
RFL	reflexive
S	subject
SG	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive
T	tense
TP	tense particle
TR	transitive
V	verb
VN	verbal noun
W.	Welsh
X	some initial element: P, S, O, Adv, etc.
x	agreement, marked on both terms

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Understanding Bronze Age Scandinavian Rock Art:

The Value of Interdisciplinary Approaches

Introduction

In this article, we employ an interdisciplinary approach to explore the possibility that Scandinavian Bronze Age rock art was created by warrior-trader secret societies as part of the ritual practices associated with long distance exchange activities. Additionally, we suggest that secret societies may have been responsible for the creation and maintenance of a Supra Regional Network that linked the Limfjord/Jutland and Tanum/Bohuslän areas together in Western Scandinavia. (Fig 1). In short, we propose that rock art depictions of warriors represent individuals engaging in activities and rituals conducted by secret societies. Interestingly, these warrior images are often accompanied by depictions of supernatural beings, large ships, the wearing of ritual gear especially with bird-like attributes, bi-horned helmets, masks, and other exotic items characteristic of secret societies (Hayden 2018; Ling et al. 2018, nd).[1] (Fig. 2). In addition to being a boat building location, we posit that the Tanum/Bohuslän area was also an ancient secret society pilgrimage location (c.p. Hayden 2018). These assertions are supported by ethnohistoric and ethnographic observations from various groups in which the relationship between secret societies and the creation of rock art is firmly established. Additionally, we suggest that ethnographic analogies can help to explain some of the rather enigmatic Scandinavian

Figure 1. Map showing the location of the Supra Regional Network encompassing the Limfjord/Jutland area in Denmark as well as the Tanum/Bohuslän region of West Sweden.

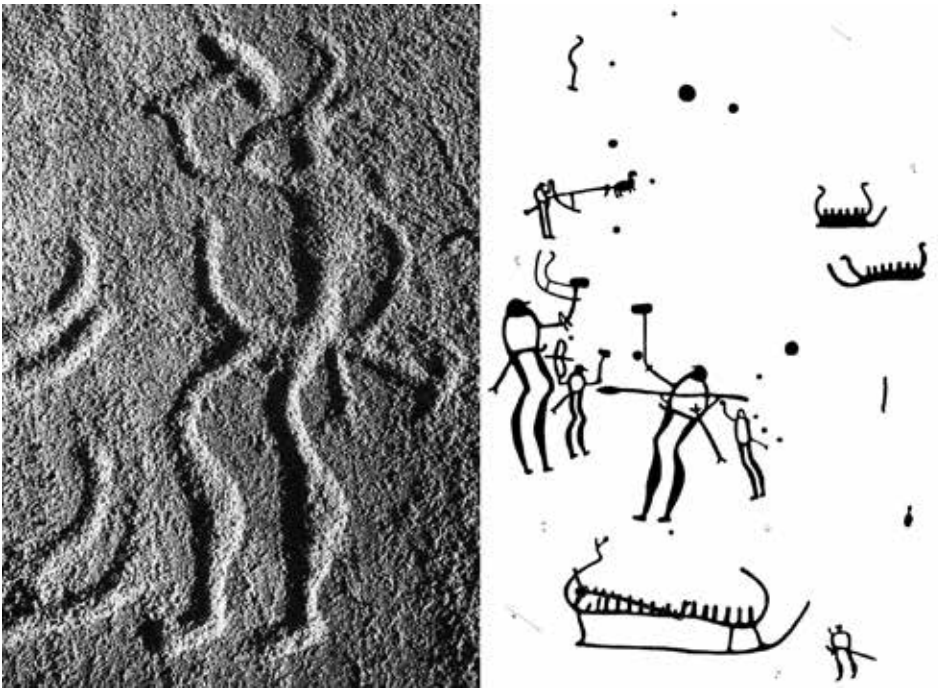


Figure 2. Images of warriors with bird like masks brandishing weapons from Bronze Age Scandinavian rock art locations at Tanum. To the left, the "shaman warrior" from Lövåsen. Photo by B. Almgren. Source: SHFA. To the right, warriors with bird like masks brandishing axes, spears, swords, and bows from Tegneby. Documentation by T. Högberg. Source: SHFA.

Bronze Age feature, often located close to the Bronze Age shore line, commonly referred to as 'cooking pits' (Petersson 2009).

We hypothesize that Bronze Age Scandinavian rock art panels feature individuals from secret society boat-building and seafaring guilds whose members included warriors, traders, mariners, ritual specialists, and boat-building craftsmen who engaged in maritime long distance exchange. Moreover, the processes outlined in this investigation may account for the widespread similarities in Scandinavian Bronze Age art together with its distribution and shed light on how social complexity may have developed in Scandinavia during the Bronze Age.

Our approach incorporates cross-cultural analyses along with theory from the fields of archaeology, cultural anthropology, sociology, and history (Chacon and Hayward 2017; Earle 1997, 2002; Hayden 2018; Ling et al. 2018b). We believe that engaging in such comparisons for the purpose of creating and testing various archaeological models is a valid endeavor (Reybrouck 2000; Melheim et al. 2016). This approach is most appropriate given our focus on social evolution, political economy, social interaction, social inequality and complexity in pre-state societies. We hold that analogies can be useful in the evaluation of various archaeological models (Earle 2013; Ling et al. 2018b). Thus, with this understanding, our theoretical framework is informed by ethnographic analogies, particularly when maritime factors and/or warfare are involved. We also hold that such cross-cultural comparisons reveal specific geographical, socio-cultural, economic, political, technological, and

environmental conditions that have repeatedly shaped humanity's ability to inhabit coastal locations. However, before we proceed any further into these topics, we turn to describing the characteristics of secret societies.

Secret Societies

The term "secret society" is in realty, a misnomer. In fact, a more proper way of describing this type of sodality would be to refer to it as being "a society with a secret"--a secret that conferred power, protection, and wealth on members. Secret societies were relatively common in traditional cultures on five continents and formed an important aspect of ethnographies by many of the leading ethnologists of the last century, including Boas, Drucker, Kroeber, Lowie, Fortune, Wissler, Speiser, Evans-Pritchard, and Talbot (see Hayden 2018). In these societies, it was generally necessary to pay very large amounts to be initiated into these voluntary and very exclusive societies in order to learn the secrets which usually claimed to provide special supernatural knowledge, experiences, protection, and powers. Thus, secret societies are found in societies that are capable of producing substantial surpluses and wealth, as typified by Scandinavian Bronze Age societies and transegalitarian or chiefdom societies in general (Hayden 2018; Ling et al. 2018).

Secret societies could also take the form of warrior organizations which warfare literature sometimes refers to as Gefolgschafts' or "brotherhoods" (Vandkilde 2006; Raffield et al. 2015). An important defining feature of secret societies is also that of forming an exclusive "ingroup." An ingroup refers to "[a]ny group in which an individual is a member; these can be based on chosen or nonchosen characteristics…" (Heinzen and Goodfriend 2019:271). Social psychology research shows that ingroup members tend to discriminate in favor of their own ingroup and they are likely to share a belief in the existence of similarities among fellow ingroup members (Hagtvedt and Johnson 2018). These sociopsychological dynamics operating within ingroups, such as secret societies, greatly enhance the ability to coordinate group effort in an effective manner and thus create significant advantages for such groups in any competitive context, and certainly there was often considerable competition between secret societies for dominance and members.[2] Along these lines, Raffield and co-authors hold that the formation of the Viking fighting units could be understood in light of this ingroup concept (Raffield et al. 2016:37).

Secret societies also operated at regional levels. As documented in many geographical areas from North America to Oceania to Africa, the interaction of secret society members on regional or greater geographic scales is one of their major features. It may be especially important in understanding the regional and supraregional character of rock art in Scandinavia. Secret societies not only provide a motivation for regional interaction and exchange, but also the motivation and ability for creating art together with the means for safeguarding passage to distant communities (see Hayden 2018).

Members of secret societies typically acted to concentrate wealth and power in their own hands and sometimes directly controlled trade in all valuable goods as with the Poro of West Africa (Harley 1968). As such, they also typically dominated or controlled local and regional political organizations. Special task-orientated groups were often part of secret society roles and ranks as well, sometimes involving incipient specialization of labour that included war bands/units, carvers or other artists, mariners, hunters, herders, smiths, or others (Hayden 1995; Birx 2006). Significantly, Bronze Age Scandinavian rock art, is generally associated with most of these activities (Goldhahn and Ling 2013). The location of rock art with ritual themes, is moreover, clearly spatially linked to maritime locations (Ling 2008). Moreover, several scholars maintain that Scandina-

vian Bronze Age rock art depicts staged social (and ritual) dramas that aimed to assert a specific social order (Coles 2005; Ling 2008; Goldhahn and Ling 2013). We would add that establishing a hierarchical social order was precisely what secret societies were trying to do. Along these lines, Hayden states that "Secret society private *and public performances* constituted ritual theatre in which stage magic proliferated. Like good actors everywhere, they played their roles consummately… Shows and claims of power were meant to *impress audiences* and to try to make them believe in the powers claimed by secret society members..." (Hayden 2016:12 [emphasis added]). Many of these public performances may have included power battles between ritualists or "shaman" members in order to demonstrate who was the most supernaturally powerful, as perhaps depicted in some Scandinavian rock art. Shamans engaging in dramatic contests designed to demonstrate their alleged supernatural abilities have been widely documented among native peoples such as the Maidu, Yokuts, Sioux, and Potawatomi (Gayton 1930; Kroeber 1925; Landes 1963). These competitive encounters have been described as instances of "ceremonial jousting" (Landers 1963:559). More specifically, Hill Maidu ritual specialists held shamanic contests in which "[t]hey gather in the [secret society] dance house *from long distances*…[and] Power is exerted by a supernatural shooting or transmission" (Kroeber 1925:424, emphasis added). Another example can be found in the spectacular ritual battles that took place among the Yokuts. These contests "consisted of the magical killing of shamans who were arranged in opposing rows and 'shot' at each other with magic 'air-shot.' Only the doctor [shaman] who projected the fatal shot into a fallen opponent could withdraw it. If the shot were not removed the victim would not regain consciousness, and would die within a few days" (Gayton 1930:401).

Finally, it needs to be recognized that secret societies, while not universally present in traditional societies at the transegalitarian (ranked) or chiefdom level of political organization, were, nevertheless very common cross-cultural occurrences in these ethnographically-documented societies. Therefore, we should expect to find them frequently occurring in prehistoric societies including many of those in Europe at these levels of political integration. We think that many of the characteristics of Scandinavian Bronze Age maritime societies are indicative of secret society organizations.

Secret societies and rock art

The association between secret societies and rock art is widespread, and secret societies in general were one of the principal creators of art in various media, especially masks. For example, in North America, ethnographic evidence links secret societies to both masks--like the renown Northwest Coast masks--and rock art. According to Drucker (1940:221), the carving of petroglyphs by initiates was part of the ritual activity required for admission into certain secret societies of the Tsimshian on the Northwest Coast. Given the nature of secret societies, only Northwest Coast Tsimshian secret society members would have possessed the esoteric knowledge of the underlying meaning/symbology of this rock art.

The following example from the maritime based Northwest Coast Bella Coola of British Columbia not only provides additional ethnographic evidence linking secret societies like the *kusiut* society with the creation of rock art but it may also shed light on its function in these societies. In addition, the landscape documented by McIlwraith helps elucidate reasons for the locations of Bronze Age rock art in the Scandinavian landscape.

> Bella Coola chiefs would always call for a meeting whenever a new member was to be initiated into the kusiut secret society. Near every village is a place where the chiefs hold such

meetings. All the inhabitants know the general locality, but there is such dread of the supernatural powers possessed by members of the kusiut society that none would dare go there. If an uninitiated person should do so, he would formerly have been either killed or initiated into the society. The meeting-place of the Qomqo-ts chiefs is on a ledge or rock jutting out over a waterfall about a quarter of a mile from the village. The stream winds down a narrow cleft of the mountain side, screened by dense vegetation, and suddenly falls into a cauldron, so hemmed in by cliffs that no sunlight can enter. The ledge is immediately above the brink of the falls, one of the most awe-inspiring places imaginable. The meeting-places of other villages lack such natural settings, though all are at the bases of cliffs, or near some easily distinguished feature. Some of them are decorated with *rude carvings, pecked into the stone*. The meaning of the designs is not known to any of the present inhabitants. Some of them were made, long ago, by chiefs when they were composing tunes; they picked out the rock in time to the music forming in their minds. Others were mere memorials of certain events. If a chief gave an important ceremony, he, or one of his friends, carved a figure, perhaps that of a man, perhaps of some animal connected with the rite, to recall the occasion (McIlwraith 1948:177-178, emphasis added).

Importantly, for the Bella Coola, the rock art associated with highly esoteric secret society initiation rituals was located at some distance from village sites. The fact that the rock art was created away from settlements, and that access was probably hidden and prohibited to non-members, has also been stressed in terms of the Scandinavian Bronze Age rock art (Goldhahn and Ling 2013). This is further illustrated by Figure 3.

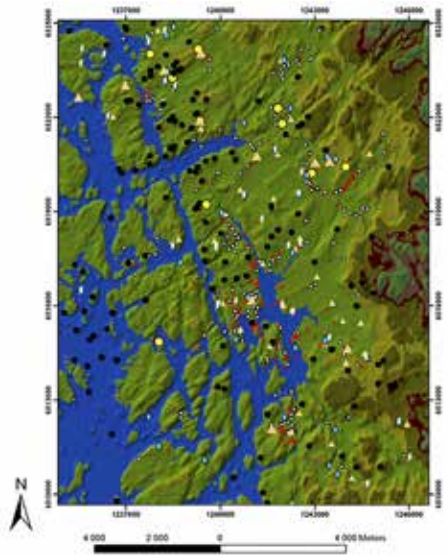


Figure 3. Map showing different Bronze Age sites in the Tanum/Bohuslän region and showing a shoreline about 15 m higher than presently. Red dots = rock art sites; white dots = cup mark locations; black dots = cairns; large buff triangles = settlement finds (carbon dates, ceramics, or other features) dated to the Bronze Age; small buff triangles = indicate settlements from the Bronze Age; yellow dots = bronze items; blue diamonds = flint daggers; white flashes = flint sickles. After Ling (2014).

Other scholars also report links between rock art and secret society initiation rituals as indicated by the following: "The magical fraternities [i.e., secret societies] of the North American Indians hold a most important place in the social and religious life of the people. Candidates for initiation give much attention to the preparation of the songs and chants sung by members at the lodge meetings or at the public performances of the [secret] societies. By means of elaborate rituals and songs, by *pictographs* and sand paintings, the religious traditions concerning the ancestors of the tribe are carefully preserved" (Webster 1908:179, emphasis added).

Links between rock art and secret society ceremonies can also be found in other parts of the world. For example, the rock art found at the Kanamuget site

in Uganda is associated with Sor secret society spirit mediums (Namono 2017). Additionally, the Nyau secret society members of central Malawi and eastern Zambia were known for their tradition of creating rock art (Smith 2001). Moreover, some investigators report the existence of a nexus between rock art and "secret male unions" (i.e. secret societies) in Siberia and the Lower Amur region (Lapshina 2016:1331). "In the Lower Amur basin, there are numerous monuments of rock art. They are characterized by the predominance of skull masks. The semantic content of these artifacts allows [us] to identify them as the main attributes of the rituals of the secret male unions [secret societies]..." (Lapshina 2016:1320). The highly decorated petroglyph panels in Yalo Cave on Malekula Island (Vanuatu) appear to have been created by secret societies (Hayden 2018:230), while Condor Cave in Southern California was decorated with paintings related to the winter solstice and was used by secret society specialists for rituals at the winter solstice (Hudson and Underhay 1978:53, 55, 69-70).

Many factors link the propagandistic and esoteric nature of Bronze Age Scandinavian rock art to Hayden's (2016) assertion highlighting the motivation on the part of secret societies to *impress audiences*, whether consisting of society members, ritual guests, or the public. We will return to this topic after further examining the characteristics of secret societies. In sum, these sodalities are often found in association with several distinctive characteristics/practices, which may have been present during the Scandinavian Bronze Age. These included:

1. Ritual activity involving theatre, sacred masks, dances, along with a shared symbology with an esoteric meaning.
2. The making of rock art in the form of petroglyphs and/or pictographs.
3. Power iconography of ritual importance featuring war canoes, warriors, fighting, solar depictions, and metals (Ling 2008).
4. A regional or supra-regional iconography focused on power animals, myths, or regional interaction, and shared art styles (Goldhahn and Ling 2013).
5. Strong associations with warriors and publically or ritually staged supernatural or martial contests between individuals.
6. The procurement of exotic ritual paraphernalia, particularly metals for rituals and for fighting.
7. The creation of regional or supra-regional networks with ritual participation and exchanges.
8. Focus on surplus production and gift exchanges to establish networks of power and alliance (Earle et al. 2015; Ling et al. 2018).
9. Control of trade in valuable goods (Earle et al. 2015).
10. Esoteric knowledge about martial arts, navigation (including astronomy), and cosmopolitan affairs (Ling et al. 2018).
11. Requirements of wealth and power for membership.
12. Warriors able to raid, trade, protect, and to intimidate (Ling et al. 2018).
13. Simple decentralized ranked and/or chiefdom levels of sociopolitical organization (Kristiansen and Earle 2014; Earle et al. 2015; Austvoll 2018).

The common association between warriors and secret societies would have been particularly attractive for Scandinavian Bronze Age adventurers because society rituals proffered supernatural protection for individuals who were engaging in combat so as to ensure victory (Hayden 2018). Horned helmets may have been part of the ritual paraphernalia that was supposed to confer supernatural powers on combatants or at least in ritualized contests (see Fig. 6). Seafaring in island environments is another likely association with secret societies due to the dangers and risks involved in excursions made to attend regional rituals, procure exotic

ritual paraphernalia (as on the American Northwest Coast and Island Southeast Asia), or to control trade in valuable materials as exemplified by West African Poro secret societies (Harley 1968; Hayden 2018). Warrants of supernatural protection could have been given all such ventures. In the following section, we examine the war-related rock art themes in Bronze Age Scandinavia and its link to secret societies.

Scandinavian Bronze Age rock art

Generally, Scandinavian localities with high concentrations of rock art depicting warriors and weapons are located in coastal areas.[3] These regions were all, in the Bronze Age, linked to water transport. (Fig 4). The impressive rock art in the Tanum/Bohuslän region of Sweden faced the North Sea, while Scania, Uppland faced the Baltic and even Norrköping was linked directly to the Baltic Sea. Regarding the dating of the south Scandinavian Bronze Age rock art, various techniques have been used over the years. Currently, a dating sequence of 1700-500 BC is accepted by most scholars (Kaul 1998; Ling 2008, 2013).

Figure 4. Map showing the regions in Scandinavia marked by the presence of rock art depicting boats (after Ling and Cornell 2015).

There is no other Bronze Age region in Europe where rock art images of violence are so numerous, varied, and pronounced as in Scandinavia. This imagery includes staged fights in watercraft, combat scenes on the ground, and scenes depicting the act of killing. Most of the rock art panels that include war-related scenes were created during two separate chronological phases of the Bronze Age, Period II (1500-1300 BC), and Period V (900-700 BC) (Ling and Cornell 2015). Interestingly, these phases correlate with the circulation of the greatest amounts of metals in Scandinavia. Thus, the representation of violence on these panels dovetailed with the Bronze Age society's investments in long distance exchange of metals that in turn, spurred social inequality (Vandkilde 2006; Ling 2008; Earle and Kristiansen 2010; Ling et al. 2018). It is also important to point out that the Scandinavian Bronze Age is associated with an increased number of actual weapons being recovered along with a large number of rock art panels depicting conflict (Thrane 2006).

Since research findings indicate that Scandinavian societies obtained metal from various regions of Europe, we posit that the warriors depicted on rock panels in Scandinavian regions represent Bronze Age actors engaging in activities associated with the acquisition and/or distribution of metal that was highly coveted (Ling et al. 2014). Forming a specialized sodality of Bronze Age Scandinavian society, these "warriors" were likely involved with maritime trade, warfare, and long distance exchange (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005; Kristiansen 2016). We suggest that these warriors likely formed a type of "warrior/trader/secret society" (more on this below).

Importantly, the war-related motif is only one of several other recurring themes present in Scandinavian rock art. This war-related rock art may have functioned as a type of advertising or showing-off involv-

ing society myths or displays of bravado. However, it may have also been associated with actual violent events or ritual battles (Ling and Cornell 2015). Advertising or showing-off, whether to the public or to potential or real adversaries, have been and continue to be, important strategies in times of warfare and it is tempting to interpret these warrior images as a component of military propaganda (Ling and Cornell 2015). To use a contemporary analogy, one may consider modern day large military parades as being designed to advertise/show-off an army's strength as a type of military propaganda.

Additionally, as previously mentioned, we propose that important sectors of Scandinavian Bronze Age rock art may have formed part of a secret society's esoteric ritual practices. For instance, the majority of the panels at Tanum/Bohuslän were sculpted on horizontal rock outcrops forming the ground surface. They were not placed vertically like billboards, but were rather invisible on the landscape unless standing directly around them. This indicates that they were meant to be viewed by a select number of people who knew exactly where the sites were located, and that their symbolic content was linked to the esoterica (whether myth or history) of those standing at the site.

While there are only a relatively small number of panels on bedrock with slopes of 45 to 90 degrees, even these cases support this interpretation. The reason for this stems from the fact that locations with panels on bedrock with slopes of 45 to 90 degrees had very limited visibility of images. Today, Scandinavian Bronze Age rock art sites are often considered as being in relatively inaccessible locations. However, these sites would have been visible by boat in the Bronze Age because they would have been found along the ancient shoreline (Ling 2008). This is a result of the shore displacement and sea level change phenomena. Even if the images were painted, for which there is no concrete evidence, they would still not have been visible from the sea beyond 10-30 m. Thus, viewing such images would have been restricted to individuals with access to marine craft as well as knowledge of where to find specific rock art sites.

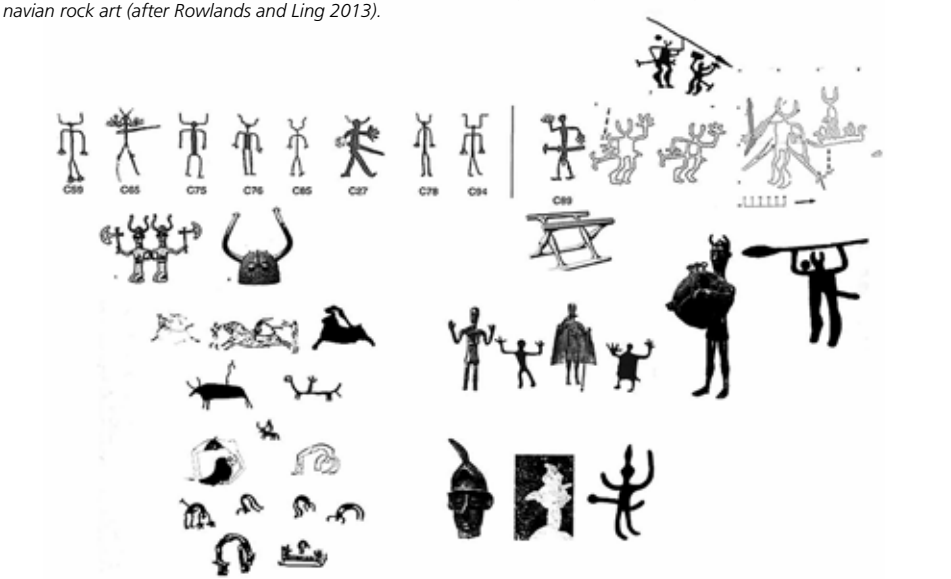
Therefore, the overall placement of the rock art in southern Scandinavia suggests the possibility that warrior/trader/secret society members from larger and perhaps even distant polities gathered and interacted at these locations. It should be stressed that the rock art was primarily a regional medium, with certain regional styles, connected to a Supra Regional Network. Additionally, the prominence/abundance of Scandinavian Bronze Age coastal rock art at certain localities indicates that these areas could also have functioned as rendezvous points for the sharing of esoteric knowledge among secret society members made up of warrior/traders that would have included individuals with expertise in boat construction and navigation as well as esoteric ritual knowledge. This is evident by cosmopolitical depictions of warriors (often dressed in ritual attire), weapons, boats, chariots, supernatural beings, the sun, and other ritual features on rock art panels or associated with boats (Kaul 1998; Kristiansen 2004; Harrison 2004 Goldhahn and Ling 2013). Indeed, some panels like the Fossum scene (Ling 2008), appear to represent congregations of 12 or more substantial boats which must have represented a gathering on at least a regional scale. (Fig. 5 and 6).

The Maritime Component of Scandinavian Rock art and Secret Societies

Many warriors and combat scenes depicted in Scandinavian rock panels have been carved in association with boats indicating a link between warriors and watercraft. As previously mentioned, much of this rock art was created close to the Bronze Age shoreline. To be more precise, at Tanum/Bohuslän, 70 percent of the known rock art sites are found at or adjacent to the Bronze Age shoreline.

Figure 5. Boats and warriors from the famous Fossum site at Tanum. Note warriors in "ritual battle" holding ritual axes of the Skogstorp type. Documentation by G. Milstreu. Hällristningsmuseum Underslös. Source: SHFA.

Figure 6. Cosmopolitan codes and features from different parts of Bronze Age Europe. Top: warriors depicted in Spanish rock art marked with the letter 'C.' Swedish rock art to the right (unmarked). Mid-section: horned figurines from Grevesvænge, a horned helmet from Viksø, and a stool from Guldhøj, Denmark. Bottom left: Acrobats and bulls from the Mycenaean world and from Scandinavian rock art. Bottom right: Nuragic warrior figurines compared with Scandinavian rock art (after Rowlands and Ling 2013).



In this context, it is notable that the rock art in general seems to have been located on the perimeter of the inner skerries in rather sheltered places, close to or at the shore of rather large inlets, bays, lagoons or natural harbors, or at strikes, isthmuses, peninsulas, and small islands (Ling 2008). During the Bronze Age, much of it would have been only visible from the water.

To date, no Scandinavian Bronze Age boats have been found, however, most scholars recognize major similarities between the Hjortspring boat (dated to 340 cal BC), and the Bronze Age vessels shown in Scandinavian rock art. This indicates a long boat-building tradition in the region (Crumlin-Pedersen 2003; Kaul 1998). As inferred from rock art depictions, the average Bronze Age boat held a crew of 7-20 individuals while some images show large vessels with crews of 40-60 individuals in boats that were likely war canoes and/or ceremonial watercraft (Ling 2008). (Fig. 7).

With regards to aggrandizers, it is tempting to associate these types of individuals with the images of very large warriors depicted on many elevated rock panels at Tanum/Bohuslän. The rock art at this location has features that may reveal the agency of special task-oriented groups. In terms of the location of Tanum/Bohuslän rock art, the following characteristics are prevalent:

- The rock art is found along coastal or maritime locations.
- Most rock art is found at ground level on bedrock outcrops that are poorly visible from a distance.
- Boats are often depicted in rock art.
- Rituals/performances are often depicted in rock art in association with boats.
- Anthropomorphic figures brandishing weapons are often depicted in rock art.

It is possible that rock art carved along coastal or maritime locations show scenes from 'maritime initiation' rites or other

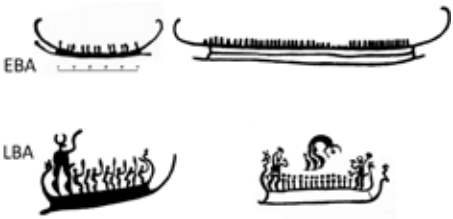


Figure 7. Crewed ships from the Early Bronze Age (top) and Late Bronze Age (bottom). Documentation by T. Högberg and G. Milstreu at Tanum. Hällristningsmuseum Underslös. Source: SHFA.

rituals that were part of a secret society of warrior/traders. That is, the initiation into this sodality may have involved the creation or display of rock art. It is likely that only members of the warrior/trader/secret society would have been allowed to witness and/or take part in esoteric initiation rites and that members were marked for recognition as initiated members with tattoos or scarification patterns as occurred in many ethnographic secret societies (Hayden 2018). Thus, this sodality or 'brotherhood' could have provided the social mechanism by which highly specialized navigational skills, boat construction methods, and likely, rock carving techniques were passed from one generation to the next.

Along these lines, we think that there are good reasons to consider that the coastal Scandinavian Bronze Age rock art depictions of warriors may represent individuals engaging in rituals characteristic of secret societies. Such depictions of "warriors" are often accompanied by images of large ships, specific ritual paraphernalia, and other exotic items. This suggests the existence of a Supra Regional Network possessing exclusive access to esoteric and exotic materials and knowledge including the use of metals as materials imbued with supernatural qualities (Ling et al. 2018, nd; Austvoll 2018).

Rock art, boat building guilds, and a Supra Regional Network

Ling et al. (2018, nd; Austvoll 2018) hypothesized that ambitious households

from the wealthy rich agro-pastoral Limfjord/Jutland region of Denmark sent their own wood craftsmen and ritual specialists to establish a timber extracting and boat building settlement in the Tanum/Bohuslän area. Some settlers could have been sent in a first wave of settlement during the Late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age while local wood craftsmen and agro-pastoralists would have likely been recruited from pre-existing local Tanum/Bohuslän communities.

The following findings point to interaction between the Tanum/Bohuslän and Limfjord/Jutland regions. Eighty-one flint daggers were recovered at Tanum/Bohuslän (Ling 2008) dating from the Late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age and these items were produced and imported from the Limfjord/Jutland region (Apel 2001). Additionally, bronzes found at Tanum/Bohuslän dating from the Early to Late Bronze Age show strong typological ties to bronzes found at Limfjord/Jutland (c.p. Baudou 1960; Vandkilde 1996). As in the case of the flint daggers, it is reasonable to assume that most of the bronzes found in Tanum/Bohuslän were transferred from the Limfjord/Jutland region during the Bronze Age. Moreover, the Limfjord/Jutland area has far more bronze finds than the Tanum/Bohuslän region. About 500% more in comparison (Kristiansen 1978; Randsborg 1968). Furthermore, lead isotope analyses carried out on the bronzes found at Tanum/Bohuslän compared with the ones recovered in the Limfjord/Jutland area show that they derive from the same copper sources, that is, from Atlantic Europe and from the Italian Alpine region (Ling *et al*. 2014, 2019; Melheim et al. 2018). Additionally, the Limfjord/Jutland area may have also served as a major transit zone for the metals arriving from central European networks via the Elbe River (Ling et al. 2019, fig 21). Thus, the relatively high number of bronzes found in the Limfjord/Jutland area as well as their shared metal signatures indicates that Limfjord/Jutland region served as the major transit zone for the distribution of metal in the direction of west Sweden (i.e. the Tanum/Bohuslän region) during the Bronze Age. The theory of the interaction between the said regions is further confirmed by the subsequent rise in magnitude and frequency of rock art and cairns in the Tanum/Bohuslän area and the rise in metals and barrows, along with the expansion of settlements in the Limfjord/Limfjord area during Period II, III and V (Ling 2008:151pp)

These are also the Periods when evidence of environmental degradation appears in the Limfjord/Jutland region. For example, pollen analysis of western Jutland samples (dating to the beginning of 1500 BC) show evidence of rapid deforestation resulting from the expansion of local agro-pastoral activities (Andersen 1999). Moreover, during Period V, there was an overall overexploitation of the soils in southern Scandinavia that spurred migration to less impacted areas (Kristiansen and Rowlands 1998). Therefore, during this time, the Tanum/Bohuslän region would have been an ideal location for Limfjord/Jutland polities to establish themselves especially given the richness of timber in the area. Moreover, in this context, it is significant to stress that Limfjord/Jutland had a considerably higher population density than Tanum/Bohuslän during these periods (Holst et al. 2013). Therefore, the combined desire for land for agro-pastoral activities, fish, and not the least timber, made the settlement of the Tanum/Bohuslän region an attractive endeavor.

Additionally, there are good indications of boat building activities at Tanum/Bohuslän in the form of what have been termed "cooking pits." Such archaeological features occur along the former Bronze Age shoreline in western Sweden. Recent excavations revealed a number of these features in the Tanum/Bohuslän area, all dated to the Bronze Age (Cleasson 2014; c.p. Lönn and Cleasson 2007; Petersson 2009). However, their characterization as "cooking pits" is undermined by the fact that archaeological excavations of the pits located by the Bronze Age shore line have

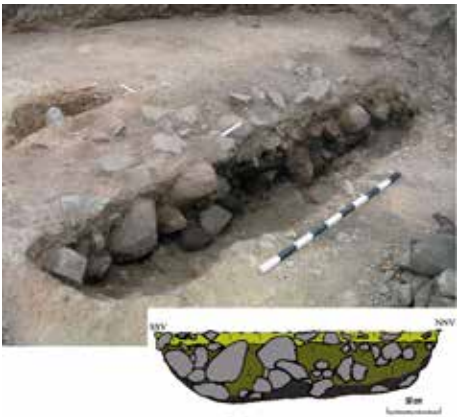


Figure 8. Large Bronze Age elongated "cooking pit" from Tossene parish in Bohuslän, West Sweden. This site, containing fire cracked stones, wood fragments, and charcoal, was excavated and documented by Johan Ling (after Ling and Ragnesten 2009).

rarly included food remains but rather, they contained burnt wood, fire cracked stones, and charcoal (Cleasson 2014; Ling et al. 2021; Lönn and Cleasson 2007; Petersson 2009; see also also https://www.kcaw.org/2016/10/06/canoe-steaming-carries-tlingit-haida-tradition). Therefore, we suggest, in line with Petersson (2009), that these fire-cracked elongated stone pits were associated with boat building activities and we provide the following support of this interpretation. (Fig. 8).

For similar use of fire in the building of boats particularly for the expansion of the log that constituted the bottom plank of planked built watercraft, see the the Hjortspring boat. (Fig. 9). Analyses of the wood found in these Bronze Age shoreline pits show that the types of wood are similar to the types that were used in the construction of prehistoric boats (Petersson 2009). Moreover, ethnographic studies document the use of fire-heated stones for the steaming of wood to be used in boat building particularly for the keel and the side portions of traditional watercraft (Clausen 1993; Ling et al. 2021). This interpretation finds additional support from the following ethnographic information collected among the Haida.

In order to gain a better understanding of traditional boat building techniques, several of the authors of this article conducted ethnographic investigations among the Haida of British Columbia during the summer of 2018. A Haida craft specialist named Christian White, who currently builds boats, informed us that traditionally, Haida boat builders used fire to heat stones which, in turn, would be placed in water.[4] Steam emanating from the heated water would be used to bend the wood used in the construction of boats. According to this traditional Haida boat builder, small fires were built near boat construction sites for the purpose of heating the stones that would be used in the wood bending process. Given these observations we think that the Scandinavian Bronze Age 'cooking pits' documented by Petersson (2009) are probably the remains of fire pits constructed for heating stones that were employed in boatbuilding activities.[5]

Returning to the nexus between Limfjord/Jutland and the Tanum/Bohuslän regions, as previously stated, we posit that Limfjord/Jutland aggrandizing households would have secured badly needed timber for boats from an extractive settlement at Tanum/Bohuslän (Ling et al. nd). This settlement would not only have provided timber for boat construction but also for

Figure 9. Photo the The Hjortspring laug (the Hjortspring boat building team) in the process of bending a log by using heat and steam emanating from an elongated fire pit. This log will serve as the hull for a log boat. Photo by The Hjortspring laug.

export.[6] Additionally, settlers would have likely included individuals with practical knowledge of boatbuilding (i.e. craftsmen) along with secret society ritual specialists possessing the esoteric knowledge (i.e. chants, magic, etc.) deemed necessary for successful outcomes.

In light of this, we suggest that some of the Scandinavian Bronze Age rock art at Tanum/Bohuslän could have formed part of specific rituals conducted for successful boatbuilding, expeditions, and/or actual events that may have taken place during the course of long distance trade expeditions. Ethnographic observations from the Trobriand Islands support this argument. For example, many rituals were conducted in association with the construction of canoes that were to be involved in the Kula Trade organization which exhibits many similarities with secret societies. According to Malinowski (1922), at every stage of the Kula Trade, starting from the toppling of the trees that were to be fashioned into canoes, specific rites were conducted by ritual specialists to ensure successful outcomes.

Tangentially, since ritual specialists and individuals with rock carving skills most likely formed part of crews, these individuals may have created images of actual events and/or foreign/exotic technologies that they had witnessed. For example, the Bronze Age rock art panel at Backa contains unmistakable images of chariots that are very similar to the chariots depicted in Iberia (Harrison 2004). To date, no Bronze Age chariots have been recovered in Scandinavia. It is possible that the chariots depicted at Backa represent a form of technology that a long distance warrior/trader/ritual specialist carefully observed and then faithfully rendered on a Scandinavian outcrop during the Bronze Age. (Fig. 10). As previously mentioned, it also seems likely that secret society members incorporated practical features of a 'brotherhood' in which they shared practical knowledge involving navigation, boat construction and watercraft maintenance.

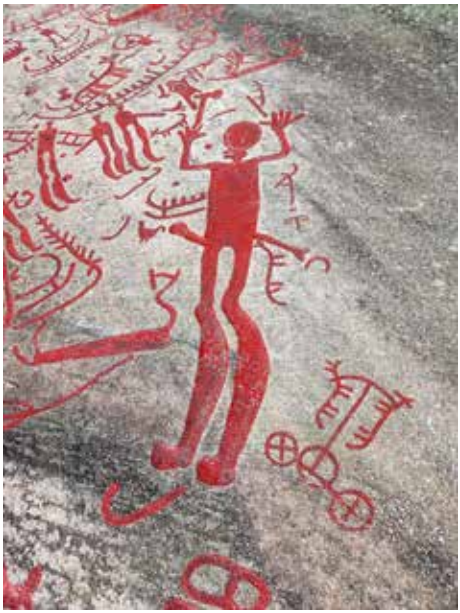


Figure 10. Depictions of warriors and chariot from Backa, West Sweden. The Bronze Age chariot carvings are very similar to the chariots depicted on Iberian rock art and also similar to archaeologically documented Mycenaean chariots. Source: SHFA.

Of considerable importance, members of such a sodality would have been guaranteed safe passage while travelling through a region inhabited by fellow secret society members.[7]

Along these lines, we posit the likelihood that Scandinavian Bronze Age rock art panels may have served as a form of cryptic messaging designed to convey esoteric information and/or foundation myths to fellow sodality members. This position finds support in the *secret language of signs* that Liberian Poro secret society members employed to communicate with associates inhabiting distant locations. Despite belonging to different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, all Poro members recognized and honored the social standing of high ranking Poro secret society members who could thus securely travel throughout a very large region (Harley 1968). We suggest that the presence of a transregional and inter-ethnic means

of communication in the form of rock art could have facilitated long distance travel and exchange throughout the Supra Regional Network operating during the Scandinavian Bronze Age.

Pilgrimages and Secret Societies

In addition to associations between secret societies and rock art, boats, warriors, and long distance exchange, we also would like to suggest that the dense rock art locality in the Tanum/Bohuslän region may have served as a pilgrimage location for a wider region in western Scandinavia. It is clear from the ethnographies that major ritual events put on by local secret societies drew other members of the society to attend from large regions, hundreds of kilometers in radius (Hayden 2018). Where these gatherings were routinely held in or near the same village, they might be termed elite or secret society pilgrimage locations, and they may well have involved the creation of shrines, architecture, and art of various types including rock art. In Sweden, during the Iron Age, the site of Old Uppsala served as a political and ritual location where elites seasonally traveled long distances (up to 500 km) to negotiate, to compete for power, and to engage in ritual activities (Alkarp 2009; Sturlasson 2018). Other Indo-European cultures had such ritual centers like Chartres which was used for Celtic intertribal gatherings for Druids; and Druids fit all the characteristics of secret societies, including contributing their magical efforts to battles. The Phoenicians who sent out ships to procure metals, too, had a type of secret society for traders with Melqart as a patron deity. The cult priests constituted an exclusive group from the richest and most important families; they were hierarchically organized and had great political power; priests became ecstatically possessed, and they engaged in human sacrifices. They established temples at their entrepots in the Western Mediterranean where all trading transactions took place (Aubet 1993:128-9,232-5).

With these considerations in mind, we would like to raise the possibility that Tanum/Bohuslän served on a seasonal basis as a suitably remote trans-regional meeting location where secret society groups, from a wider area, gathered and made some of the rock art. The ritual activities that took place at this location would have included the initiation of new members or advancement of existing members up the hierarchy; the transmission of knowledge relating to sociopolitical affairs involving ritual, power, and warfare; and the transmission of practical knowledge related to ritual or prestige craft technology, navigation, boat construction, and watercraft maintenance. Astronomical knowledge, in particular, seems to have been an important component of the esoteric knowledge of many secret societies elsewhere in the world and would have been indispensable for navigation in the open ocean. Many scholars have also stressed that certain Bronze Age Scandinavian rock art carvings and images may be associated with arcane astronomical knowledge. For example, cup marks, ring crosses, circles, and wavy lines may denote the movements of celestial bodies and in particular, the passage of the seasons (Kaul 1998; Tilley 1999).

The kind of ritual gathering that we propose finds archaeological support in the fact that similar remote sites with elaborate art have been advanced as the best candidates for Supra Regional secret society ritual sites, including Gobekli Tepe, Lascaux Cave, and Chavin de Huantar among others (Hayden 2018). Tanum/Bohuslän appears to have been less strongly developed, but operating with the same dynamics. In addition, many items depicted on the rocks in the Tanum/Bohuslän region include bronze ritual objects, such as bronze horns, ritual axes, and ritual shields (see figure 5). See figures 11 and 12. These types of objects have not been recovered from this region presumably because of the short sojourns at this location and the subsequent dispersal of wealthy initiated members (who possessed most

Figure 11. Bi –horned warriors from the Late Bronze Age blowing bronze horns at the Kalleby site at Tanum 405. Documentation by G. Milstreu, Tanum Hällristningsmuseum Underslös. Source: SHFA.

of the bronze) to their respective destinations carrying their bronzes with them after the termination of the ritual gathering. However, the rock art that displays their bronzes remained in place for all members to see. The secret society would have vaunted its ability to acquire and use a sacred metal like bronze. In contrast, bronze objects such as bronze horns, ritual axes, and ritual shields have been found in the Limfjord/Jutland area which consisted of permanent residential communities that engaged in rituals and displays of bronze in their homes, villages, cemeteries, and regional centers (see also below).

This finding suggests that elites from the Limfjord/Jutland region probably would have participated in the seasonal brotherhood gatherings in the Tanum/Bohuslän region to engage in major regional rituals in which rock art played a central role.

The importance of location

Geographically speaking, the Limfjord/Jutland region was situated in a very strategic location in the Bronze Age. Moreover, the possession of sea worthy boats by local aggrandizing households, would have permitted raiding parties to ply Scandinavian

Figure 12. The Kville 124 rock art site. Warriors brandishing ritual bronze shields with an acrobat nearby. Documentation by G. Milstreu, Tanum Hällristningsmuseum Underslös. Source: SHFA.

coastlines with the goal of taking captives. In turn, these same boats would probably have transported slaves and badly needed timber from northern Scandinavia to Jutland in the south.[8]

Limfjord/Jutland households which sponsored the settlement of Tanum/Bohuslän would likely have distributed many types of prestige goods to supporters including boats and timber along with a portion of captured slaves. Profits generated from these transfers could be used in turn to fund costly long distance trading expeditions to secure metals from the south. Such expeditions would have used boats built in the Tanum/Bohuslän area. These watercraft appear to have been manned by warrior/traders along with ritual specialists. The bulk of the slaves (that were captured along northern European coast) and perhaps other commodities such as amber were likely transported southwards in exchange for metals. We think it is worth considering that many, if not all, crew members (or their closely affiliated kin and/or supporters) on these long distance exchange expeditions may have been members of a secret society. Alternatively, only the owners of the boats and high ranking members of the crew may have been secret society members with the rest of the crew and specialists simply being contracted to perform services.

In summary, Limfjord/Jutland's strategic location allowed local ambitious households access to a network that would have given them the ability to obtain coveted metals originating from sources to the south. This would have been the case because the Danish isles held a favorable position in terms of metal supply coming through the riverine routes of the Oder and Vistula and overland routes from Central Europe.[9] Moreover, permanently resident and wealthy Limfjord/Jutland aggrandizers in all probability would have fostered loyalty by rewarding faithful appointees in the Tanum/Bohuslän settlement with gifts of metal obtained from the south. This hypothesis provides a possible explanation of why so many depictions of metal artifacts appear on Tanum/Bohuslän rock panels (i.e., functional and ritual swords, axes, lurs, shields, broaches, etc.) while relatively few metal artifacts have actually been recovered in this region (Malmer 1981). In contrast, numerous metal objects have been recovered in the Limfjord/Jutland district (Kaul 1998). The metal objects appearing on Tanum/Bohuslän area rock panels may simply represent the use of such items in oral histories of events back in Limfjord/Jutland, or representations of *items and outcomes that were highly valued and desired* by the sponsoring Limfjord/Jutland households and secret societies. Moreover, secret society members may have carved panels showing historical, mythological, or hoped-for victorious warrior/traders/ritual specialists returning from distant battles with captives or, as depicted in one instance, a boat appears to be transporting a metal "oxhide" ingot from a trading expedition. (Fig. 13).

As previously mentioned, successful expeditions/raids provided ambitious Limfjord/Jutland households with the necessary commodities (boats, slaves, and timber) needed for securing metals from the south. The subsequent distribution (likely in the form of potlatch-like competitive feasts) of highly coveted metals originating from the south mostly went towards the supporters of the sponsoring aggrandizing households residing in or near the Limfjord/Jutland district. It is reasonable to propose that members of the households that underwrote ship building and seafaring expeditions also occupied leadership positions in local secret societies together with local political structures.[10] With this hypothetical scenario in mind, the rise of power of certain ambitious households in northern Jutland's Limfjord district during the Bronze Age can be considered as a logical outcome, as discussed below.[11]

Discussion and Conclusions

This interdisciplinary approach involving archaeology, ethnology, history, sociology,

Figure 13. Depiction of an oxhide ingot on a ship dated to 1400–1300 BC, from a rock art panel in Norrköping, Sweden. Photograph by Catarina Bertilsson. Source: SHFA.

and ecological data has yielded findings indicating that during the Bronze Age, ambitious agro-pastoralist households from the deforested Limfjord/Jutland area established a timber extracting settlement in the Tanum/Bohuslän region. As one of the most productive and rich locations in Bronze Age Scandinavia, the Limfjord/Jutland region had considerable wealth that may have been used to establish secret societies involving other Supra Regional groups to promote and control maritime trade. As the premier ship-building region, Tanum/Bohuslän may have been chosen for major ritual gatherings involving other regional "chapters" of the secret society that formed a Supra Regional Network. The most important role of this ritual sodality was probably to facilitate the socio-economic and political interactions that took place in the area, settle disputes, and guarantee safe passage, lodging, and transactions for all members throughout the network (Ling et al. 2018, nd).

In our reconstruction of the maritime complex which is being considered here, the extractive Tanum/Bohuslän settlement likely included agro-pastoralist families that could have provisioned a sodality of warrior/traders/ritual specialists who built and navigated boats, secured timber, and raided for slaves. Ambitious Limfjord/Jutland households appear to have directed the importation and subsequent distribution of timber in the Limfjord/Jutland region. By doing so, many Limfjord/Jutland co-residents which had received timber would have become indebted to these households. In turn, the socially, politically, and economically upwardly mobile Limfjord/Jutland households would have been able to count on support from their indebted co-residents who would have provided help in organizing and provisioning long distance metal-securing trading expeditions to the south.[12] Upon the return of a successful expedition, these same aggrandizing Limfjord/Jutland households would have overseen the distribution of

metals to local supporters and to a relatively small number of loyal appointees who were probably fellow secret society members in the Tanum/Bohuslän settlement.[13]

Through these actions, certain ascending Limfjord/Jutland households operating in the Supra Regional Network (forged by secret societies), successfully made use of both agro-pastoral and nautical sectors of the economy. Through time, these ambitious Limfjord/Jutland households generated large profits via the importation and distribution of timber, slaves, and metals. The accumulated wealth, prestige, and power of these timber-slaves-metals exporting/importing Limfjord/Jutland households (which we suggest also occupied leadership positions in local secret societies and dominated local or regional politics) grew over time while the indebtedness of timber, slaves, and metal consuming co-residents also increased.[14] This trend allowed these aggrandizing Limfjord/Jutland households to eventually consolidate political power. We believe that this was the process that transformed Bronze Age Scandinavian societies of the Limfjord/Jutland region into ranked and perhaps, even chiefdom level polities (Ling et al. nd).

Lastly, we wish to reiterate the value of employing an interdisciplinary approach when seeking to understand the nature of Bronze Age Scandinavian rock art or when trying to comprehend how social complexity may have developed in the region. As is illustrated in this article, such collaborative approaches can greatly enhance our ability to understand the possible processes that took place back in prehistory.

Acknowledgements

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Dr. Richard Chacon (Winthrop University)
Prof. Johan Ling (University of Gothenburg)
Dr. Brian Hayden (Simon Fraser University)
Dr. Yamilette Chacon (James Madison University)

Notes

[1] Interestingly, animal pelt headdresses (particularly those that included birds) often also formed part of the sacred regalia of Mississippian secret societies (Dye 2017).

[2] For a rigorous study of secret societies, consult Hayden (2018).

[3] The Scandinavian landscape has been transformed by shore displacement. This displacement indicates that many rock art sites (which are found inland today) were located along the coast during the Bronze Age.

[4] According to this Haida master craftsmen, this process was not without its hazards as super-heated rocks would sometimes crack when placed in water and individuals standing nearby during this process could be struck by rock fragments traveling at high speeds (R. Chacon's unpublished fieldnotes, n.d.).

[5] There is a major difference between the traditional Scandinavian plank-built boats and the traditional log boats of the Haida, even if they are of the same size generally speaking. Haida boats are cut from a single log while while Scandinavian watercraft are comprised of several parts. However, both boat building traditions employ the same elementary steam techniques to either bend the bottom plank and to soften the planks so they can be

bent in the direction needed or to expand the boat.

[6] According to Ling (2008), Scandinavian Bronze Age boats could carry up to 1 ton of cargo so the transporting of large quantities of timber during this time period was most certainly possible. In order to reduce weight, timber could have been transported as wooden planks or logs could have been floated alongside the hull.

[7] The Chumash Indians of southern California conducted maritime exchange using a native plank canoe *(tomol)* that was capable of traveling great distances over open ocean. Among this indigenous group, existed an institution known as the "Brotherhood of the *Tomol*" which afforded safe passage to its members. Given the fact that the Chumash engaged in warfare and ritual violence, the presence of this type of secret society likely facilitated trade in the region (Blackburn 1980; Fagan 1995; Johnson 2007).

[8] Consult Ling et al. (2018, nd) for evidence of slavery in Scandinavia during the Bronze Age.

[9] This scenario finds support in the following: According to recent research, a high percentage of Early Bronze Age metal found in Sweden originated from Central and Western European sources such as the Alpine region, the British Isles, and Iberia (Ling et al. 2014).

[10] According to Hayden (2016:11), "… secret societies typically used expensive paraphernalia often from distant sources; they controlled and consumed vast resources; they were regional in scope; they provided regional mobility…[they] engaged in feasting, the largest events being used to publicly display their supernatural and profane powers."

[11] This hypothesis also explains the relative paucity of Bronze Age metal artifacts recovered in the Tanum/Bohuslän area. Additionally, since timber harvesting and boat building could only have taken place during warm periods, it is likely that inhabitants of the Tanum/Bohuslän settlement only resided at this isolated location during the summer months. This hypothesis also explains the scarcity of large settlements in the Tanum/Bohuslän region during the Bronze Age.

[12] See Chacon and Hayward (2017) for documentation of how aggrandizers operating in transegalitarian settings, employ debt to forge large and powerful coalitions.

[13] These distributions likely took the form of potlatch-like competitive feasts which not only enhance a sponsor's prestige but place all receivers of 'gifts' in debt. For an ethnographic example of this strategy, see Chacon and Hayward (2017).

[14] According to Dye (2017:85), "[t]he successful ritual sodality member, based on their acquired powers through dreams/visions mediated by animal dream-spirits, enjoyed honor, prestige, and social visibility, attributes which opened political leadership opportunities."

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A PHOENICIAN ALPHABET ON SUMATRA[1]

E. E. W. Gs. SCHRÖDER

TAROETOENG, SUMATRA, DUTCH EAST INDIES

A.

1. SINCE THE WORK of Taylor (hereinafter designated as *N*) and of Bühler (*B*), the origin of the alphabets used on the continent of India is certain. They have sprouted from branches of the Phoenician alphabet.

2. Professor E. J. Rapson (*J*) remarks: "Both of the alphabets now usually known as Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī are of Semitic origin; that is to say, they are derived ultimately from the same source as the European alphabets. They were introduced into India at different periods, and probably by different routes. Brāhmī is found throughout the sub-continent and in Ceylon. The home of Kharoṣṭī is in the Northwest; and whenever it is found elsewhere it has been imported.

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[1] List of authors:

A. J. L. A. Brandes, *Bydrage tot de vergelykende klankleer* (1884).

B. G. Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, in *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde* (1896).

C. A. E. Cowley, *The Hittites, being the Schweich Lectures for 1918* (London, 1920).

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E. A. Erman, *Aegyptische Grammatik* (1894).

F. J. Park Harrison, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1875, p. 387.

G. K. F. Holle, *Tabel van oude en nieuwe Indische alphabetten* (1882).

H. M. Joustra, *Karo-Bataksch woordenboek* (1907).

I. F. Junghuhn, *Die Battaländer auf Sumatra* (1847), Table IX.

J. E. J. Rapson, *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I (1922), p. 62.

K. H. G. Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World* (1916).

L. W. H. Schoff, "Early Communication between China and the Mediterranean," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 1921.

M. Kurt Sethe, *Der alte Orient* (1921), p. 21.

N. Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet, An Account of the Origin and Development of Letters* (1883).

O. H. Neubronner van der Tuuk, *Bydragen T. L. V. van Nederlandsch-Indië* (1855), pp. 1 ff.

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"Brāhmī has been traced back to the Phoenician type of writing represented by the inscription in which Mesha, King of Moab (*c.* 850 B. C.), records his successful revolt against the kingdom of Israel. It was probably brought into India through Mesopotamia, as a result of the early commerce by sea between Babylon and the ports of Western India. It is the parent of all the modern Indian alphabets.

"Kharoṣṭī is derived from the Aramaic script, which was introduced into India in the sixth century B. C., when the Northwest was under Persian rule, and when Aramaic was used as a common means of communication for the purposes of government throughout the Persian empire. That originally the Aramaic language and alphabet pure and simple were thus imported into Gandhāra, as Bühler conjectured in 1895, has been recently proved by Sir John Marshall's discovery of an Aramaic inscription at Taxila. When the first Kharoṣṭī inscriptions appear in the third century B. C., the alphabet has been adapted to express the additional sounds required by an Indian language; but unlike Brāhmī, which has been more highly elaborated, it still bears evident traces of its Semitic origin both in its direction from right to left and in its imperfect representation of the vowels."

3. As many products of the civilization of the Indian Archipelago show themselves under the dominant influence of the Indian continent, so also in explaining the existence of the alphabets on those islands that influence is supposed to have been supreme. India has acted as a funnel.

4. Taylor (*N* II. 287-288) enumerates, after elimination of non-indigenous alphabets, on the continent of India:

"a. Nearly a score descended from the sacred Devanāgarī script in which the Sanskrit literature is mostly conserved.

"b. Others derived from the Pali, the old alphabet of the Buddhist scriptures.

"c. At least a dozen belonging to the southern, or Dravidian, family of alphabets.

"d. Nearly as many to the Gujerati, or western, type.

"e. Others to the eastern, or Bengali, class."

There seems thus to be ample choice, but practically the number is very limited.

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5. This we see, as for the island of Java, from Taylor (*N* II. 359): "The modern alphabet of Java, which is also used in Borneo, is proved . . . to belong to the Pali class (*N* II. 346). The old Pali, as exhibited in the Kiousa character of Burma, and the Kawi inscriptions of Java, seems to have been derived from a very ancient type of the western alphabet of India (*N* II. 347-348). The old Kawi, on which the modern Javanese is based, is known from copper-plate grants of the 9th and 10th centuries. . . . The alphabet of these inscriptions is a legible Pali of the same general type as the Burmese Kiousa alphabet. This ancient Kawi alphabet of Java is there called the Akchara Buddha, or 'Alphabet of Buddha,' a name which proclaims its introduction by the Buddhist missionaries. The modern Javanese has additional letters derived from an earlier alphabet, belonging to the type exhibited in the Assam inscription (*c.* 9th century), to which the Malay and the cursive Siamese also belong."

6. As for the other islands, Taylor remarks (*N* II. 359): "The Malay alphabets, which extend over the other islands of the Asiatic archipelago, are of more doubtful origin. The principal alphabets used by the Malayan races are the Batak, the Rejang and the Lampong, the Bugi and the Macassar, the Tagala and the Bisaya. These alphabets appear to have been derived from at least two distinct sources. Holle has shown reasons for supposing that the alphabets of Sumatra are only degraded types of the old Kawi. The Eastern Malay alphabets have a different history. Their prototype seems to be the Eastern cursive alphabet, which is represented by the Vengi and Chalukya inscriptions in the South and by the Assam inscription in the North—the Tagala may be taken as the type of the Eastern Malay alphabets."

7. The Vengi and Chalukya types originated in the Deccan. The first dates from probably the 4th or 5th century A. D., the second from the end of the 6th.

8. About the Tagala alphabet Taylor writes (*N* II. 360): "The Tagala alphabet must have been obtained from the Eastern coast of Bengal at some time prior to the 8th century A. D. That it was conveyed by mariners who ventured on distant voyages, is indicated by the fact that the oldest forms of the Malay letters are found in the islands which are most remote from the Indian shores.

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(*N* II. 361): . . . the Tagala is the prototype from which the alphabets of the Celebes and Macassar have been derived."

B.

9. After this introduction we shall confine ourselves to Sumatra. The indigenous alphabets of this island are connected with those of the continent of India in many respects, among which are the method of indicating the vowels and the creation of different forms of the consonants in combinations of letters and ligatures, the latter phenomenon being of unlimited productivity. We refer, without going into details, to forms for *ć, j, n;* sometimes for *š, nć, nj;* at times for *ṅga, ṅka, nda, nta, mba, mpa, nra, nsa, ṅsa;* to different aspirations; to signs for final *-an, -in, -un, -am, -iṅ, -uṅ.*

10. All those elements which are foreign to the Phoenician alphabet can ultimately be compared with elements in the alphabets of India but not with elements in the Phoenician alphabet, except in some cases of direct adaptation, which are therefore of interest in that respect.

11. For the purposes of this paper all those forms may be ignored. Our purpose is not to investigate the development of the Austronesian alphabets in general—which in itself would be interesting and worthwhile—but to see whether in some of those systems of writing, especially those of Sumatra, there exist sufficient data to fix the period at which they were first adopted, and whether they *must* have come to Sumatra through India or if they could have come from Phoenicia directly.

12. If we consider the several indigenous alphabets of Sumatra, we see that they contain respectively the number of characters indicated in the following table:

Batak	Krinchi	Rejang	Lampong	Musi-Ilir	
16–18	27–28	28	18	28	Consonants
5	4–6	2(?)	5	12	Vowels and other sounds

From this it is clear that Batak and Lampong show the simplest forms, and therefore in any comparative treatment should be examined first. Their simplicity, it may be added, does not show any connection with the *dvādaśākṣarī,* with which, according to Hieuen Tsiang, instruction used to begin in India (*B,* p. 2).

13. For the Dutch views about Batak and Lampong, we read

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as the latest opinion on the former (*D*): "The alphabet in which the dialects of the Bataks were written before our Latin characters were known is not an invention of their own; it is evidently a very simplified Indian script, much simpler, for example, than the Javanese script, which is of the same origin, but for the rest founded on the same principles and rules." And concerning Lampong, we read (*D*): "It is one of the forms of the Sanskrit alphabet as that alphabet developed in the Indian archipelago."

14. But we shall see, contrary to the foregoing opinion, that there has been no simplification; rather the simplicity is due to greater originality. Since the Lampong alphabet does not particularly concern us, we shall confine ourselves in the main to the Batak alphabet. So too we shall not deal with the Rejang script, to which J. Park Harrison (*F*) in 1875 for the first time called attention as agreeing with Phoenician script—a fact which I did not learn until after I had begun my investigation.

C.

15. Before going on with the main thread of the argument, we must first pause to rectify an error. The present views concerning the Batak writing are founded on what H. Neubronner van der Tuuk (*O*) said about the writing of Toba, a dialect of Batak: "Batak is written from left to right. Since the usual material for writing is bamboo, which being round can most easily be written upon lengthwise, it is also always written from bottom to top. When reading one can readily hold the writing horizontal. Thus also the Toba's method of writing, which he employs when he writes with ink and a *tarugi* on the bark of the *alim* tree, or, as after more contact with strangers, on paper, is to be ascribed to the material he uses daily."

16. The confusion of this description may be cleared away if we consider what the appearance of our own Roman manuscript would be if we were to turn it back 90° counter-clockwise. That would give our writing an appearance that might make it possible to describe it, in a confused way, as van der Tuuk described the Batak. And it was on some such basis as this that the great naturalist Junghuhn (*I*), writing twelve years before van der Tuuk, understood Batak writing. We may, therefore, correctly describe

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Batak writing as follows: the Batak wrote from bottom to top, the columns following each other from left to right.

17. Since the opinion of van der Tuuk was founded on a misunderstanding existing or arising in his time, and certainly due to foreign influence, it is of no significance to us. Certain it is that to this day in the hill regions of Baros the original method of writing still exists. When considering printed Batak books this point is to be kept in mind.

18. The question arises whether the method of writing has a still greater significance, since we find preserved in the writing from bottom to top a characteristic of the greatest antiquity and originality that has everywhere else been lost; but it is dangerous to attempt an answer to the question. We refer only to Kurt Sethe (*M*): "Für die Anordnung der Zeichen gelten in der Hieroglyphenschrift sehr eigentümliche Gesetze, die sich aus der ursprünglichen Anwendung dieser Schrift in senkrechten Kolumnen mit Übereinanderstellung von Zeichen über Zeichen natürlich erklären, einer Schreibweise, die bekanntlich auch bei den Babyloniern das Ursprüngliche war und bei den Chinesen bis auf den heutigen Tag üblich geblieben ist."

19. In other alphabets (as Lampong, *G* 10-11) we also find the letters placed more or less horizontally, but it is not to be denied that there is also a tendency to place them vertically; they are somewhat inclined; and so the correction to be made is not so great as in the case of Batak, especially when we remember that in writing the letters assume an inclining, cursive character.

20. In the following, therefore, we place the letters vertically. Our authorities are: (1) Junghuhn (*I*); (2) Taylor (*N* II. 240-241), for so-called old and new Batak; (3) Holle (*G* II. 20, 29), for different Batak dialects, distinguished as Mandailing, Angkola, Toba, Dairi; (4) Joustra (*H*, p. ix), for Karo Batak.

D.

21. In the second paragraph we spoke of Aramaic script. To avoid ambiguity we must define the term. By Aramaic are to be understood those Semitic peoples which dwelt in (*N* I. 245-246) "the highland which lay to the northeast of Canaan, the 'lowland.' In its primitive acceptation Aram comprised the hill region

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of Mesopotamia between the upper water of the Euphrates and the Tigris, as well as the tablelands of northern Syria." Taylor uses the term in this sense, when he remarks (*N* II. 24): "The Greek alphabet may have been obtained . . . from Aramean merchants of the Gulf of Antioch, who may have crept along the coast before the Sidonian sailors steered across the open sea."

22. But Taylor also uses the word in a special sense, when he speaks of the Aramean type of letters, arising about the middle of the 7th century B. C., on account of its original development in Aram (*N* I. 245-251). Thus there are contrasted the Phoenician script of Nineveh, really an Aramean town, of the 7th century B. C. and the Aramean alphabet used in the same place, of a somewhat later date (*N* I. 227, col. iii; 250, col. iii). As for the difference between them, we quote from Taylor (*N* I. 251): "The tests by which the Aramean alphabet is distinguished from the Phoenician are not difficult to define. The most characteristic feature is *the systematic opening of the loops of the closed* (Phoenician) *letters.*"

E.

23. When we look at Junghuhn's survey of the Batak letters (reproduced in our Table I), we notice how many symbols formed of straight strokes have beside them others formed of bent lines. This is a systematic extension of a phenomenon which originally was limited to one or the other, and we might deduce that it involves a principle which can be traced back to the Phoenician forms themselves. The bent forms were typical for Toba writing (*I*, pp. 259-260). In Burmese especially this bent system is still more developed (*N* II. 340-341). In making our choice of Batak forms, we have taken those corresponding to the Phoenician.

24. Of much higher interest is the fact that Junghuhn shows beside forms where all strokes are connected others which are built up of free lines; and this phenomenon must immediately be associated with what we said about the difference between Phoenician and Aramean script. It is the keystone for the proof that the Batak alphabet came to Sumatra at the time of the development of this phenomenon, between 700 and 650 B. C.

25. A third point of interest is the boustrophedon alternation

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of the majority of the letters, in direct opposition to the Semitic system.

F.

26. A careful examination of the Batak letters forces us to compare them in Table II almost continuously with the Phoenician alphabet *of exactly the 7th century* B. C. Deviations are mentioned, with references to Taylor (*N*) where they may be found. The Roman numerals indicate the century B. C. in which the symbol is first observed.

27. The comparison with Phoenician signs must furnish the starting point of our investigations. Although the kernel of the Batak script has been preserved almost unchanged for twenty-six centuries, nevertheless the script as a whole has felt the effect of time and the contact with other civilizations. By extensive research, therefore, we sometimes find younger forms alongside of older forms, and of these the origin is ordinarily to be found in India. A comparison of the younger forms is not pertinent here.

28. The presence of the younger forms has been observed particularly in the alphabets of Karo, Angkola, and Mandailing. In the Karo land it is known that there has been Dravidian influence; in Angkola and Mandailing — in contrast with Toba — we have reminiscences of Indian influence in the way of stone images and buildings.

G.

29. We are now ready to give a survey of our comparison. As the differences from Kharoṣṭī and Brāhmī are so considerable that it is not worth while to indicate them, we merely mention the matter here and suggest that for further information reference be made to Bühler (*B*).

In our survey we ignore: (1) *aleph,* for which see sub vowels; (9) *teth,* a letter not found in Batak; and (19) *qoph,* which letter could not exist in Toba, as that dialect does not distinguish the sound *k*.

The different letters will be found in the places referred to in the notes with the Table. The most striking forms have been chosen.

30. For the limited purpose of this discussion we remark that with the exception of (2) *b,* (6) *w,* (11) *k,* and (20) *r* Phoenician

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and Batak show such complete uniformity that any consideration seems superfluous. Fourteen of the seventeen Batak consonants are nearer to the Phoenician source than to any known Indian alphabet. An interchange between *d* and *t* the reader will understand for himself. In regard to the sign for Batak (16) *ng,* we remark that there are in Phoenician two forms, one a closed circle, the other open. For the first compare also *G,* pp. 2-5 for the ending *-ng* of Austronesian words; for the second see also *N* II. 236 ( ).

31. A discussion of the similarity between Batak *b* and *w* and the Greek forms is not pertinent here. The sound (11) *k* is not found in Toba. It seems that the form of Mandailing *k* is that of (5) *h* with two distinguishing bars.

32. While many interesting remarks could be made concerning the data assembled in Table II, we permit ourselves some explanation only of the letter (20) *r,* to show, by a single example, the great value an exact examination of *all* the Austronesian alphabets promises for science.

Although the similarity between Phoenician and Batak *r* is so great that there can be no doubt of their common origin, an examination shows difficulties. The Batak letter itself is formed of a pennant, like that in (3) *g,* combined with a simple stroke. This combination possibly shows that this stroke was put beside the pennant, that is the *g,* for "some distinction"; and this supposition is supported by the fact that square Pali (*N* II. 341) has only the pennant in a form corresponding to the pennant of the so-called old Batak of Taylor (*N* II. 341).

A parallel appears in Cadmean, where the sign for *d* and *r* was nearly the same ( ), and here to distinguish the *r* a stroke was affixed which produced a sign that is in use to the present day ( ). See *N* II. 106.

Such agreement in method might be accidental in the case of scripts so widely separated geographically as are Cadmean and Batak, but the fact that the time of transference for both must have been about the same (6th and 7th centuries B. C.) raises the question whether they could not have had a common source. Further, we are reminded of the hieratic sign for *r* (, see *N* I. 99), which is so formed that if we opened the loops we would get a letter corresponding to Batak *r* (see *N* I. 194 note, and paragraph 42 below).

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33. But the doubled form for one letter is not confined to Batak. We give in Table III a survey of as much as seems sufficient to demonstrate our point.

With the exception of Bugis the form for *r* in each alphabet shows an agreement with the letter *g*; and this fact seems to indicate that thsee different nations themselves were troubled to distinguish between the sounds now represented by *r* and *g*.

Such a possibility would agree with the results of the researches concerning those letters by van der Tuuk and Brandes (*A*); for according to van der Tuuk's second law Malay *r* is in Batak *g*; we can add that in Nias it is *gh* (pronounced like the *ch* in German *lachen*). Thus the word for charcoal is in Malay *arang,* in Kroe (Bengkulen) *harong,* in Batak *agong,* in Nias *agho.*[2]

Therefore it is possible that twenty-six centuries ago the differentiation was still incomplete, and there existed a sound which could be represented by *ghr,* like the Arabic *ghain* or the Hebrew *cheth.* It is clear that for *this* sound only the *cheth* could have been used; and so we refer to Table II, (8) *cheth,* and find that the form of *r* in Krinchi II (Table III) is identical with that of Phoenician *cheth.*

We cannot yet draw a general conclusion, but we have shown that the confusion of sounds and letters *can* at some time lead us to the same certainty about laws of sound in the Austronesian languages that we have reached in the Indo-European languages.

34. The identity of (21) *š* and *j* is proved when we observe that in Phoenician there were two forms for that letter (Table II, columns b and d), of which one is represented by Batak *j,* and the other by Lampong *j* (*G,* p. 10, no. 122). The existence in the two dialects of both these Phoenician letters side by side is another indication that the script was brought to Sumatra in the 7th century B. C. (see *N* I. 236).

H.

35. We have seen that in Batak the majority of the consonants are written with symbols that can easily be supposed to have been borrowed from Phoenician. It is interesting now to see how Phoenician characters representing sounds not existing in Batak were adapted to represent Batak sounds not existing in Phoenician.

[2] The Sephardic pronunciation of ע was *ng* (J. A. M.).

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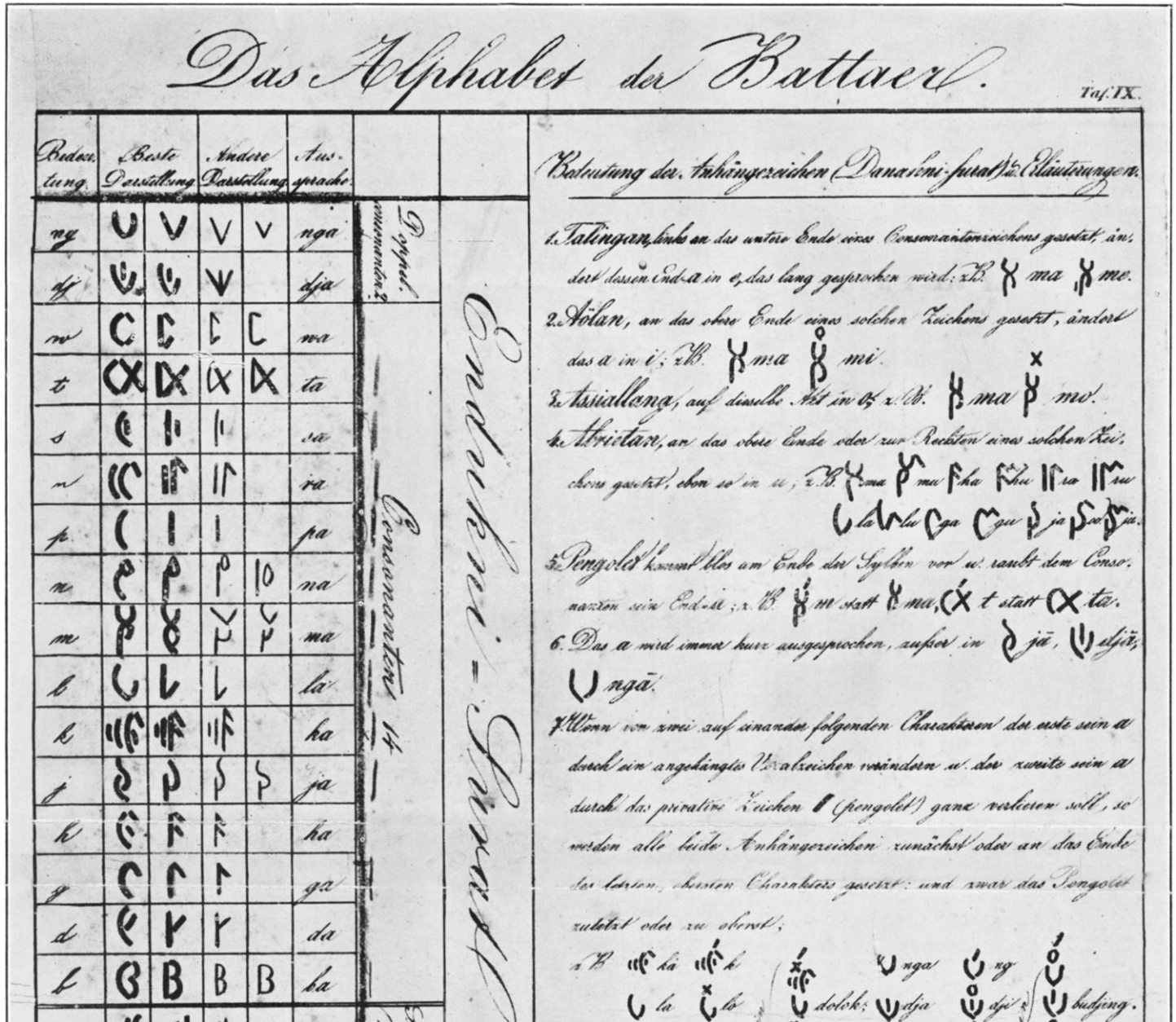
Das Alphabet der Battaer.

Taf. IX.



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Danakni - Surat.

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name.	Phoenician. age B.C.; place; form.					Batak. place; form.			sound. Phoenicia.	sound. Batak.
	VIII a.	Nin. VII. c.	Aram VII. e.	A.S. 620. d.	Greek f.	Dairi. f	Toba. g.	Mandail. d.		
2. beth.		𐤁			B		B		b	b
3. gimel.		𐤂					𐤂		g	g
4. daleth.		𐤃					𐤃		d	t
5. he.		𐤄					𐤄		h	h
6. vau.		𐤅			C		C		w	w
7. zayin.		𐤆				𐤆	𐤆		z	s / s
8. cheth.			𐤇						ch	
10. yod.	2	𐤉					𐤉		y	y.
11. kaph.		𐤊						𐤊	k	k
12. lamed.		𐤋					𐤋		l	l
13. mem.				𐤌			𐤌		m	m
14. nun.		𐤍				𐤍	𐤍		n	n
15. samekh.		𐤎						𐤎	s	c
16. ayin.	ɔ	𐤏					𐤏		c	ng
17. pe.		𐤐		𐤐			𐤐		p	p
18. tsade.		𐤑					𐤑	𐤑	ṣ	s / s
20. resh.		𐤓					𐤓		r	r
21. shin.		𐤔		𐤔			𐤔		š	j
22. tau.		𐤕					𐤕		t	d

notes: a, b: N.I.227 col.II, III. - c: N.I.250 col.III. - d: N.I.227 col.IV. - e: N.II.60. f: G.20 col.I33. - g: Junghuhn(I) table IX. - h: G.II and 20 col.I30, I3I and I30. - The method of writing 7(s) and I5(ś) in Holle meets with some difficulty, the agreement with Phoenician seems deciding. - For 6(vau) see also: B. table I.33. - For 7 and I8 s and ṣ: compare Taylor with Holle. - For the letter b: compare N.II 339(Orissa: p; and b of Multani, Telugu, Canarese, sqare Pali, Tagala). - For the letter vau: compare T.II.337(Nerbudda, Paseppa, Gujarati).

Nin.: Nineveh. - A.S.: Abu Simbel. - Mandail.: Mandailing. -

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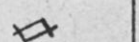
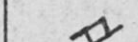
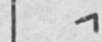
Table III.

9.

Komering.	Krinchi II.	Lampong.	Krinchi I.	Musi Ilir.	Macassar.	Bugis.
						

36.

Table IV.

IO.

Kharoṣṭhī.		Asoka.		Phoenicia.		Batak.	
sound.	form.	sound.	form.	sound.	form.	sound.	form.
j.		s.š.		zayin.		s.	
s.				samekh.		c.	
		ng.		ʿayin.		ng.	
c.		jh.		tsade.		s.	
sh.		j.		shin.		j.	

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The comparison is even more interesting when we observe at the same time the changes made on the continent of India in effecting the same adaptation. The relation of the Batak script to the others may then be ascertained from the points of agreement and difference. We give our results in Table IV. For Asokan writing we borrow from Taylor (*N* II. 336-337), for Kharoṣṭī from Bühler (*B*, p. 22).

36. A certain uniformity between Batak (the elder) and Asokan (the younger) is proved by the correspondence of three sounds, but two others have diverged. The divergences are of more importance than the correspondences. This might be a proof of the direct transference of the Batak script from the Phoenician, but by itself it is not sufficient in view of the correspondences.

The alphabet of the Bataks proves by its forms, which are positively not Aramean but form a transition stage between Phoenician and Aramean, that the period of its transference was between the beginning and the end of the 7th century B. C., and we can therefore extend the geographical limits of the Phoenician alphabet to the Indian archipelago.[3]

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[3] Some very interesting hints will be found in my Nias publication of 1917 (Leiden: E. J. Brill), although the question did not then have its present aspect.

As for Nias I note such words as the following:

Nias, *madala*, "planet"; Hebr. *mazzāl*, "planet" (II Kings 23. 5).

Nias, *harèsō*, "gold, of special quality"; Ass. *ḫurāsu; Hebr. ḫārūṣ*. In Aram the form must have been, via *ḫārūṣ, ḫārīṣ*. Concerning this word we find in Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte* II. 35, "Als die Vermittler dieser mykenisch-semitischen Goldschätze wird man für Griechenland immer in erster Linie die Phönizier bezeichnen dürfen, deren Fahrten nach den östlichen und südlichen Küsten Griechenlands schon im XVI Jahrhundert begonnen haben, und bei denen, wie neuere Inschriftenfunde lehren, *ḫarûṣ* das gewöhnliche Wort für Gold war."

Nias, *huku*, "law"; Hebr. *ḫoq* (Ezek. 45. 14). See also Schröder, *Phoenizische Sprache*, p. 132.

Nias, *rakō*, "einen Bund beeidigen"; Hebr. *kārōt* (Neh. 10. 1).

Nias, *suwà, subwà* (Nias, 366); Hebr. *šbu'āh*, "oath" (Gen. 24. 8; 26. 3).

Nias is a vocalic language, and therefore all syllables are opened by adding a vowel or discarding a consonant.

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Sea Loans at Ugarit
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*Sea loans at Ugarit**

The sea or bottomry loan was one of the more unusual business loan transactions employed in Graeco-Roman antiquity. It was used to finance transmarine trading voyages. The aim of this paper is to present and dicuss the evidence which indicates the existence of bottomry loans at Ugarit and neighboring states during the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C.

One of the more unusual business loan transactions to have been employed in Graeco-Roman antiquity and that survived into the Middle Ages and early modern times was the sea or bottomry loan, called in Latin the *faenus nauticum*[1] or *traiectitio pecunia*.[2] This type of loan, which was used to finance transmarine trading voyages, was distinctive in two ways. First, the creditor assumed the risk of the loss of the security for the loan which was in this case the vessel making the trip or its cargo or both, and, second, the creditor's right to demand repayment of the loan was legally tied to a particular event which had a profit potential, i.e., the safe arrival of the ship and cargo. In ordinary loans, if money was loaned to buy income property, and the buildings purchased with the borrowed money burned down, the lender's right to demand repayment was in no way diminished, or if a man borrowed money and purchased slaves with the hope that the slaves' productive capacity would generate income to pay off the loan, but the slaves ran away, again, the lender could still demand his money. Not so the bottomry loan. Although the specific terms of the contract varied from place to place and from one people and epoch to another, generally speaking, the transaction operated in the following manner: A shipowner or lessee of a ship would borrow a sum of money to either repair or outfit a ship or to acquire cargo for a one-way or round trip voyage. The loan was secured by hypothecating the ship, the cargo, or both. The obligation to repay the loan became due within a specified time—usually twenty days—after the ship and cargo safely arrived at the destination stipulated in the contract. If the security became lost at sea due to pirates, storms, or some other disaster in which there was no evidence of negligence or criminal or fraudulent intent on the part of the borrower, then the obligation to repay the lender with respect to both the principal and the interest was automatically cancelled.[3] If the cargo was partially lost, repayment of the loan was usually on a *pro rata* or *ad valorem* basis. It also must be understood that the application of the money is seldom referred to in the Graeco-Roman documents—only that a ship or cargo was being hypothecated, and the loan will be repayed upon the safe arrival of the ship.

Our sources do not give us any reasons why these extraordinary concessions were extended to the borrower. One can speculate that the shipper could not be expected to pay money he did not have if his vessel was lost at sea, and the shippers were able to convince bankers and financiers that even though far-ranging international commerce might have been necessary to a particular local economy, the extraordinary risks to life and property to make a profit navigating the high seas had also to be acknowledged. Therefore, ships would not sail without additional financial protection. Viewed in this light, the *faenus nauticum* may be considered not as a loan *per se* but as a kind of maritime insurance in which the money advanced to the shipper served as an idemnity against possible loss, and if no loss occurred, the lender could expect repayment at an amount in excess of the customary or statutory interest rates set for ordinary loans.[4] Before Justinian, the interest rate for ordinary loans was limited at twelve per cent with no limit for maritime loans. In 528 A.D., the interest ceiling was lowered and maritime loans were limited at twelve per cent.[5]

The most complete statement we have of ancient maritime law can be found in the various parts of Justinian's

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* The core of this article was originally presented as a paper at the annual joint meeting of the Midwest Branch of the American Oriental Society and the Midwest Section of the Society for Biblical Literature held at the University of Notre Dame on November 12-14, 1972. The author is most appreciative of all comments and criticisms both publicly and privately tendered. Errors that remain are his own.

[1] Such is the title of the second section of the Digest, XXII.

[2] So, Modestinus, Papinian, Paul, and Labeo. *Digest*, XXII, ii, 1, 2, 4, 7, 9.

[3] For a detailed discussion of the legal implications of this type of loan, see Walter Ashburner, ed., *The Rodian Sea-Law* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1909), pp. ccix-ccxxxiv and B. M. Emerigon, *An Essay on Maritime Loans* (Baltimore: Philip Nichlin & Co., 1811), pp. 18-33, 267-292.

[4] Charles Summer Lobingier, "The Maritime Law of Rome," *The Juridical Review*, 47 (1935), 27-28.

[5] Ashburner, p. ccxvi.

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Corpus Iuris Civilis. The sea loan was only one aspect of maritime law the *Corpus* touched upon. The ancient Roman jurists also discussed such problems as shipwreck, cargo liability, jettison, slavage, and injuries.[6] That these subjects should be of interest at all to the Roman jurists is most striking when one considers that the Romans were not the sea-faring people that the Greeks, Phoenicians, or Ugaritians were. The Roman maritime law was probably an appropriate adaptation of the laws and usages of the various sea-faring peoples the Romans had come to know or conquer.[7] Two statements from the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* illustrate this probability. In commenting on a shipwreck case, Volusius Maecianus, a jurist of the latter part of the second century A.D. cited a pronouncement in Greek by the Emperor Antoninus Pius which stated: ". . . let this matter be decided by the maritime law of the Rhodians, unless our own laws conflict with it. Such the divine Augustus ordained."[8] A section of the *Novellae* which deals with the interest rate on maritime loans calls this type of transaction "an ancient custom" (*antiqua consuetudo*) which the Roman law ought to respect.[9]

The question for us here is how ancient was the custom. The private speeches of Demosthenes and evidence from papyri show that the Greek version of the sea loan did not differ very much from the Roman. Insofar as these contracts financed international commerce, they can be considered part of the international law of the time.[10] In Athens and other cities special courts were established to hear cases arising from sea loans and similar maritime transactions.[11] The highly cosmopolitan character of these maritime transactions can be seen from a papyrus which contains a sea loan contract for a voyage from Alexandria to Punt and mentions a Carthaginian, an Elean, a Thessalonikan, and a Massiliote with a Celtic name as parties to the agreement.[12] Also, the "Greek" philosopher, Zeno, as Diogenes Laertius tells it, was actually a person of Phoenician descent from the Cypriote city of Citium. According to one account, he came to Athens as a shipwreck from a trading voyage from Phoenicia. While in Athens he was the creditor in a maritime contract worth a thousand talents.[13]

An indication that bottomry loans similar those employed in classical antiquity was also known at Ugarit and neighboring states is evidenced from cuneiform tablets excavated at Ras Shamra. In examining the relevant documents, we must keep in mind that unlike the practice in Greece and Rome, international trade was not primarily in the hands of private entrepreneurs but was, for the most part, a royal concern.[14] Thus, the parties to maritime ventures were usually kings or their agents.

The first document to be considered is a Ugaritic tablet published by Virolleaud.[15] Only the second half of this tablet of eighteen lines need concern us. The first nine lines are a list of persons who entered the house of the king.

10.	*ḫmš.mat.arb'm*	540 heavy (shekels) of
	kbd.ksp.anyt	silver (as the worth of) ships
	d.'rb.b.anyt	that were pledged from among the ships
	l.mlk.gbl	belonging to the king of Byblos,
	w.ḫmšm.ksp	and 50 (shekels) of silver
15.	*lqḥ.mlk.gbl*	the king of Byblos took
	lbš.anyth	(for) the cargo (lit. clothing) of the ships
	b'rm.ksp	from *'Arm*. The silver
	mḫr.hn	is their price.[16]

Since the opening lines contain extraneous matter, we cannot regard this document as an actual sea loan contract. What we probably have here is a memorandum of a business deal the Ugaritian king made with the king of Byblos. Since the transaction was international in char-

[6] Lobingier, pp. 18-30.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 1-12, esp. pp. 6-8 on the Rhodian Law.

[8] *Digest*, XIV, ii, 9.

[9] *Novellae*, CVI, preface.

[10] See E. Ziebarth, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Seeraubes und Seehandels in alten Griechenland*, Hamburgische Universität; Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde, Vol. 30, Reihe A. Rechts- und Staatswissenschaften, Vol. 2 (Hamburg: F. de Gruyter, 1929), pp. 44-58 for discussion.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55, 126-27.

[13] Diogenes Laertius, VII, 1-3, 5, 13.

[14] For the role of the *tamkārū ša mandatti ša šar Ugarit*, "merchants tributary to the king of Ugarit," see Jack M. Sasson, "Canaanite Maritime Involvement in the Second Millenium B.C." *JAOS*, 86 (1966), 134-35 and A. F. Rainey, "Business Agents at Ugarit," *IEJ*, 3 (1963), 313-21.

[15] *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit V*, Mission de Ras Shamra, Vol. 11 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1965), pp. 129-30, No. 106.

[16] Sasson, in his translation of this document in "Canaanite Maritime Involvement," pp. 132-33, maintained that line 13 made no sense and thus opted out for a translation that conveys the idea that the king of Ugarit was buying ships from Byblos. In the light of the sea loan, I find Virolleaud's translation of lines 10-13 more acceptable except for his preference to render *anyt* as singular. As for the remaining lines of the text, I agree with Sasson's rendition but disagree with him as to the basic meaning of the document.

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acter, the contract itself was probably drawn up in Akkadian and does not survive. Under the terms of this transaction, the Byblian king borrowed a large sum of money from the king of Ugarit, with an undisclosed quantity of ships valued at 540 heavy silver shekels pledged as security and an additional 50 shekels borrowed against the cargo.[17] Whether these 590 shekels, at least 540 of them of the heavy type, corresponded to the exact amount of the principal is uncertain. It was customary among the Greeks that the value of the hypothecated property be equal to twice the principal in round trip voyages.[18]

Needless to say, a loan granted under these terms could tempt the borrower to falsely allege a disaster at sea to free himself of the obligation to repay the lender, or to intentionally destroy the pledged property. Demosthenes' private speeches disclose both of these abuses, but we shall dwell briefly on the latter one—the intentional destruction of the pledge. Demosthenes, in a speech "Against Zenothemis" tells, in part, of Hegestratus and Zenothemis who, in a clearly illegal act, hypothecated in Syracuse a ship and cargo that they knew was already pledged by someone else in Athens and thus fraudulently obtain money. They thereupon put the cash on a separate ship headed for their home city of Massilia. The two men planned to sink the illegally pledged ship and thus hoodwink their Syracusan creditors and leave the Athenian financiers high and dry. The plan went awry when Hegestratus was caught *in flagrante* before too much damage could be done to the ship. We see something vaguely similar in an account of a court proceeding bearing the seal of Puduhepa, queen of Hatti. As in classical antiquity, maritime law cases were part of the international law of the time, and as in classical antiquity, there apparently were special court proceedings to hear such cases. A transcript of the trial was sent to Ammistamru II, king of Ugarit in the mid-thirteenth century B.C.[19] In this Akkadian text, the defendant Shukku (citizenship unstated), claimed that the Ugaritian plaintiff's ship was destroyed accidentally when it struck a wharf. The plaintiff claimed that Shukku intentionally wrecked the ship. The captain of the ship was ordered to swear an oath, and Shukku had to make good the worth of the ship and its cargo. Shukku had either borrowed money from the king of Ugarit or was in the employ of someone who did in order to undertake a maritime enterprise in Asia Minor, and when it became apparent to Shukku that the obligation would not be met, he tried to sink the ship and falsely claim that an accident took place. In this way, Shukku or his employer would be free of the obligation to repay the loan, and they would also avoid possible enslavement for defaulting on a debt. Evidently, the captain of the ship caught Shukku in the act. The precise status of the anonymous Ugaritian plaintiff is hard to assess. The Graeco-Roman maritime loan contracts often stipulated that the lender had the right to place on board the ship an employee called a *kermakolouthos* whose job was to see that the interests of the lender were not criminally subverted. The Ugaritian plaintiff might have been such a representative of the king of Ugarit.[20] The motive Shukku might have had in committing this act is also difficult to determine. Flutuating prices of imported goods might have been the causative factor. In a speech, falsely attributed to Demosthenes, called "Against Dionysodorus," we are informed that two Athenians, Parmeniscus and Dionysodorus, borrowed money to go to Egypt to buy grain and resell it in Athens. Parmeniscus went with the ship and Dionysodorus remained in Athens. While in Egypt, Parmeniscus learned from Dionysodorus that number of ships laden with grain from Sicily put into the Piraeus causing prices to plunge to such a level that Parmeniscus and Dionysodorus would never have made enough money to pay back their creditors and make a profit. Parmeniscus, therefore, sold his cargo at Rhodes, and Dionysodorus told the lenders that the ship was lost at sea. In any event, it is entirely possible that we see in this document as well as in the loan memorandum discussed above a glimpse of the operations of the *ḫuburu* or trading company that was known to exist in the late second millenium B.C.[21]

In the light of these considerations, a letter written by the king of Tyre to the king of Ugarit takes on addi-

[17] Although this was a considerable amount of money, the king of Ugarit was not risking too much of his treasure in this transaction. Ugarit was one of the richest kingdoms in the area. Niqmadu II of Ugarit paid to the Hittie king Suppiluliumas 500 *gold* shekels as annual tribute. See Claude F. A. Schaeffer, *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit IV*, Mission de Ras Shamra, Vol. 9 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1956), pp. 37-48 for a complete accounting of Niqmadu's tribute obligations.

[18] Ashburner, p. ccxiii.

[19] Schaeffer, pp. 118-19, R. S. 17.133. [For this text cf. also Fensham, "Shipwreck in Ugarit and Ancient Near Eastern Law Codes," *Oriens Antiquus* 6 (1967), 21 ff. — *Ed.*]

[20] Ashburner, p. ccxix. Or alternatively a *tamkāru ša mandatti ša šar Ugarit*. Least likely is Sasson's suggestion that he was an ambassador (see "Canaanite Maritime Involvement," p. 137, note 59).

[21] W. F. Albright, "The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, ed. G. E. Wright (Garden City, N. Y.: Anchor Books, 1965), pp. 458-59, 482-83.

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tional meaning.[22] In this letter, the Tyrian king assured his Ugaritian counterpart that although a Ugaritian ship bound for Egypt ran aground during a storm in Tyrian waters, the ship and cargo were safe. This letter is more than simply evidence that Tyre and Ugarit were on good terms with one another. Tyrian kings were also merchant princes,[23] and they fully understood the need to protect investments especially when a ship and cargo were pledged in a high-risk venture such as a sea loan contract. The actions of the Tyrian king in personally assuming responsibility for safeguarding a shipwrecked vessel has a parallel in the Roman maritime law. In a section dealing with shipwrecks, the *Digest* provides that provincial officials must see that those living along the seashore not lure ships to their destruction or loot shipwrecked vessels.[24] The praetor's edict called for severe penalties for those who committed such acts.[25]

[22] Virolleaud, pp. 81-83, No. 59.

[23] I *Kings* 5: 8-12; 10:11, 22.

[24] *Digest*, XLVII, ix, 7.

[25] *Ibid.*, sec. 10.

Similar techniques of maritime financing were known in Mesopotamia. A. L. Oppenheim has published a number of contracts from the Old Babylonian Period referred to trade with Dilmun.[26] In these documents, the loan specifically became payable when the ship safely returned. These loans differed from the Levantine type in that they were unsecured and thus made the venture more risky for the lender. The merchant kings of the eastern Mediterranean removed speculative element from an already high risk enterprise by demanding the hypothecation of the ship and its cargo.

The evidence is admittedly scanty, but the interpretations suggested for the texts discussed here seem to indicate that the bottomry or sea loan as it was understood to operate in Graeco-Roman antiquity might also have been operative in the commerce of the merchant kings on the Levantine coast in the second millenium B.C.

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[26] "The Seafaring Merchants of Ur," *JAOS*, 74 (1954), 8-10.

Ugaritic Mḫd — *the harbor of Yabne-Yam?*

The paper discusses the evidence mainly from Ugarit and Amarna tablets which suggests that the toponyms *Mḫd*/^{al}*Ma-ḫa-du* in texts from Ugarit are identical with the toponyms Muḫḫazu (Amarna tablets) and Egyptian *M('i)ḫś* all of which may refer to the harbor of Yabne-Yam at the coast of Canaan.

In a detailed study published some years ago, E. Y. Kutscher[1] demonstrated convincingly that the *hapax legomenon māḥôz* (*Ps.* 107:30) meant 'harbor, port' in Biblical Hebrew. His conclusions, based on the ancient Versions as well as evidence from other Semitic languages, were later strikingly confirmed by the discovery of multilingual vocabulary lists at Ugarit. Among these lists was found the following entry:[2] KAR = *ka-a-ru* = *ma-ḫa-zi* = *ma-aḫ-ḫa-*[*du* !].[3] Sumerian KAR, Akkadian *kāru* and Hurrian *maḫazi* are here equated with Ugaritic (syllabic) *maḫḫa*(*du*) 'harbor, port'. Thus, the Ugaritic and Hurrian terms turn out to be the cognates of Biblical *māḥôz* confirming the fact that this term was used to designate the harbors of Canaan at least as early as the Late Bronze age.[4]

[1] *Leshonēnu* 8 (1937), pp. 136-145. Now, see his remarks in *Leshonēnu* 34 (1969-70), p. 5 ff.

[2] Cf. *Ugaritica* V (1968), pp. 242-243.

[3] J. Nougayrol, *ibid.*, proposed that the missing last syllable be restored as [*zu*]. It seems more probable, however, both on phonetic grounds and in light of the discussion here to restore [*du*]. See E. Y. Kutscher, *Leshonēnu* 34 (1969-70), 5ff., who also argued for this restoration, as well as M. C. Astour, *JESHO* 13 (1970), 120 note 4. Most interesting is the Hurrian *maḫazi* which is either a loan-word from Canaanite or is itself the origin of the West-Semitic term. It seems unlikely that Ugaritic *maḫḫa*(*du*) and Hebrew *māḥôz* (< * *maḫâzu*) can be derived from the root *'ḥd/z* 'to hold, seize'. On the other hand, Ug. *Maḫd*/*Miḫd* (proper and common noun) is, no doubt, derived from this root. Note also R. Borger, "Hebräisch *MḪWZ* (PSALM 107,30)," *Ugarit*-Forschungen 1 (1969), 1-3. I wish to thank Prof. W. W. Hallo for calling this study to my attention.

[4] Note the use of this term in much later periods: Neo-Punic *mḥz* is translated in a bilingual inscription "*KAI* 124:2) by the Latin FORUM 'commercial center'.

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Some Island Names in the Former 'Kingdom of the Isles': a reappraisal

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Introduction

In the realm of place-names, the majority of such names in Britain are recognised as being of Celtic or Germanic origin, each comprising two main components: British (or Brittonic) or Goidelic (or Gaelic) in the Celtic group, and English or Scandinavian in the Germanic group, with wide zones where one or other of these four predominates. Despite almost four centuries of Roman occupation and several centuries of French cultural dominance following the Norman invasion of England in 1066, the Latin and Romance contributions to British place-names is comparatively small (cf. Rivet and Smith 1979). In Ireland the great majority of place-names are of Celtic (mainly Goidelic) origin, though a small number are of Germanic origin, usually English, occasionally Norse, and a smaller number still of uncertain provenance.

The combined chronological span of these three linguistic sources of our place-names, of which Celtic is the earliest, covers at most probably about 2,500 years, but the total time-span of human residence in these islands runs at least to some eight or nine thousand years in Ireland and probably considerably more in parts of southern Britain. During the vast stretch of time before Celtic speech came to Britain and Ireland, earlier peoples must have used place-names for at least the most prominent features of the landscape, and it is possible that some of these survived the shift from languages now lost to those that have survived. One such group of identifiable names consists of river names dating from a very old stage of western Indo-European, before its Celtic, Germanic and Italic branches had emerged as separate entities. Such names have been identified on the Continent by Hans Krahe (Krahe 1949–55, 1962, 1964) and extend to Britain (Nicolaisen 1957, 1982) and to Ireland (de Bernardo-Stempel 2000, 2005, 2007). These names have been described as 'Pre-Celtic' or 'Old European (*Alt-europäisch*)'.[1]

During the last Ice Age, which ended some 8,000 years ago, both Britain

[1] In his interpretation of 'Old European (*Alteuropäisch*)', Krahe refers to the Central European river names which can be etymologised in western IE, but which cannot be assigned to any particular later western IE language or language group. In the meantime, Theo Vennemann has reclaimed 'alteuropäisch' for his Vasconian etymologies (cf. Willms 2013, 129, fn. 100). For a cursory sketch of Krahes 'Old European' IE hydronomy, see ibid., 128–29.

(except possibly for the south-west) and Ireland lay under thick ice. Once the ice began to melt, people began to drift back. According to Stephen Oppenheimer (2007, 118), such early arrivals into Britain and Ireland following the Ice Age came from two main areas: (1) from either side of the Pyrenees in southern and eastern France, the Basque Country and northern coastal parts of Spain, and (2) from the Ukraine via Germany or Scandinavia. The Celtic, Germanic and Romance-speaking settlements in Britain and Ireland within the last 2,500 years represent intrusions into this periphery from the east, from central Europe and beyond, ultimately from the western Ural area where the Indo-European languages are believed to have arisen (cf. Gimbutas 2000). Other possible intrusions (on a much smaller scale) from beyond the peripheral lands of western Europe are those represented by the activities of the prospectors for metal who seemingly reached Britain and Ireland during the second millennium BC. If they came, as seems probable, from more developed areas, such as the Phoenicians from the eastern end of the Mediterranean, where they would almost certainly have spoken some variety of Northwest-Semitic, the language stock of which Ugaritic, Hebrew and Punic are later forms, then it would be reasonable to expect that such prospectors and traders would have named the principal landmarks in their own language, and that their names for such prominent geographical features, such as bays, promontories, islands, mountains etc. that may have served as landmarks, might well have entered the later Celtic languages. In this regard we must assume that any other pre-Celtic place-names that have survived derive from the unknown languages of the older peoples of the Continent and beyond who came to Britain and Ireland during the course of time.

It is in this context that the following discussion will take place. In this regard we shall confine ourselves to an area of the British Isles that may possess early names of uncertain origin, namely, to the islands that made up the former Scandinavian 'Kingdom of the Isles'[2] (i.e. Man and the Hebrides), or *Sodorenses*, to see whether we can offer satisfactory solutions today to names that may have caused us problems in the past. The running-order will start with Man, then

[2] The 'Kingdom of the Isles' is a 10th-century Scandinavian construct comprising the islands of Man and the Hebrides, with its base in the Isle of Man. Control of Man and the Hebrides meant control of the Irish Sea and the Minch, i.e. the trade route between Dublin and Norway. Therefore control of the kingdom was necessarily (initially at any rate) in the hands of Scandinavian settlers in Ireland, principally in Limerick, then in Dublin. An independent dynasty, founded by the strong king Godred Crovan c. 1079 in Man, ruled Man and the Isles – from 1156 onwards, Man and the northern Hebrides only – until the demise of the kingdom in 1266 (cf. Broderick 1980, McDonald 2007).

with the name for the Hebrides itself, followed by most of the individual main islands from Lewis to Bute.[3]

1. MAN

Pliny (fl. 23–79 AD) NH IV, 103 *Monapia* [**Manavia*],[4] Ptol. (c. 150 AD) II, 2, 10: Μοναοιδα {Monaoida} [**Monaua*], var. Μοναρινα {Monarina}, Paulus Orosius (fl. 415) I, 2, 82 *Mevania* [**Menavia*], Julius Honorius (5th c.?) *Cosmographia* 16: *Mevania* [**Menavia*], var. *Mebania, Meubania*, Jordanes (fl. 550) *Getica* I, 8: *Mevania* [**Menavia*], var. *Evania*,[5] Ravenna Cosmography (early 8th c.) 108, 19: *Manavi*, Bede HEGA (731) II, 5 (via Orosius): *Mevanias* (acc. pl.) as in [...] *Mevanias Brettonum insulas, quae inter Hiberniam et Brittaniam sitae sunt. Anglorum subiecit imperio* '(King Edwin) subjected to English rule the Mevanian islands of the Britons, which lie between Ireland and Britain'.[6] Bede's use of the (acc.) plural here apparently refers both to Man and to Anglesey. ON (H: MBS 28–29) *Manverjar* 'people of Man island', Fordun II, 10 *Eubonia* now *Mannia*, MWIS §2 *Isle of Man*. G *Manainn, An t-Eilean Manainneach* 'the Manx island', (formal) *Eilean Mhanainn*, MxG *Mannin*, (formal) *Ellan Vannin*.

● Isle of Man. The name Man is now generally acknowledged as probably[7] deriving from IE **men-, *mon-* 'protrude, rise', cf. ModW *mynydd* 'mountain' < **monijo-* (cf. LEIA s.v. *muin*), with suffix **-aua*, the sense being 'mountain island' or 'high island', i.e. protruding out of the sea, as seen either from the sea or from adjacent coasts (cf. also PNRB 411, Sims-Williams 2000, 7, Schrijver

[3] Richard Coates addresses a similar theme in *Nomina* 35 (2012), 49–102, essentially a re-presentation of the original article in Coates 2009, with minor adjustments and additional material.

[4] Pliny in fact has *Monapia* which originally would have been something like *Manavia*, as the MW name *Manaw* demands, as the British etymon would likely be **Monău̯iā* or **Manău̯iā* (cf. Jackson 1953, 376, PNRB 410). In view of the *-ia* forms in the sources the first form is to be preferred. Ptolemy's form also requires modification from *Monaoeda* to **Monaua* (PNRB 410).

[5] The forms of the name in Orosius, Honorius and Jordanes are similar in that they all display scribal metathesis of *n-v*, also in Bede, who is known to have used Orosius as source material (cf. also PNRB 41). However, the metathesis need not necessarily be attributed to the authors, but perhaps to scribal misreading of *n* as *u* in cursive script.

[6] The note about their position comes from Pliny (quoted in PNRB 411).

[7] As noted by Sims-Williams (2000, 8), the problem is that neither the sequence /mVn/ nor the /-a:/ are sufficiently distinctive for us to be 100% sure. It is well known that identical roots C1VC2- are also found in the same semantic field in unrelated languages, and in place-name studies this is particularly a problem, as we do not have sufficient semantic control, except perhaps in the case of topographically very distinctive places.

1995, 96). The same would also apply to Anglesey, Lat. *Mona*, ModW *Môn*, PCelt. **mon-* etc., but is more appropriate to Man. The earlier Welsh name for Anglesey appears to have been *Monfinnid* (= *Món-fynnydd*), now *Môn*, probably referring to Holyhead Mountain (PNRB 419–20; cf. also Broderick 2005, 337–38, 2008, 166–67).

→ 'mountain island, high island' (also PNRB 411).[8]

2. EBOUDAI – (Southern Inner) Hebrides

Pliny NH IV, 103 *Hebudes*, Ptol. II, 2, 11 Ἐβοῦδαι (Eboũdai) (pl.), Ἔβουδα {Ebouda} (sg.),[9] Almagest II, 6, 28 Ἐβούδων {Eboúdōn}, Solinus (Additamenta of later date) XXII, 12 *Ebudes*, *ab Ebudibus*, Marcian (via Stephanus of Byzantium, 6th c. AD) Ἀιβοῦδαι {Aiboũdai}, with ethnic Ἀιβοῦδαῖος {Aiboũdaĩos}; cf. OIr ethnonym *Ibdaig* < **Ebudākoi* (cf. Isaac 2005, 192).

● (Southern Inner) Hebrides (i.e. Islay, Colonsay, Jura). Meaning uncertain. No Celtic etymology known. In her discussion on the Ptolemy place-names in and around Ireland, de Bernardo-Stempel (2007, 155) sought to explain the name *Eboudai* in the context of the nearby name *Epidion*[10] (referring to the peninsula of Kintyre), suggesting that there was a development of uncertain provenance from /p/ to /b/ in the name *Eboudai*, 'for which otherwise no etymology is known' (ibid.). Isaac (2005, 192) regards the name as '[o]paque, non-Celtic, non-IE'. Watson (1926, 37–38) offers no explanation. PNRB 355: 'No etymology suggests itself within Celtic, and the name [...] may be pre-Celtic.'

Given this situation, however, and in the context of known Phoenician

[8] De Bernardo-Stempel (2007, 158) regards the forms for Man, viz Μοναοιδα and *Manávia*, as continuing 'the same original **Monavia*, i.e. **monaw(a)-yā* "the one related/near to the High one", derived from the name of the adjacent *Mona*, i.e. Anglesey [...].' The problem here, however, is one of geography, as Man is a lot hillier, and its hills much higher than the two hills in Anglesey, viz Holyhead Mountain in the west and Parys Mountain near Amlwch in the north of Anglesey.

[9] αἵ τε καλούμεναι Ἐβοῦδαι πέντε τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὧν ἡ μὲν δυτικωτέρα καλεῖται Ἔβουδα ἡ δ' ἑξῆς αὐτῆς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ὁμοίως Ἔβουδα 'the so-called Ebudai, five in number, of which the most westerly island is called Ebuda, that east of it and adjoining to it is also called Ebuda'. Meant here are the southern Inner Hebrides, though the two Ebuda islands cannot be identified for certain, but may possibly refer to Islay and Jura.

[10] *Epidión*, gen. pl. of the ethnonym *Epidioi* < **ek-wé/idyoi* 'the horsemen', transferred from an old Cumbric name in Scotland (cf. de Bernardo-Stempel 2007, 155), *h₁ék´u-i-dʰ-io-* (descriptive) 'horsey people', with **k´w* > **kʷ* > *p*, if the etymology is correct (cf. Isaac 2005, 193), cf. also the Gaelic name from the same area *MacEachairn* 'the son of the horseman'.

merchant activity in the western Mediterranean and east Atlantic (including the waters around Britain and Ireland) c.700 BC (cf. Strabo *Geog.* III, 5, 11, PNRB 90), Theo Vennemann (1999, 46), taken up in Coates (2009, 234, and 2012, 70–71), suggests a Proto-Semitic[11] provenance for the name, deriving it from the plural form of the generic '*y* 'island',[12] viz '*yym*, together with the specific to which two Proto-Semitic roots of the form **phd* 'lamb' and 'fright' belong. The development of initial /p/ to /b/ would be occasioned by the word being borrowed/taken over into Celtic, so Vennemann (ibid.), whereby /b/ would result from */m-p-/, as found in Ancient Greek, thus giving something like *e-bhd* + *a(i)* 'lamb/sheep island(s)'.[13] Given the frequency of the name 'sheep island(s)', also noted by Coates (ibid.), around or near the British Isles and Ireland, viz Färø (Faroe) Islands, Fair Isle, Soay (often), Lambay, Eilean nan Caorach (Durness, Sutherland), Sheppey (near London) etc., a name 'sheep islands' as a possible explanation for the Hebrides[14] would therefore not be out of place, though Coates (forthcoming) adds the caveat 'that the <b> needs to be accounted for within PSem., or by simple Greek sound-substitution of [b] for PSem. [p],' for the PSem. suggestion to be convincing.

→ ?'lamb/sheep islands'. Otherwise etymology unknown.

3a. DUMNA - Lewis

Pliny NH IV, 104 *Dumnam* (acc.), Ptol. II, 3, 31 Δοῦμνα* νῆσος {Dumna nēsos}, LG *Domon,*[15] PPR 20 *rí in Domnan*, 26 *do mhoigh domna*.

● Lewis (i.e. the Isle of Lewis and Harris). Watson (1926, 40–41), quoting Macbain, suggests the name may refer to the whole of the Long Island, i.e. the Outer Hebrides (the Butt of Lewis to Barra Head) (also PNRB 342).[16] Watson (ibid.) adds that the name turns up twice in an Early Modern Irish praise poem

[11] For an overview of a possible Hamito-Semitic language contact in the context of Britain and Ireland, see Willms 2013, 131–33.

[12] DNS 43 notes '*yl* 'Pun(ic), in the sense of peninsula only in connection with geographic names.' Some texts write only *y* (cf. Sauren 2005, 279).

[13] Though Coates (2012, 71) has reservations about the phonology here.

[14] The *r* in 'Hebrides', not to be seen in any of the early forms, would likely result from later scribal miscopying.

[15] LG: *Luid Matach* ⁊ *hErglan* ⁊ *Iartach, .i. tri maic Beóain co Domon* ⁊ *co hErdomon i tuascirt Alban* 'Matach and Erglan and Iartach, the three sons of Beóan, went to Domon and to Erdomon in the north of Scotland' (after Watson 1926, 40).

[16] The alternate (?later) name 'Lewis' may also have referred to the whole of the Long Island, though there is no evidence that 'Lewis' or 'Dumna' ever did.

to King Raghnall of Man (1187–1229),[17] viz PPR 20 *rí in Domnan* 'king of Domnan', PPR 26 (Ms. H) *do mhoigh domna* 'of the plain of Domon',[18] with retention of the genitive *Domhna*. These references would likely relate to Raghnall's overlordship of Lewis as part of the Kingdom of the Isles (cf. CMI s.v. Lewis f43r, f41v, f42v, f44v).

Cf. OIr *Domon/Doman* (CPNS 40) < *$d^{h}ub^{h}$-neh_2- 'deep'. The *-o/ā-* flexion as seen in Neo-British (Brittonic) sources is secondary. Originally *$d^{h}ubno$-, the nominal form, 'world' vs *$d^{h}ubni$-, the adjectival form, 'deep' (still seen in OIr *domun* 'world' vs *domain* 'deep') < *$d^{h}eub$- 'deep' (Isaac 2005, 192), cf. Gaul. *dubno-* (DLG 150–151 s.v. *dubnos, dumnos*).

→ 'the deep (i.e. far out, outer) island' (also PNRB 342).

3B. LEWIS

ON (H: MBS 28–29) *Ljóðhús*, CMI f34r *in insulam leodus*, f41v *insulam quandam que uocatur lodhus*, f42v *ad lodhus*, f44v *in insula que uocatur lodws*, MxB *Howas* (for *Lowas*?), Fordun II, 10 *Lewys*, MWIS §211 *Leozus* (*passim*), MM 1 *Lewis*, ScG *Leòdhas*.

● Uncertain. The Scandinvians, as noted by Richard Coates (1988a, 22), were 'past masters in the art of analogical reformation', e.g.

their *Ljódhús* (Lewis) as if 'song-house',
their *Í-vist* (Uist) as if 'inner-abode' (cf. Field 1980, s.n.),
their *Skið* (Skye) as if 'wooden hut',
their *Tyrvist* (Tiree) as if 'food-land' (from a folk-etymology of G *Tir-ithe* (OIr/MIr *ithe* 'act of eating' translated by *vist*)),
their *Íl* (Islay) (monosyllable) as if 'spring',
their *Orkneyjar* (Orkney Islands) as if 'seal islands' (ON *orkn* 'seal') instead of the expected **Ork-eyjar* (cf. Ptol. II, 3, 31 Ὀρκάδες {Orkades}).

That is to say, when the Scandinavians heard the various names, they almost certainly did not understand them, but adjusted them to known words or phrases in their own language. Scandinavian forms in this respect, therefore, cannot be regarded as genuine representations of earlier names. What *Ljóðhús* was originally meant to represent is not known.

→ etymology and provenance unknown.

[17] Cf. Ó Cuív 1957.

[18] Ó Cuív (1957, 291, 293) seems not to have understood the reference of the name Dumna to Lewis in the poem.

4. St KILDA – *Hirt*

As *Hirt*: ON (1202) *Hirtir*, RMS I 412 (1372) *Heryte*, RMS I 551 (1372) *Hyrte,* RMS I 520 (1373) *insula de Hert,* MxB *Alne islands*, Fordun (c. 1380) II, 10 *Insula Hirth*, MWIS (1549) §184 *Hirta*, CRA 145 (1567) *Hirtht* (cf. Taylor 1968, 139).

As *St Kilda*: *Skildar/Skilder* 1540, *S.Kylder* 1573, *S.Kilder*, *S.Kilda* 1578, 1592, *Skilda(r)* 1583, *Skildar*, *Skaldir* late 16th c., *S Kilder* 1603, *S. Kilda*, *Skilda*, *S Kilder* 1610, *St. Kilder*, *St. Kilda* 1698 (MM 280ff.), *S. Kilder* 1703 (Taylor 1969, 147, 153). ScG *Hirt* [hirʃtj] (Lewis) (Taylor 1969, 151).

● Watson (1926, 97–98) discusses the name briefly. He notes that the Gaelic form is *Hiort*, also *Hirt*, a genitive form used as nominative, and that a Norse saga has *Hirtir* to denote certain islands near (to the west of) the Hebrides. He adds that the name is identical with OIr *hirt*, *irt*, explained by Cormac as *bás* 'death', inviting the suggestion (quoted in Macbain, *Place-Names*, p. 177) that '[..] the ancient Celts fancied this sunset isle to be the gate to their earthly paradise, the Land-under-the-waves, over the brink of the western sea.' Watson (ibid.) also brings in the notion of St. Kilda being a saint's name, and that the form Kilda, according to Martin Martin (1703, 280), derives from 'the large well *Toubir-Kilda*'.[19] Watson (ibid.) notes this element (i.e. *hirt*) is also to be found in other Scottish place-names expressing the notion of 'death'.

However, the most detailed analysis of this name to date has been made by Alexander B. Taylor (1967, 1969). In dealing with the ON name *Hirt* Taylor comments:

> A review of the evidence shows that it is not and cannot be of Celtic origin [...]. The name can be traced back to 1202. In that year an Icelandic ship under Guðmundr Arason touched at an island on the west of the Outer Hebrides called *Hirtir*. *Hirtir* is the plural of ON *hjörtr* 'a stag'; and 'Stags', it is suggested, is a very suitable name for a seaman approaching the islands to give to their rugged outlines rising out of the sea [...]. [The name] first appears in Scottish sources in the fourteenth century as *Heryte, Hyrte, Hert* and *Hirth.* It is found Latinised in the sixteenth century as *Hirtha* and *Hirta*. (Taylor 1969, 151)

With regard to the name St Kilda itself, Taylor (1968, 1969) shows the

[19] This name is cited in Macaulay (1764, 101), quoted in Cox (2007, 21–22), as *Tober Childa Chalda*, comprising G *tobar* 'well', ON *kelda* 'well' and *kaldr* 'cold'. In a footnote Cox (2007, 22, fn. 16) refers to Taylor's (1968, 26) thesis regarding the provenance of the name St Kilda.

development of the name on successive maps, sea charts, sailing directions etc., from 1540 to 1698 (see above). In so doing he summarises his findings as follows:

> There is cartographic and other evidence that the place name *St. Kilda,* earlier *S.Kilda*, was originally applied in a Scots archtypal form **Skildar* or **Skilder* to an island or island group much nearer to the west coast of the Outer Hebrides.
>
> This archetypal form beginning *Sk-* makes it clear beyond doubt that the name was not originally a saint's name. It also invalidates a long-standing theory that the name is derived from ON *kelda* 'a well'.
>
> The archetypal form is probably derived from ON *skildir* 'shields'. There are in fact at least two groups of islands off the west coasts of Harris and North Uist which have the appearance of shields lying flat on the surface of the sea. [namely, *Gaskeir* (seen from West Loch Tarbert, Harris) and *Haskeir Eagach* (seen from the north-west shore of North Uist)].
>
> The name was first transferred further westwards to Hirta, in the form *S.Kilda* in a set of sailing directions and a chart in L. J. Wagenaer's *Thresoor der Zeevaert*, Leyden 1592. This is the first recorded occurrence of the name in the shape of a saint's name. Its form and its application appear to be the result of faulty copying of *Skilda(r)* in Nicolas de Nicolay's chart of Scotland, Paris 1583. (Taylor 1969, 153–54)

Finally, Taylor (ibid.) reiterates that the name *St. Kilda*, though now well established as a place-name, received its present form and connotation as a result of an orthographic error in the late 16th century.[20]

→ *Hirtir*: 'stags'; *Skildir*: 'shields' (both optical illusions).

5. UIST

ON (H: MBS 28–29) *Ívist*, Fordun II, 10 *Vyist*, MWIS §180 *Vyst* (*passim*), MM 42 *Uist*.

● Watson (1926, 37) mentions *Uist* but does not discuss the name. In an article on a possible meaning for Uist (a longish island in the Outer Hebrides comprising North Uist, Benbecula and South Uist), Richard Coates (1988a,

[20] Coates (1990, 55–59) discusses the name similar to the above discussion, but comes to no conclusion, noting only that the form '*Kilda* (or the like) never appears alone on maps, and that there are good late sixteenth-century map-forms of the type *Skild-*' (p. 58).

21–23, and 2012, 63–65) compares the name with that of the Balearic island of Ibiza in the western Mediterranean. Ibiza, Lat. *Ebussus* (Manilius and Pliny), Gr. Ἐβουσος (Diodorus Siculus), Ἐυσος (Strabo) *et sim.* He cites E. Hübner 1905, the commentator in Pauly-Wissowa, in the context of heavy Phoenician trading activity in the western Mediterranean during the second half of the first millennium BC, who suggests a possible Phoenician derivation of the name Ibiza, offering *'î-bûsim*, *'î-bôsem*, *'i-besim*,[21] with the meaning '(island) of some fragrant plant, e.g. balsam or pine', implying a lush vegetation.

In this regard Coates (ibid.) suggests a common origin for both the names Ibiza and Uist. In the latter case he proffers something like [iβis-]. The islands of both North and South Uist boast a lush green stretch of open field on their western side, the only extent of lush land in the whole of the Hebrides, with perhaps the exception of Islay, and in this respect is comparable with the island of Ibiza, also lush, but in pines (or perfumes). The intervocalic spirant, retained in the ON reflex *Ívist* and in the Balearic name *Ibiza* despirantised, is realised as something like [ü] in the Gaelic rendering of *Uist*, viz. [ü-is´t´] (native South Uist speech).

→ '?lush island'.[22] Otherwise etymology unknown.

6. SCITIS – Skye

Ptol. II, 3, 31 Σκιτὶς νῆσος {Skitis nēsos}, Ravenna (7th c.) 10915 *Scetis*, Adom. [I 33], II 26 *in Scia insula,* Adom. I 33 *in insula demoraretur Sci*, AT 668 *cum plebe Scith* (gen.), AU 668 *cum plebe Sceth* (gen.), AU 701 *imbairecc i Scii* (dat.) 'a fight in Skye', AU 1209 *cath for feraibh Sciadh* (gen.) 'a battle (won) over the men of Skye', BL (12th c.) *Scetha* (gen.), ON *a Skiþi* (H: MBS), *i Skið* (HákS),[23] CMI f42v *ad insulam ski*, f43r *ad ski*, MxB *Skey*, Fordun II, 10 *Sky*, MWIS §132 *Sky*, MM 131 *Skie*, Mercator (map) 1564 *Skye.* Watson (1926, 39) ScG *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach*, *an cuan Sgì* (sic)[24] 'the (narrow) sea of Skye' (the Minch between Skye and North Uist/Harris), cf. *Skið sund* (HákS.) 'the sound of Skye'.

[21] The Punic writing of the legends on Carthaginian coins for Ebusus, today Ibiza (published in DCH 2, 113–119, CNH 91–99), in transliteration is: *'y b š m* 'the island of perfumes' (cf. Sauren 2005, 280).

[22] Coates (2012, 64, fn. 10) observes that pine (*pinus sylvestris*) has been noted from the archaeobotanical record of peat bogs in South Uist, even though there is no longer any trace of this tree today in the Western Isles.

[23] Cf. also Taylor (1958, 53–56).

[24] Were *Sgìth* a noun, the article would not be expected, i.e. *Cuan Sgìth*.

● Isle of Skye. Possibly Celtic, as Isaac (2005, 208). If so, then possibly an *i*-stem < PIE *skĕi-d-, -t-* (*d*, *t*, *z*. T. 'präsensbildend'), cf. OInd. *chinátti*, themat. *chindati* 'schneidet ab, spaltet, splits', gr. σκίζω 'spalte, trenne,' Lat. *scindō*, *scidi*, *scisum* 'schlitzen, zerreißen, spalten', MB *squeigoff*, ModB *skeja* 'schneiden'; W *ysgwydd* (**skeid-*), C *scuid*, B *scoaz* 'Schulterblatt', OIr *scīath* 'Schulterblatt, Schwinge' etc., Goth. *skaidan* 'divide', OE *scide* 'a piece of wood', OIr *scian* 'knife', *sciath* 'wing' (also derived from the above root) (cf. IEW 920–21, cf. Taylor 1958, 52–56). Adomnán's form in *Scia* is likely a latinised rendering of the OIr form.

→ ?'the split, cut island', i.e. from its many inland-penetrating fjords (also Watson 1926, 38–39, PNRB 452). Otherwise etymology unknown.

7. EIGG

Adom. III 18 *in Egea insula*, Féilire of Oengus *Donnán Ega huare* 'Donnan of cold Eigg', AU 617 *Combustio Donnáin Ega*, AU 725 *Oan princeps Ego (moritur)*, AU 752 *Cummene nepos Becce religiosus Ego*, MxB *Ege*, MWIS §130 *Egge*, MM 276 *Egg*. ScG *Eige* [ek´ə] (CPNS 85).

● Eigg. As Anderson (2002, lxxii) notes, there would seem to have been two forms of the name. The Gaelic genitive *Ego*, *Ega* suggest an *i*-stem nom. *Eig*. Adomnán's form suggests nom. *Ege*, perhaps an *ia*-stem (GOI 186). Similarity between these two declensions led to some confusion at an early date. Watson (1926, 85) explains this name as of Gaelic provenance, equating it with Ir *eag* fem. gen. *eige*, dat. *eig* 'notch' (Di. 388), ScG *eag*, fem. gen. *eige* 'nick, notch, gap' (Dw. 379), 'with reference most probably to the marked depression that runs across the middle of the island from Kildonan to Bay of Laig' (ibid.). The ScG disyllabic pronunciation (above) probably reflects an oblique case form, as possibly also below.

Although the highland area of Eigg is divided by a glen cutting its way through the centre of the island, as sketched out above, the feature of Eigg that strikes one most to my mind is the long precipitous cliff on the eastern side facing Scotland, culminating in *An Cruachan* 'the wee stack', a head-like stack of rock at the southern end. Could the name of the island derive, rather than from Goidelic, from ON *Egg*, fem. gen. sg. and nom. pl. *eggjar* [ɛǧː], [ɛǧʲːaɻ̊] (IGTG 326 s.v. *egg* 2), Lat. *acies*, Eng. *edge* 'edge' (CV 116–17) relating to the cliff? Such a derivation would be quite fitting in the circumstrances.

→ '?gap island'; '?edge island'. Otherwise etymology unknown.

8. RUM

AU 677 *Beccan Ruimm*, AT 676 *Beccan Ruimean quievit in insola Britania*, Fordun II 10 *Rumme,* MWIS §126 *Rum*, MM *Rum.* ScG *Rùm*, gen. *Rùim* OT.

● Watson (1926, 95) reminds us that the adjective is *Rumach*, as found in *Cuilionn Rumach* 'the Coolin (i.e. mountain) of Rum, as distinguished from *Cuilionn Sgitheanach* 'the Coolin of Skye'; also *na h-Earadh Rumach* 'the Harris (mountainous district) of Rum', as distinguished from *na h-Earadh Ìleach* 'the Harris of Islay' and *na h-Earadh* (?*Leòdhasach* − my suggestion (GB)) 'the Harris of Lewis'? Otherwise he offers no solution to the name: 'may be pre-Celtic.'

Coates (2009, 237, and 2012, 80−81) offers PSem. **rām*, as in the modern place-name *Ramat Gan* in Israel and *Ramallah*, Palestine (PSem. root **rwm*).[25] He cautiously adds that he (in Coates 2006, 7−8) suggested this for Cornish Rame, apparently the name for a conspicuous conically-shaped hill on a headland in that parish overlooking Plymouth Sound. He notes that Rum 'is mountainous from every angle' (forthcoming) and boasts the highest mountain (Askival, 2664ft/812m) anywhere in the Western Isles, excepting the Cuilin of Skye.

However, Orel and Stolbova (1994, 450 s.v. 2120 **rim-*) (*pace* Coates) have [HS] **rim-* 'rise', Sem. **rūm* 'be high', Hebr. *rwm*. Based on **rVm*, WCh. **rim* 'stand (on hind legs)', HS *rīmī*. The Semitic reflex would readily give */ru:m/,[26] ScG /Ru:m, Rɔum/ OT, with later shortening of the vowel in the southern Hebrides?

→ ?'(island of) height, high island'. Otherwise etymology unknown.

9. ETH − Tiree

Adom. I 19 *Ethicam terram*, *Ethicam insulam* (acc.), *Aethici pilagi* (gen.), II 15 *ad Aethicam terram*, *ad Etheticam terram* (acc.), II 39 *in Ethica terra* (abl.), III 8 *ad Ethicam terram*, BB 205 a 11 *i tír iath seach Íle* 'to Tir-iath beyond Islay', Rawl. B 502, 115 a 5 *ort ocht turu Tíri iath* 'razed eight towers in Tiree', RD *Tirieth*, *Tiryad* 1343, *Teryed* 1354, *Tiriage* 1390, MxB *Chorhye*, Fordun II 10

[25] Coates (2012, 80, fn. 27) observes that the root is given as **rVyVm* in Militarev (2007, entry 1179), though Hebr. has alternating /w/ for the second syllable.

[26] In Phoenician-Punic, *r* is an alveolar median resonant /r/, which may be geminated, as seen in the Greek and Latin transcriptions of the Pi'el active particple *M'RḪ me'rreḥ* as **Μηρρη** and **Merre** respectively, with gemination of /r/ (Krahmalkov 2001, 25).

Tyree, *Tyriage* 1494, *Tiereig* 1496 (CPNS 86), MWIS §118 *Thiridh*, MM 267 *Tir-iy.* ON (H: MBS) *Tyrvist*, ScG *Tiriodh* ['t´^{h}ir´əɣ] ?> [t´^{h}ir´i:] OT (cf. also Watson 1926, 86).

● Watson (ibid.) notes that Adomnán's *eth* became OIr *iath*, reflecting the Early Celtic long *ē* (< IE *ei*) in Adomnán which had been broken to *ia* by 800, thus the saint's name *Cēran* became *Ciaran.*[27]

In addition, MIr/EModIr original neutral *dh* /ð/ became /ɣ/ and palatalised *dh* /ð´/ became /j/ around 1200, thus falling entirely together with original *gh* (Jackson 1955, 87). This might perhaps be seen in the various spellings (above), earlier with *-th* but later with *-d*, *-g* (representing /-ɣ/), finally /-ɣ/ disappearing altogether in the name, except apparently in Tiree itself, viz ['t´^{h}ir´əɣ] (with strong initial stress), but seemingly lost outside Tiree, viz [t´^{h}ir´i:] OT (cf. also Watson 1926, 86). The second element *-ēt(h)* does not seem to represent any known Gaelic or Celtic root.[28]

→ 'land' + unknown second element.

10. COLL

Adom. I 41 *de insula Coloso*, II 22 *inter Maleam et Colosum/colosam insula*, MxB *Cole*, Fordun II 10 *Coel*, MWIS §120 *Coll*, MM 271 *Coll*. ScG *Cola* [k^{h}ɔLə] OT.

● The presence of an intervocalic /s/ in the name is a problem, as noticed by Watson (1926, 84) and Coates (2009, 236, and forthcoming). Watson (ibid.) reminds us that Celtic intervocalic /s/ had long disappeared before Adomnán's time, and medial and final /s/ in OIr represents older groups, e.g. *cos* 'leg, foot' < **coxa*, and accordingly suggests that Colosus may be pre-Celtic.

Coates (ibid.) accepts the dangers of identifying this form naively with Greek *kolossós* (of uncertain origin), especially if we associate it with a standing stone in Coll seemingly of the vintage of those in Lewis and North Uist. Though Coll is traditionally explained as deriving from Gaelic *coll* 'hazel', as noted by Coates (ibid., 237, and 2012, 77), it is difficult to reconcile the present form of the name with that in Adomnán.

→ Of uncertain origin.

[27] Though not in Manx, which retained *Cēran* (written *Kerron* but pronounced [kɛ:rən]) (GB).

[28] It cannot be OIr *ith*, gen. *etho* 'corn' < ?PIE **et(e)n* 'Kern, Korn'? (IEW 343) (even though Tiree is reputedly rich in barley), as the diphthong *ia-* (not the single vowel *i-*) is a development from Early Celtic long *ē,* as noted above (cf. Watson 1926, 86).

11. MALAIOS – Mull

Ptol. II, 2, 11 Μαλεός, Μαλαῖος {Maleós, Malaios}, Ravenna 10529 *Malaca* (assimilation, as Isaac 2005, 197), Adom. I 22, I 41, II 22 *in Maleam insulam* (acc.), ON (H: MBS) *Þjóð mylsk* 'people of Mull', MxB *Muley*, Fordun II, 10 *Mule*, MWIS §100 *Mule*, MM 250 *Isle of Mull*. ScG *Muile*, *An t-Eilean Muileach* 'the Mull island' OT.

● Isle of Mull. Watson (1926, 38) notes that the suffix *-aios* becomes *-e* in Goidelic and that Adomnán's *Malea* is an adjective fem. from *Maile*, which would regularly appear in Adomnán's time. He suggests for the first element *mal-*, ScG *mol-adh*, W *mawl* 'praise', cf. OCS *iz-moleti* 'eminere', 'to stand prominent' in the sense of 'lofty', i.e 'lofty isle'.

De Bernardo-Stempel (2007, 153) suggests 'the evil one' < **mḷ-yo-s*, possibly related to OIr *maile* 'evil' (ibid., 2000, 105), with reference to ibid. (1987, 127), but without discussion.

In view of the foregoing, Coates (2009, 234, and 2012, 68–69) offers PSem. **mlh* 'salt', cf. Hebr. *mallûaħ* 'a salt marsh plant (?marsh-mallow)'. Given that Mull is not known archaeologically for salt production, it seemingly does have salt-marshes, albeit small ones. Coates (ibid.) notes that the presence of salt-marshes in the Hebrides is not unusual.[29]

More likely, however, the name derives from PCelt. **malo-* 'rising, prominent' (cf. MIr *mell* < **mel-no-, mull* 'ball, clump'). To PIE **melh$_3$-* 'hervorkommen' LIV 433–34, IEW 721 s.v. **mel-, melə-, mlō-* 'rise up, rising land', Alb. *mal* 'mountain'.

→ 'rising-up, mountainous land' (as DCCPN 24, Isaac 2005, 197), 'A sense "hill(-island)" seems appropriate [...] whatever the ultimate origin of **mala, *mel-*' (PNRB 409). Mull is quite mountainous.

12. HY – Iona

Fél. May 25 *Dunchad Híae húare,* AU I 356.13 *Indrechtach abb Iae,* TFrag. 20.12 *do muintir Iae,* BCC 200.4 *an t-oilen darub ainm hÍ Colaim Cill* (DIL I s.v. Í 1(II), 9), Adom. I 29 *in Ioua insula*, II 27 *in campulo occidentali Iouae insulae*, II 45 *ad Iouam insulam,* CMI f40r *ad insulam que uocatur hy*, f44v *in Iona*[30] *insula*, Fordun II, 10 *Hy Columbkille*, MWIS §103 ... *lyis ane Ile callit*

[29] Coates (forthcoming) brings in a suggestion from Orel and Stolbova (1994) of the reconstructed PSem. root **malaw* 'desert' as a possible solution for Mull but is not convinced of its suitability in the context.

[30] The form here *Iona*, with clear *n* not *u*, appears in a section of f44v added by Scribe 2, c. 1274 (cf. Broderick 1995, ix).

in Irish leid Icholum chille, that is to say in English Saint Colms Ile, … this Ile of Colmkill, MM *Iona*. G *Ì*, *Ì Chaluim Chille*, *Eilean Ì* (Dwelly 1016).

● The origin of the name *Iona* (a seemingly scribal misreading for *Ioua* in a text ultimately derived from Adomnán), OIr nom. *hÍ/Ia,* acc. *hÍ*, gen. *Hiae*, *Ia*, dat. *in Hi*, *in hÍ* (DIL I s.v. Í 1(II), 9) is unknown. Adomnán's *Ioua* is an adjective formed from the name of the island. Watson (1926, 87–89) expresses some uncertainty about its origin, but tentatively suggests (p. 88) that *Ioua* 'seems to go back [...] to a derivative *Iuoua*, 'which might mean "Yew Place", with which we may compare the Gaulish [deity] *Ivavos* [...],' though yew trees are seemingly unknown in Iona.

Again, in the context of the presence of Phoenician traders in the area of Britain and Ireland during the earlier part of the first millennium BC (c. 700, if not earlier), the Gaelic form *Í/hÍ* may derive from the Proto-Semitic word *'(a)y-* 'island, isolated place' (cf. Sauren 2005, 279), with the foregoing meaning or the sense 'island of a special sort, a holy place'.[31]

Old Irish *Í*, according to DIL I: Í 1(II), 9, is derived from ON *ey* 'island' and is the ON name for Iona. However, ON would seem to me to be too late to provide such a derivation, as it implies that the island had another name before the Vikings arrived. Anderson quotes the tradition that

> [s]oon after his arrival in Britain Columba stayed (*conversatus*) with the overking of the Dál Riata, Conall son of Comgall (i. 7). A tradition that Conall gave the island of Iona to Columba was mentioned in the Ulster Chronicle (AU s.a. 573), so it is not later than the early tenth century, but the form *Columbe cill(e)* suggests that the entry was not made much before 750. Bede, probably relying on a Pictish source, said that Iona was given to Columba by the Picts. There could have been truth in both traditions, though Bede's account is difficult to accept as it stands. Adomnán and Bede both write of Columba's coming to Britain; neither actually mentions his arrival in the island [?of Iona]. (Anderson 2002, xxxi)

According to Seán Duffy (AIH 24), the first recorded Viking attack on Ireland took place in 795. By the mid-ninth century the Vikings had set up permanent bases in various parts of Ireland, in and around Dublin (in 841),

[31] In discussing this same topic Coates (2009, 233) also suggests a PSem. solution, and asks whether 'the form *Ioua* contains more than *Í* does'? But he has seemingly taken *Ioua* to be a form of the name *Í*, whereas, as we have seen, it is in fact an adjectival form as used by Adomnán (see above).

around Limerick, Cork, Waterford and Wexford (AIH 25 map). This would suggest that ON *ey* for Iona entered Old Irish as *Í* during the early years of the ninth century, if not before. Nevertheless, its arrival in Old Irish in the context of Columba would seem to be late.

However, if OIr *Í* derives from PSem. *'(a)y-*, a form of long standing (as with other possible PSem.-derived place-names in the area of Britain and Ireland) used by Phoenician traders that would filter down to others as and when necessary, with the form *Í/Hí* referring to Iona as a remote island possibly of some religious significance (as such isolated places tended to be, even today[32]), then the reputation of Iona as a holy place will have existed long before the time of Columba. In which case, it is suggested, Iona did not achieve the aforesaid reputation because of Columba, rather Columba was sent thither precisely because of the long-standing reputation that Iona already had.[33]

→ ?'island, remote place (or of some religious significance)'. Otherwise etymology unknown.

13. ILE – Islay

Adom. II 23 *in Ilea insula*, var. *ilia*, OIr *Íle* (gen.) LBr. 14, *Iligh* (dat.) LBr. 23, DIL I. 63 s.v. *Ílech*, AU 739 *Ila*, *Ile*, *Ili* (dat.), ON (H: MBS) *Íl*, CMI f33v *in insula que uocatur yle*, RD 251 (c. 1173) *Hyle*, LSP 1297 *Yle*,[34] MxB *Ile*, Fordun II, 10 *Ile*, MWIS §70 *Ila*, MM 231 *Ila.* ScG *Ìle* [i:lə] OT.

● Isle of Islay. Watson (1926, 86–87) suggests a Celtic provenance, comparing the name with the Gaul. PN *Ilio-māros* 'big-flanked, big-buttocked', < ?PIE *īli-* 'Weichen, Eingeweide, Geschlechts-teile'?, gr. ἴλια, lat. *īlium, -a* 'flank', ob hierher cymr. *il* 'Gärung, (*Schwellung?)', gall. PN *Ilio-māros* 'mit großen Weichen' und die schott[ische] Insel air. *Íle*, engl. *Islay* (Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 87)? Vielleicht hierher slav. **jelito* (aus **jilito*?) usw. 'Weichen, Darm, Hoden', in wruss. *jal'ity* 'Hoden', poln. *jelito* 'Darm', dial. 'Wurst', usw. (IEW 499). As with *Scia* and *Ioua*, Adomnán's *Ilea* is likely an adjective formed from the name of the island.

→ ?'flank-like island, island of flanks' (from its shape, though this is only

[32] E.g. Skeilig Mhíchíl, Inis Bó Finne, Lindisfarne, Mont St Michel (St Malo), St Michael's Mount (Cornwall) etc.

[33] Coates (2012, 66) reaches a similar conclusion.

[34] Cf. also Taylor (1958, 56–57).

noticeable with a bit of fantasy, if one stands at the head of Loch Indaal; otherwise not).[35]

However, given the European proclivity for regarding islands in the west as sacred, bearing in mind in this context the western-most position of Islay in its sector of the Inner Hebrides and with regard to Phoenician mercantile involvement, Coates (2009, 233–34, and forthcoming) suggests PSem. **ħll* 'pure, holy', cf. Phoenician *'l*, 'with the second syllable in the modern name attributable to an extended form of the root comparable to those seen in Hebrew *'Eloah*, Biblical Aramaic *'Ĕlāhā* and Arabic *Aḷḷāh* (< PSem. **al-'ilāh*) "the god, God" [...]' with generic **'y* 'island, remote place', viz *'y'lāh* 'island of the god'. In Phoenician, *l* was an alveolar lateral resonant, viz /l/, as in *'allōnīm* 'gods' (*'LNM*) (Krahmalkov 2001, 23), similar to the lenis alveolar *l* in G *Ìle* /i:lə/. As a possible extension of this meaning, given Islay's greenness and lushness, perhaps 'God's island' in the sense of 'lush island'?

→ ?'island of the god' (sense 'holy island') or ?'the god's island' (sense 'lush island'). Or the first element *Í-* may contain the PSem. *'(a)y* 'island, remote place' (see under *Hy* (Iona), above) + an unknown specific. Otherwise etymology unknown.

14. HINBA – Colonsay/Oronsay or Jura?

Adom. I 21 *ad Hinbinam insulam*, I 45, II 24, III 5, III 17–18 *in Hinba insula*, III 23 *Hinba in insula*.

● According to tradition, it was in Hinba that Columba allegedly founded a monastery at a place called *Muirbolc Már* 'great seabag/bay'. As Watson notes,

> it was not very far from Iona, for Columba often visited it. It appears to have lain in the track of vessels coming from Ireland, at least that seems to be the inference from the fact that Comgell, Cainnech, Brendan, and Cormac, coming from Ireland to visit Columba, found him in Hinba. (Watson 1926, 82)

The identity of Hinba is therefore dependent on the whereabouts of the

[35] Taylor (1958, 57) notices that the name appears in a number of river names in Britain, e.g. River *Isle* (with the towns *Il*ford, *Il*chester, *Il*minster (my italics) in Somerset, England), River *Ilidh/Ullidh* (Sutherland, Scotland), River *Isla* (Angus, Scotland), but offers no solution. Here Isaac (2005, 193) does not regard the element *Íla* in the river name *Íla potamoû ekbolai* (Helmsdale) as obviously Celtic or IE, but speculatively compares it with OIr *ilach* 'howling, ululation'(?), suggesting an onomatopoeic name for the river name, 'the howling river'? This would seemingly not apply to the island name, however.

aforesaid *Muirbolc Már*. As Hinba clearly lies on the way from Ireland to Iona, two possibilities come into focus, namely Colonsay (with Oronsay) and Jura. Watson notes:

> The choice seems to lie between Colonsay and Jura. At the south end of Colonsay is Oronsay, separated by a channel fordable at low water, and with extensive remains of a medieval priory [...]. The channel between Colonsay and Oronsay widens into a broad bay, with a bag-like horn on the north side about half a mile wide at the mouth. The island of Jura is almost bisected by the deep inlet on its western side, known as Loch Tarbert. At some distance from its mouth the loch contracts, and then widens, thus forming an ideal *bolc* or bag [...]. (Watson 1926, 82–83)

In a recent survey of Hebridean island names found in Adomnán's *Vita Sancti Columbae*, Kelly Kilpatrick (2013, 2–4) discusses the identity of Hinba on the basis of the whereabouts of *Muirbolc Már*. She notes

> *Hinba* (KP's italics, and elsewhere) is the second most widely attested island-name [in Adomnán]. After extensive research, I have concluded that *Hinba* is likely to be identified with Colonsay, and perhaps both Colonsay and Oronsay. The place-name *Muirbolc már* 'great seabag' is comparable with other *muirbolc* places (e.g. Kentra Bay, Adomnàn's *muirbolc paradise*, and Murlough Bay, Co. Down, both characterised as being nearly empty of water when the tide is out, exposing sands). *Muirbolc már* should be identified with The Strand [between Colonsay and Oronsay]. (Ibid., 3)

At first sight Kilpatrick's argument sounds convincing and the possibility of The Strand being Columba's *Muirbolc Már* cannot be ruled out. However, if we come to look at the name Hinba itself and analyse it – as Watson (1926, 84) suggests – as a latinised form[36] of OIr *inbe* 'notch, incision' (cf. DIL I 204 s.v. *inbe* 2), then *inbe* (assuming that this interpretation is correct) is unlikely to refer to a wide strand, but more likely to a deeply-penetrating inlet of the sort exemplified by Loch Tarbert in Jura? As we have seen, Jura also lies on the route between Ireland and Iona.

→ ?'incision island, island of the incision'. Jura? Otherwise etymology unknown.

[36] Initial *H* was probably silent (Anderson 2002, lxiii).

15. ARRAN

OIr nom. *Ara*, *Arand*, *Arann na n-aighedh n-imdha* 'Arran of the many stags', gen. *Arann*, *loingsech Ile ocus Arann*, dat. *Araind* (Watson 1926, 96), MxB *Aran*, Fordun II, 10 *Arane*, MWIS §3 *Aran,* MM 217 *Arran.* ON (HákS 322) *til hereyeia* (var. *við hereyar*), (ibid. 326) *hers-ey*,[37] Ir *Árainn Mhór* OT, ScG *Arainn* [ɛrin´] (Holmer 1957, 6).[38]

● Watson (1926, 97) regards the meaning of Arran (with short initial *a*) as 'unknown, and the name may be pre-Celtic', but views (ibid., 87) Ir *Árainn* (with long initial *a*) as deriving from OIr *áru* 'kidney', from its shape.[39] He also notes, but without comment, that there are several Welsh names which appear similar: *Afon Aran* (Radnorshire), *Aran Mawdd*[*w*]*y* and *Aran Benllyn* (hills near Bala); *Arenig Fach/Fawr* (hills NW of Bala).

Deirdre and Laurence Flanagan (2002, 17) suggest that Ir *Árainn* (with long initial *a*) 'is a word construed as meaning 'ridge' and is virtually confined to Aranmore, Co. Donegal, *Árainn Mhór* "large ridge", and the Aran Islands, Co. Galway, *Árainn* + "Islands", "ridge (islands)"', presumably from their shape as seen from a distance, though without any discussion. In this same vein, but with some discussion, Owen and Morgan (2007, 17–18) regard the two examples of *Aran* that they cite, viz *Aran Benllyn* and *Aran Fawddwy* (cf. Watson, above), as 'ridge' names < *âr* + dim. suffix *-an*; so also the two diminutive forms, *Arenig Fach/Fawr*, as well as the related 'ridges' of the collective variant *Eryri* (ibid. 443).

In this context see also PCelt. **ar-*, *ara-*, *aro-* 'moving, rising, raised' with

[37] As noted by Nicolaisen (1992, 3), the ON name for Arran, *Hersey*, 'is only recorded in connection with the movements of Hákon Hákonsson's fleet in 1263. It is therefore difficult to judge how widely the island was known by the Norsemen and for how long they used a name of their own for it.' However, given that there are seemingly similar names in Norway (e.g. *Hereyar, Herøane*, as supplied to Nicolaisen by Hermann Pálsson), the Arran variant may owe its existence to the Norwegian island names.

[38] Note also a form with [a]: [dɔɬ ə ɣarin´] 'going to Arran', [bɔn´i mi də ɣɛrin´] 'I belong to Arran' (Holmer 1957, 47).

[39] In this regard Ian Fraser makes the following pertinent remarks: 'The fact that Arran is roughly kidney-shaped is not in dispute, but to suggest that those who coined the name were aware of the nature of the physical outline of the island is stretching credibility to the limit. There is absolutely no reason to believe that Dark-Age man looked at Arran as an entity in the shape of a kidney. Nevertheless, islands and island groups, viewed from the sea can present characteristic shapes and outlines, to the extent that sailors approaching from a distance may well have been influenced by such impressions when selecting a name. This is true also of mountains, since many peaks are named because of the shape or outline which they exhibit, and not from any characteristic which may be obvious when one views the land from their summits.' (Fraser 1999, 11)

o-grade root cognates in OIr *or* masc. *o*-stem 'border, limit', MW *or* masc. 'border, edge'; Av. *ar-* 'get moving', Gr. {oros} 'mountain', Hitt. {ara:i} 'gets up'. PIE root: formation originally preconsonantal zero-grade PIE $*h_3r$- < $*h_3er$- 'get moving' (IEW 326–32, LIV 266–67). The meaning 'border' of the Neo-Celtic reflexes probably derives from the frequent appearance of mountains and ridges as political and ethnic boundaries (cf. PNPG/CE s.v. *ar-*, *ara-*, *aro-*). The Irish, Scottish and Welsh forms in *a-* would predate the *o*-grade forms of Neo-Celtic.

→ ?'ridge (island)'. This meaning in my view, from what I have seen either in real life or from photographs, could apply (*pace* Coates 2009, 232, and 2012, 62) to all examples of *Aran* (variously spelt) in Ireland, Scotland and Wales. All the same, a pre-Celtic origin of the name, as Watson (1926, 97) and Coates (forthcoming) suggest, cannot be ruled out.

16. BUTE

Ravenna *Botis*, Paisley Reg. (1198 × 1204) *insula de Bote*, Paisley Reg. (1241 × 1249) *de Buyt*, Icel. Sagas (c. 1260) *inn til Bótar*, *til Bótar*, *Bót*, MxB *Bothe*, Fordun II 10 *Bothe*, RMS 1392 *apud Bute*, MWIS §6 *Buit*, MM 214 *Boot*. Current OS maps *Bute* (cf. Márkus 2012, 125–27), ScG *Bód* [bo:ɒ], [bɔ:ɒ] (Holmer 1957, 55).

● Rivet and Smith (PNRB 273) suggest that the name may be derived from a root which gives W *bod*, Ir *both* 'dwelling', here in an apparent plural form, though this may be deceptive: we could assume here **Bot īs* (for *insula*), misread or misunderstood by earlier map-makers as a plural form.

However, Gilbert Márkus (2012, 129–30), given that W *bod* [bo:d] can mean 'dwelling' (~ PBr. **bot-*) and has a long *o*, as does the modern Gaelic name for the island, urges that we perhaps look to North British or Pictish, i.e. *p*-Celtic, as a possible provenance of the name. Márkus cites John of Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scottorum* (ch. 28) as possibly coming quite near to a solution:

> *sanctus Brandanus in ea botham idiomate nostro bothe .i. cellam construxit. Unde et deinceps et usque tempus nostrum habetur binomina quod aliquando Rothisay .i. insula Rothay, sic et aliquando insula de Bothe ab indigenis nuncupatur.* (Fordun, 28)
>
> 'Saint Brendan built a church there, in our language *both*, that is a cell; therefore from then on up to our own time it is known to the natives by two names, sometimes Rothesay, i.e. island of Rothay, and sometimes the island of Bute.' (After Broun 1999, 55–56)

In addition, Márkus (ibid.) notes that W *bod* can also mean 'church, chapel', and, given the presence there of the church of Kingarth, a church of some apparent significance in times gone by suggests that Bute may take its name from North British **bot*. However, taking his cue from Watson (1926, 97), Márkus (ibid., 130) does not rule out the possibility of a pre-Celtic origin of the name, as he notes to be the case seemingly with other Hebridean island names:

> Finally, it is worth considering the possibility that the name Bute was not coined in any Celtic language, but that it is pre-Celtic and therefore that its origin and meaning are lost to us. This would align the name with several other islands off the west coast of Scotland whose names do not seem to contain elements drawn from Celtic languages [...]. (Márkus 2012, 130)

However, Coates (2012, 81) observes that Neo-British **bod* 'dwelling' (W *bod*, C *bos*; PBr. **bot-*) can be compared directly with PSem. **but* 'hut' (Orel and Stolbova s.v.),[40] though his suggestion of 'dwelling(s) island', inferring 'an entire territory marked by a difference of status expressed in building technology, or simply naming from a, or the, prominent settlement', is formally possible, but unlikely.[41]

→ ?'church island, island of the (renowned) church; ?dwelling(s)/hut(s) island'. Or of unknown etymology.

Conclusion

As can be seen above, many of the island names seem insolvable, suggesting that they were coined very early on, some perhaps by the earliest settlers after the Ice Age. We do not know what languages the people spoke who may have

[40] Oliver Padel (1985, 25), quoted by Coates (2012, 81), notes that the British word denoted or connoted a dwelling-place of humbler status than **treβ-*, the usual word for 'farm' or 'village' in the Neo-British languages.

[41] Nevertheless, such allusions are made, even by earlier peoples. The name *Great Orm* for the headland adjacent to Llandudno in North Wales, for instance, was apparently given by Scandinavian sailors, as the headland concerned looked like a serpent (o*rmr*) coming out into the sea (Gillian Fellows-Jensen, personal communication 1999). In addition, a west coast triad runs thus: *a' Chearc Leòdhasach, an Coileach Arannach agus an Eireag Mhanannach* ('the Hen of Lewis, the Cock of Arran and the Pullet of Man (i.e. the Calf)') – to see these three in one day was reckoned good sailing, i.e. too good to be true (Watson 1926, 96–97). Note that all these are place-names given by Gaelic speakers to landmarks from their shape.

coined some of these names. All we know for certain is that the languages that generally shaped the nomenclature of Britain and Ireland, as we saw at the beginning, are Indo-European. There are, however, as Wilhelm Nicolaisen (1992, 2) also noticed, a number of names which we seemingly cannot ascribe to any language we know of. These include some of the major island names in the west and north, viz *Islay*, *Tiree*, *Rum*, *Uist*, *Lewis*, *Unst*, *Yell*, as well as the name of the *Hebrides* itself. There was evidently no shared tradition regarding the name *Hebrides*, for instance, since various peoples had their own names for them: the Gaels: *Innse Gall* 'the islands of strangers', the Norse: *Sudr-eyjar* 'southern isles', the English: *Western Isles*. In terms of re-interpreting some of the island names, Nicolaisen had this to say:

> Attempts have been made to re-interpret several of the individual island names through what is called 'folk-etymology' in terms of Gaelic, and the Norse had a go at Lewis calling it *Ljódhús* ['song-house']. *Islay*, for example has been said to be related to the element *Ilio-* in the Gaulish man's name *Ilio-mārus* meaning 'flank' or 'buttock'. *Tiree* is etymologised as *Tiriath* 'corn-land', *Mull* has been connected with Gaelic *mol-adh* 'praise' and *muileach* 'dear, beloved' in the sense of 'Lofty Isle' (in Ptolemy it is *Malaios*), and *Skye* has had two alternative explanations imposed upon it, depending on whether we link it more closely with Gaelic *sgian* 'knife' or *sgiath* 'wing'; if the former, then a meaning 'Divided Isle' seems to be a possibility, if the latter 'Winged Isle' is to be preferred. One can observe recrudescences of such thinking at all times, and there have been various suggestions for the name *Arran* in the same vein. The one most frequently quoted is Early Gaelic *aru* 'kidney', offered like the etymologies for *Skye* and *Islay* because of the shape of the island. If, in fact, *Skye* is indeed wing-shaped, if *Islay* looks like a behind and *Arran* like an over-sized kidney, the potential perception of such similarities in outline is more likely to belong to a later age when maps and charts had become available, or to an even later period when one could see the shape of the islands from above; circumnavigating an island and viewing it from the sea are less likely to suggest toponymic metaphors even if there are homophones in the vocabulary which might trigger such speculation.[43] In my view we are on safer ground when we think of *Arran* and the other island names as pre-Celtic and also as pre-Indo-European, a solution − if it solves anything - that leaves us with the thought that practically all the major islands in the Northern and Western Isles have very old names, so old and so linguistically and lexically opaque that we do not have any plausible referents for them elsewhere. They are linguistic fossils, perhaps some three thousand years old or even older. (Nicolaisen 1992, 2).

Until recently solutions to the meaning of the names of the various major Hebridean islands have been looked for within a Celtic context, and this has in a number of cases led into a cul-de-sac, resulting often in a frustrating admission that the names might be 'pre-Celtic'. In recent years, in the context of Phoenician mercantile activity around Britain and Ireland during the early first millennium BC, a possible Proto-Semitic solution in a number of cases has been sought. Given this situation, the present article seeks to loosen the log-jam to some extent in offering a few suggestions. But for many names it is likely that we may never get to know their provenance or meaning at all.

Abbreviations

Adom.– *Adomnán's Life of Columba* (c. 696 AD) (Anderson 2002).
air. – altirisch.
Alb. – Albanian.
AT – Annals of Tigernach (13th c.).
AU – Annals of Ulster (15th c.).
Av. – Avestic.
B – Breton.
BB – Book of Ballymote (c. 1390).
BCC – Betha Colaim Chille.
BL – Book of Leinster (12th c.).
C – Cornish.
CMCS – Cambridge (later Cambrian) Medieval Celtic Studies (Aberystwyth).
CMI – *Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles (c. 1257, continuation till 1377)* (Broderick 1995).
CNH – *Corpus Nummum Hispaniae ante Augusti Aetatem* (Herrero 2002).
CPNS – *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Watson 1926).
cymr. – cymrisch.
CRA – Coll[ectanea] de Rebus Alban[is] (Taylor 1968).
CV – *An Icelandic-English Dictionary* (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1991).
DCCPN – *Dictionary of Continental Celtic Place-Names* (Falileyev 2010).
DCH – *Diccionario de Cecas y Pueblos Hispánicas* (García-Bellido & Blásquez 2001).
Di. – *Dinneen's Irish-English Dictionary* (Dinneen 1927).
DIL – *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Royal Irish Academy).
DLG – *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* (Delamarre 2003).
DNS – *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions* (Hoftijzer & Jongeling 1995).
Dw. – *Dwelly's Gaelic-English Dictionary* (Dwelly 1911).
EModIr – Early Modern Irish.
engl. – englisch.
Fél. – Félire.
Fordun, John of, c. 1380 (*Chronica Gentis Scottorum*) (Skene 1871–72) (List of LNN (in Megaw 1978, 313–14) seemingly from an informant in Scottish Royal court circles of late 14th cent., cf. McDonald 2002, 15).
G – Gaelic.
gall. – gallisch.
Gaul. – Gaulish.
GOI – *A Grammar of Old Irish* (Thurneysen 1946).
Goth. – Gothic.
Gr. – Greek.
gr. – griechisch.
H – Heimskringla (Snorri Sturluson, 1223–1235).
HákS – Hákon Hákonssons Saga – *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* (13th-c.).
Hebr. – Hebrew.
HEGA – *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (Bede, 731 AD).
Hitt. – Hittite.
HS – Hamito-Semitic.
Ir – Irish.
IE – Indo-European.
IEW – *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Pokorny 1959).

IGTG – *Icelandic Grammar Texts Glossary* (Einarsson 1967).
lat. – lateinisch.
Lat. – Latin.
LBr. – Lebor Bretnach (11th c.).
LEIA – *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* (Vendryes 1959-).
LG – Lebor Gabála (in Book of Leinster, c. 1150).
LIV – *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben* (Rix 2001).
LN(N) – Location Name(s).
LSP – Latin State Papers (Scotland) (Stevenson 1870).
MB – Middle Breton.
MBS – Magnus Barefoot's Saga (c. 1100; Heimskringla).
MIr – Middle Irish.
MM – Martin Martin (1698).
ModB – Modern Breton.
ModW – Modern Welsh.
MW – Middle Welsh.
MWIS – *Monro's Western Isles of Scotland* (1549) (Munro 1961).
MxB – Manx Bull of 1231 (c. 1340–1505, McDonald 2002, 14). For list of LNN, see Megaw (1978, 313–14).
MxG – Manc Gaelic.
NBr. – Neo-British.
NH – *Naturalis Historia* (Pliny the Younger 23–79 AD).
OCS – Old Church Slavonic.
OInd. – Old Indian.
OIr – Old Irish.
ON – Old Norse.
OS – Orel & Stolbova (1994).
OT – Oral tradition.
PBr. – Proto-British.
PCelt. – Proto-Celtic.
PIE – Proto-Indo-European.
PN(N) – Personal Name(s)/ Personenname(n).
PNPG/CE – Place-Names in Ptolemy's Geographia – Celtic Elements (Isaac 2004).
PNRB – *Place-Names of Roman Britain* (Rivet & Smith 1979).
poln. – polnisch.
PPR – Poem in praise of Raghnall (King of Man) (c. 1200) (Ó Cuív 1957).
PSem. – Proto-Semitic.
Ptol. – Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus, c. 150 AD).
Rawl. B – Rawlinson B (manuscript).
RD – Reginald of Durham (c. 1190).
RMS – Registrum Magni Sigilli.
ScG – Scottish Gaelic.
Sem. – Semitic.
slav. – slavisch.
T.Frag. – Three Fragments (Annals of Ireland).
usw. – und so weiter (and so on).
v.s. – vide sub (see under).
W – Welsh.
Watson *Celtic Place-Names* (Watson 1926).
WCh. – West Chad.
wruss. – westrussisch.

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Representative Government among the Hebrews and Phoenicians: A Contribution to the Problem of the עם הארץ Raised by Judge Mayer Sulzberger

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REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT AMONG THE HEBREWS AND PHOENICIANS

A Contribution to the Problem of the עם הארץ raised by Judge Mayer Sulzberger

In his instructive study entitled *The Am Haarez, the ancient Hebrew Parliament*, Judge Mayer Sulzberger, with the competence of an eminent legal authority manifested in every line, endeavours to determine anew the constitutional government of ancient Israel. After arguing his thesis with sagacity, the learned Judge reaches a conclusion revealing a new aspect of prime importance which must impress itself on the Jewish historian: Hebrew antiquity knew of constitutional, representative government. This régime which can be traced to the time of the Judges definitely appears in the age of Samuel, when we come across the chosen of the people, ראשי הקרואים, cp. קרואי עם. This term reappears in many biblical passages which have been misunderstood by historians ignorant of Oriental antiquity, and which treat of the assemblies of the Israelites under the name of ראשי עם הארץ or even עם הארץ, their active rôle being determined by a whole series of political changes in Israel.

The thesis so wisely developed deserves attention. However, such is often the force of historical routine in many erudite circles that they fear every opinion—however true it may be—just on account of its originality. The only way to react against such a routine is to accumulate evidence tending to make truth triumph. May I therefore be permitted to offer my moderate contribution to the elucidation of such an inspiring problem?

To show how one must not isolate pre-exilic Israel from the

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multitude of his Hebrew or Hebrew-Phoenician neighbours, I shall try to recapitulate all that is known to-day concerning the ancient constitution of Phoenicia, the analogy of which to that of Israel has already been discussed by me.[1]

It is chiefly the Phoenician and Punic inscriptions substantiated by the testimony of the ancients which will furnish us new data concerning the constitutional régime of these peoples. Let us begin by saying that after having experienced—together with the people of Israel—a prehistoric period of the rule of suffetes, שופטים, and representatives of the people, the Phoenicians of Tyre and Zidon wound up by adopting the same political system as Israel: the first known independent Kings of Tyre, Abiba'al and Hiram, are contemporaries of David and Solomon. Only, and this despite the dearth of historical documents, all that we know of the history of Tyre points to a chronic conflict which existed between a popular party, the plebeians, and the royal party or aristocracy. The reactions and revolutions among them are numerous.[2]

Indeed, it is as a reaction against the tyranny of the royal régime at Tyre that the founders of Carthage, having expatriated themselves in order to go to Africa, decided to adopt a republican system of government with two suffetes or judges (magistrates) at the head. In a general way the Phoenician inscriptions know two political régimes different from one another: (1) The monocratic régime which is characterized by the mention of an era dated from the coronation of the מלך or sovereign. (2) The republican régime which is characterized by a demotic era, i. e. which counts the years from the foundation of the new republican form of government or else from the eponymous year, i. e. the year which bears the names of the suffetes who were then in power.

To the last category belong the documents which come from the Seleucid era, wherein the Phoenician cities constituting

[1] See *Les Hébréo-Phéniciens*, Paris, 1909. Also *La Civilisation hébraïque et phénicienne de Carthage*, Tunis, 1912.

[2] See the famous passage of Menander cited by Josephus, &c.

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a republic still found themselves dominated by the Syrian kings and subject to their suzerainty.

As a specimen of the first category may serve the great inscription of Zidon dated at the period of Persian domination and published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, I, No. 2. The following is the text of the first line which is of interest to us:

בשנת עסר וארבע למלכי מלך אשמנעזר מלך צדנם

'In the year XIV of my reign (I) Eshmunazar, King of the Zidonians.'

Here it is the king who dominates the era: none else is mentioned. The people do not participate in the management of the government.

The same is true of the Phoenician colonies of Cyprus where the royal régime predominated, as may be seen from the Assyrian inscriptions of Sargon.[3]

The *CIS.*, I, Nos. 88 and 89, offers us a similar formula for a Cyprian king of the Ptolemaean age. The first line reads:

בשנת שלשם למלך מלכיתן מלך כתי ואדיל

'In the year XXX of my reign (I) Melechyaton, King of Kiti (Kition) and of Adel.'

As to Tyre, we lack for the present inscriptions relative to the régime which would characterize her royal period contemporaneous with the kings of Israel. But we know that during the Greek supremacy, when the republican régime was definitely established in the city of Tyre, it was the δῆμος, the עם, which signalized its advancement to power through the establishment of an era appropriate to it. This point is so important to our thesis that I venture to reproduce the inscription of *CIS.*, No. 7, *in extenso*, with its Latin translation according to the editors of the Corpus[4]:

[3] See Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*, p. 500.

[4] It goes without saying that the Phœnician orthography differs from the Hebrew.

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לאדן לבעל שמם. אש נדר
עבדאלם בן מתן בן עבדאלם בן
בעלשמר בפלג לאדך. אית השער
ז״ והדלהת אש ל פעלת בתכלתי
בנת בשת CL XXX לאדן מלכם.
CXLIII° שת לעם צר לכן לי
לסכר ושם נעם תחת פעמי אדני
בעלשמם לעלם. יברכן.

Domino Baali coelorum votum quod vovit Abdelimus, filius Mattanis, filii Abdelimi, filii Baalšamari, in [circulo] Laadic[ae]. Portam hanc et valvas eius feci in exsecutionem illius (voti). Aedificavi eum anno CL XXX domini regum, CXLIII° anno populi Tyri, ut sit mihi in memoriam et nomen bonum sub pedibus domini mei Baalis coelorum in aeternum. Benedicat mihi.

To facilitate the reading I offer a Hebrew translation or rather an orthographic reproduction:

לאדון לבעל שמים[5] אשר נדר עבדאלים
בן מתן בן עבדאלים בן בעלשמר
בפלך לודביא.[6] את השער הזה והדלתות
אשר לו פעלתי בתכלתי[7] בניתי בשנת 180
30 לאדון מלכים. 143 שנה לעם
צור להיותם לי לזכר ושם נעים
תחת פעמי[8] אדוני בעל שמים
לעולם. יברכני.

In this inscription we find three dates: the first is not certain; the second is that of the reign of a Seleucid king; the third is that of the establishment of the Republic of Tyre which, according

[5] The god of heaven, בעל שמים, is the pure Semitic deity, in contradistinction from בעל חמן = בעל שמש who is the solar god. (See my study cited above.)

[6] Or לודקיא according to the Talmud.

[7] From בלה ונחרצה, *project, plan*.

[8] Or רגלי.

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to the editors of the Corpus, would date from 275. The inscription therefore dates 143 from the Republic of Tyre or 132 B. C.

Another inscription found near Tyre much later and commented upon by Clermont-Ganneau[9] dates from the era of Ptolemaean dominion. The following is the passage concerning the eras:

בשת XVI לפתלמים אדן מלכם האדר פּעֵל נעַם בן פתלמים
וארסנאם אלן אַחַים שלש חמשם שת לעם [צר]

'In the year XVI of Ptolemy, the lord of kings, the powerful, the benefactor, son of Ptolemy and Arsinoë, the tree of life, fifty-three years to the people of Tyre.'

Here the date is certain; it is Ptolemy III Euergetes (247–221 B. C.) who is alluded to. The Tyrian republic having been founded in the year 275, the date would be 222 B. C.

As to the Republic of Zidon of the same epoch, we possess an inscription discovered at Piraeus (near Athens) where we read the following date:[10]

בים IV למרזח בשנת XV לעם צדן

'On the fourth day of (the month) Marzeaḥ[11] in the year XV of the people of Zidon.'

These documents show us that the term עם is employed as an equivalent of republic. It is the sovereign people that signs the acts.

Unfortunately we do not possess any data concerning the social and political constitution of the republics of Tyre and Zidon of a later date. On the other hand, we are well informed as to the constitutional régime of the daughter republic of Tyre—that of the famous Carthage and her dependent states. The testimonies of Aristotle and Polybius are precious,[12] and the

[9] *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, I, p. 81 f.

[10] See Renan, *Rev. Archéol.*, 1888, I, p. 5 f.

[11] An ancient name of a Hebrew-Phoenician month.

[12] I refer the reader to the book by Meltzer, *Geschichte der Karthager*, vol. II, ch. II.

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inscriptions are very numerous although some of them still remain unpublished. I have already had occasion to demonstrate in what respects the constitution of Carthage offers analogies with that of post-exilic Judea, analogies which even go so far as a common terminology.[13]

The whole constitutional régime of ancient Judea is found copied and frequently glossed in the inscriptions of Carthage or her dependencies of the occidental Mediterranean region.

At the head of the constitution of Carthage stood the δῆμος. It is to the people that the government addressed itself whenever an important decision came up.[14] The people constituted the highest court of appeal in all matters pertaining to the political life of the republic. Now, the epigraphic texts show explicitly that in the Hebrew-Phoenician speech of Carthage and her dependencies it is the term עם which replaces that of δῆμος in Aristotle, Diodorus of Sicily, and Polybius whenever there is reference to the constitution of Carthage. Several Zidonians naturalized in Carthage employ in their votive texts the following formula (cp. *CIS.*, 269, 271, 272, 273, &c.): עם[15] למיעמם קרתחדשת = ex decreto populi Carthaginis.

The inscription of Gozzo (Gaulos near Malta, see *CIS.*, I, No. 132) speaks of temples erected by the people of that city in the following terms:

. . . [המקדשים] פעל וחדש עם גול אית שלש

'The people of Gaulos executed the renovation of the three [temples] . . .'

In the inscriptions, No. 263–8, the representatives of the עם or commonwealth of other Punic colonies (e. g. עם רשמלקרת, עם אירנים, &c.) are involved. Thus every Phœnician colony

[13] See my *La Civil. hébr. et phén. de Carthage.*

[14] Cp. Diodor. 14. 4; Polyb. 15. 1, 2.

[15] This term is hardly clear. The root עמם means to charge, perhaps לָמּוֹ יעמם = he charged them. The Latin *ex decreto* translated by the editors of the Corpus is certain.

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constituted a nation, a עם, which distinguished her from the other neighbouring populations. But what was exactly the character of this עם or δῆμος which governed the destinies of the great Republic of Carthage and her sister cities? Here again Aristotle, corroborated by the testimony of Polybius and elucidated by Meltzer, offers a solution:

It follows from these data that the people of Carthage were presided over by a great assembly, Syncletos, composed first of 100 and later of 300 family heads. Evidently not anybody who wished formed the sovereign people of Carthage, but only the representatives of the Phoenician citizens, one from each family, the ראשי עם or ראשי בתי אב of the Hebrews and of the book of Nehemiah, which form a point of discussion in Judge Sulzberger's treatise. By its origin it recalls the כנסת הגדולה of Jerusalem, whose inception is stated clearly in Neh. 5. 10, where it is resolved to have the first legislative reunion of post-exilic Jerusalem: twenty-three representatives of the families of the Aaronides, seventeen heads of Levitic families, and forty-five heads of lay families. See, moreover, Neh. 8. 13: נאספו ראשי האבות לכל העם הכהנים והלוים.

With reference to the Aaronides as well as the Judeans, it is the representatives of the families who make up the עם. Hence at Carthage as well as at Jerusalem the עם is the pure race, the commonwealth represented by its family chiefs, to the exclusion of strangers. It is this assembly which controls the acts of the suffetes, which presides over all the functions of government, such as the executive function, the Synhedrion[16] or the Senate of 100 at Carthage and of 70 at Jerusalem, &c. At Jerusalem the two suffetes are replaced by the high-priest and the Nasi, later on by the זוגות or chiefs of Synhedrion. The members of this parliament bear the name חברים. Thus in one of the inscriptions recently discovered at Carthage[17] we find חברנם (=חברים) alongside of suffetes and high-priests. In Jeru-

[16] The term Synhedrion appears similarly at Carthage.

[17] To appear in the next issue of the *CIS.*, which is now in press; cp. *CIS.*, I, No. 165.

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salem these חברים are met with in the following numismatic text published by de Vogué:

יוחנן הכהן הגדול וחבר היהודים

'Johanan the high-priest and the college of the Jews.'

But even the term *hetairia* which Aristotle attributes to the supreme tribunal of Carthage is known in Jerusalem. In the first place we find the term החבורה (Midr. r. שיר השירים, 2. 63, &c.) used with reference to the great Jewish tribunal. But besides we have the misunderstood term בעלי תרסין or members of the *hetairia*. The key to this solution is furnished by Yebamot 121 a, where we read היתרים, *hetairias*.

I hope again to treat this captivating subject at some future date. But the present exposition, however summary it may be, proves sufficiently that the thesis of Judge Sulzberger finds very serious support in the texts of Phoenicia: under the form of family representation, the families being only those belonging to the Phoenician commonwealth, the people of Tyre or Carthage, the δῆμος or the עם, directed the destinies of their republics. This is the first form known in the history of the régime of a sovereign people.

Paris. NAHUM SLOUSCH.

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PREFACE

{By the Curator of the Lewis Collection)

THE essays here collected were, with the exception of Professor Bury's, delivered as informal lectures during the Lent Term of this year at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

On at least two occasions in its history the College has benefited in a fashion quite out of the ordinary by the munificence of its alumni. In 1 574 the manuscript collection of Archbishop Parker was deposited in our Library : and a little over three hundred years later Samuel Savage Lewis, Fellow of Corpus and sometime custodian of the Parker Manuscripts, left to the Society a collection of objects of ancient art, vases, coins and gems, the accumulation of which had been a life-work \ Different as they are, these gifts have two features in common — compassable bulk and extreme variety, characteristics which have given them, apart from any other, a special educational value. Not a few with their triposes recently behind them have learnt at first hand under the auspices of the Elizabethan archbishop or the Victorian fellow the alphabet of advanced study.

^ An indication of the contents of the Lewis Collection is given in an appendix.

It is at least arguable, in the case of abler men, whether the three years which follow graduation be not as important as the three years which precede it. For those pursuing an academic career this can hardly be in question. Few go far in that career, who can not point back to some kind of inspiration, personal or impersonal, which at this critical period turned their energies to work which provoked their powers. A series of informal discussions of the Hellenistic Age, conducted by experts and open to the classical and historical scholars of Corpus and other colleges, was but a logical development of the employment of the Lewis Collection as a stimulus to graduate work. How suitable was the choice at this moment of this period, how instant its problems, how romantic this vast new sea of history which still remains inadequately charted, can best be told by the distinguished mariners who, with at present but few others, have sailed often and far upon it and brought back their argosies. To them not merely conventional gratitude is due. All scholars might not have been so prodigal of their unpublished results, but their generosity made the course of lectures as it now makes this book. No attempt has been made to rewrite the three

addresses for publication. Their charm and freshness, when first delivered, suggested the desirability of preservation in permanent shape, and the value of an additional essay by Professor Bury requires no comment.

The book which has resulted is not exhaustive, for there are other aspects of the Age which might have been similarly treated, but no one can read it without understanding better both the nature of the material which exists for a study of the period as also the aim and the methods with which scholars are at work upon it.

G. B.

Michaelmas 1923

THE HELLENISTIC AGE AND THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

THE habit of treating what is, not very happily, called the Hellenistic age as if it were no more than a wayside inn in which a historical student travelling from Athens and Sparta to Rome is forced reluctantly to halt for a few tedious hours is not yet obsolete. This short survey is designed to illustrate and underline its importance and interest for the subsequent history of civilization.

The period of Greek history from the conquest of Alexander the Great, who worked a miracle that seemed to break the continuous course of history by a long leap, down to Rome's completion of her Eastern conquests by the annexation of Egypt, has been until comparatively recent years exceptionally unfortunate, in not being studied for its own sake, and therefore in not having its definite and eminent place in the general history of the world properly understood. It has entered little into liberal education except so far as it is involved in the history of the Roman Republic. An ordinary reader of Roman history will just hear of the brilliant Academician Carneades and the wise Stoic Panaetius of Rhodes, because they visited and impressed Rome ; but he knows hardly anything as a rule of the Greece in which these men of light and leading had been brought up. The art of that period can

not be ignored ; it appeals to the eye, in originals

or copies, in every large European collection ; but the visitor to the museums who knows all about the ages of Pheidias and Praxiteles is astonishingly ignorant of the world in which the Venus of Melos or the Dying Gaul was chiselled. A generation ago boys used to learn geometry in the handbook of Euclid, but the few who had a vague notion that "Euclid" was the name of the author had no idea who he was or when he lived ; if he had lived in the fifth century and not in the age of Ptolemy Soter, many of the schoolboys, and possibly some of the masters, would have known at least that he was a Greek. For there was a notion prevalent that the Greeks were already decadent in the third century ; it has perhaps hardly died out yet, and has probably been the principal cause of the neglect of the post-Demosthenic age. Nothing could be more untrue. That vague and facile word "decadent" is often misused, but no misuse could be more flagrant than to apply it to the Greeks of the third and second centuries. The age of the political greatness of their cities was indeed over, but they still possessed creative strength and were as hot as ever on the quest of truth. In completely altered circumstances they were doing new and valuable things and were expressing the Hellenic spirit in new and valuable ways. Their highest intellectual endeavours were now in the field of the exact sciences and this was the age of their greatest mathematicians.

For anyone who is interested in exploring the history of European civilization and finding out how the past is stored in the present, this period of Hellenism may be said in a certain way to cpunt

more than the age of the independent city states ; for it was through this period that the earlier age exerted its influence. It was in this period that the culture of Rome was semi-hellenized and it was

through Rome that Greece leavened the civiliza-
tion of Western Europe. We must remember that
when a Roman went to Athens or Rhodes or Alex-
andria he imbibed the ideas ar^d culture of the living
Greece of the time ; this training would include a
knowledge of her past, but the past would be seen
by him as by a native Greek through the glasses of
the present. The Latin poets (except Horace) in
the first century b.c. owed more to the compara-
tively modern Greek poets, the Alexandrines, than
they owed to the older and greater poets of the
great age of Hellas ; and it was the contemporary
art of Greece that appealed to the taste of Roman
connoisseurs and supplied models to Roman artists.

To judge the value of any section in the line of
human events for the progress of civilization and
to apprehend its significance for the sections that
followed, it is not enough to make a catalogue of
the achievements and the discoveries. We cannot
appreciate it by bare outstanding results. We must
recreate the life of the age for its own sake, seek to
live it over again and to understand the problems
which faced the rulers and the thinkers and how
they tried to solve them.

To aid us in making the attempt, we have now
much more material than Droysen had, when he
wrote his valuable History of Hellenism. Within the
last generation the discovery of a mass of con-
temporary documents, inscriptions, and still more
papyri, has given a powerful stimulus to the study

of the period, and for a good many years past a
number of savants have been engaged on an in-
tensive study of the political, economic, and social
life under the Macedonian monarchies. But the
results of their work have so far hardly penetrated
beyond learned circles into the general knowledge
of the educated public.

The period is itself extraordinarily interesting,
though it is a period in which there is no difficulty
in losing one's way. The change so suddenly
wrought by Alexander in his ten miraculous years,
substituting European for Asiatic rule all over the
Near East, set problems which no European states-
man had ever had to face before. The new rulers

had to steer their ships over unfamiliar waters by strange stars. Large political and social problems were raised. New material and unexpected opportunities were given to Greek science, to advance in its endeavours to comprehend man's environment. The change meant an economic revolution resembling, on a smaller scale, that which was brought about by the discovery of the lands of the Western hemisphere and the circumnavigation of the earth eighteen hundred years later.

The effect of this revolution was that between the fourth century and the end of the third a long step was taken on the road which separates our civilization to-day from that of the fifth century b.c. That is another way of putting Mr Tarn's observation about the third century that it strikes one as comparatively "modern." If a European of to-day were precipitated backward through time by a sorcerer's spell into some Hellenic town of the past he would much sooner get used to his new sur-

roundings, if they were in one of the great Greek cities founded by the Macedonians, Alexandria or Seleucia or Antioch, than if he were cast into the Athens or Syracuse of a hundred years further back. There was business enterprise on a considerable scale. The seas were not deserted by ships in winter, as they had been in the previous century. Now that Eastern trade had been thrown open to Greeks, the profits to be made were so large that merchants braved the dangers of winter voyages in a way that in old days was unknown. It has been suggested that the popular astronomical poem of Aratus which was so much admired by the ancients was composed with an eye to the need of a handbook for mariners. It is on the practical uses of astronomical knowledge that the poet insists. The volume of trade had grown so large that banking and exchange assumed great importance. The monetary transactions of this period, the state banks of Egypt, the international bank of Rhodes, were as far beyond the vision of the Delphic priests, or of Pasion and his clients in the days of Demosthenes, as the banking business of modern times was beyond the vision of the founders of the Bank of England.

The society of this age was tolerant; people

did not trouble much about the beliefs of their neighbours ; thought was perfectly free. The power of the Olympian gods, who had now to share their divinity with mortal potentates, was virtually over. There was only one deity in whom nearly every one believed, the goddess Fortune. If people did not know that the earth moves, it was now part of common knowledge that the earth is round ; and

the gibes with which Aristophanes derided Socrates for trying to compute its diameter or circumference would now have fallen flat.

There had indeed been one occasion when the existence of the philosophical schools of Athens was seriously threatened, not however for orthodox but for political reasons, and the episode is of considerable interest. It happened when the democracy was restored on the arrival of King Demetrius in B.C. 307, and Demetrius of Phalerum, head of the government which was overthrown, had to flee. New laws were drawn up and one of these, proposed by a certain Sophocles of Sunium, suppressed the philosophical schools, the Academe and the Peripatos, and ordained that no such school should be established in future without the licence of the state. The law was aimed particularly at the Peripatetics because the head of that school, Theophrastus, had been an intimate friend and adviser of Demetrius of Phalerum. The law was passed and Theophrastus left Athens, but public opinion changed in a few weeks or months. The Athenians felt that Socrates and Plato and Aristotle could not be described as friends of democracy, yet their genius had largely contributed to building up the reputation of the city as the centre of Hellenic culture. As a matter of fact it was discovered that the law was illegal. The legal position of the schools was that of religious clubs devoted to the worship of the Muses, and religious clubs had been recognized as legal institutions by a law of Solon. Accordingly a graphe paranomon lay against Stratocles ; it was brought by a pupil of Theophrastus, and Stratocles lost his case, although he was defended by Democharès from whose mouth,

in attacking Socrates and Plato and Aristotle and other less famous philosophers, such pearls of abuse rained as Greek orators were adepts in producing when they were in a vituperative mood. If such a law had prevailed, Athens would not have been enriched by the Garden of Epicurus or the Porch of Zeno\

Alexander's death at the age of 32 was a contingency which altered the course of history to an extent which it might be possible vaguely to conjecture if we knew what his immediate projects were. Unfortunately we do not know his projects. There is no good evidence for the popular idea that he was bent on the conquest of the whole world. It used to be thought that we had some genuine indication of his plans in a document known as his Hypomnemata.

But very recently Mr Tarn has shown convincingly that the Hypomnemata were a fabrication, so we have nothing like positive evidence to go upon. It is however certain that before his death Alexander must have been considering the future, and it would be natural that he should discuss his plans with his generals. We may therefore ask the question whether the ideas which Arrian (by whom the spurious Hypomnemata were not used) put in the mouth of Alexander (v, 26, 1–3) and in that of Coenus son of Polemocrates (ib. 27, 7) were derived from material supplied in his principal sources, the Memoirs of Ptolemy and Aristobulus, or from the popular history of Cleitarchus. For, if from the

^ The best account of this incident will be found in Mr Ferguson's Hellenistic Athens, pp. 104 sqq.

former, it would be permissible to infer that three plans had been under coTisideration : (i) a new Eastern campaign to complete the conquest of India, (2) a northern expedition to Scythia and the countries round the Caspian, and (3) an extension of the Empire in Africa. What we do positively know is that since his visit to India the king had been much occupied with maritime questions. His admiral had made the sea voyage from the Indus to the Euphrates, and was preparing to attempt to circumnavigate Arabia and to establish a route by

sea from Babylonia to Egypt. In the valleys of the Nile and of the Tigris and Euphrates, Alexander possessed two rich store-houses, like the Persians before him. But the Persians had allowed the cultivation of Egypt to fall into decay, and one of the most profitable tasks for its new king — a task to which the Ptolemies afterwards addressed themselves with marked success — was to renovate Egyptian agriculture and restore the productiveness of the land to its condition under the old Egyptian Empire. This would have been one of the first items in the economic organization of the Empire which Alexander must have undertaken. We know also that the situation in Macedonia was urgently demanding his presence. It seems therefore probable that before embarking on any further enterprises in the East, he would have returned to the West and organized Alexandria as a second capital. And with his increasing insight into the importance of the sea, it is not a bold hypothesis that he would have aimed at establishing a thalassocracy in the whole Mediterranean. This would have meant the conquest of Carthage, and the conquest of Carthage by

the Macedonian, who combined military genius and the command of immense resources, would have been no long task. So far we may go in our surmises, and if Alexander had done nothing more than that, the history of Rome, without its Punic Wars, would have been altered in ways we cannot imagine. A supposition of this kind is not idle. There is no sound reason for not recognizing, with Sir John Seeley, as legitimate and useful, the device of considering what might have been, in order to help one to realize the significance of what actually was.

None of Alexander's successors attempted to dominate the whole Mediterranean, an achievement reserved for Rome. Among the generals who fought over his inheritance, there were many of high military competence and some of uncommon political ability, but none had the sweep and power of their master's mind, none the spell of his personality. The only one who at all resembled him was Demetrius the son of Antigonus, who in military brilliancy might be compared longo interuallo to Alexander and had remarkable personal charm. But he had ∗'some vicious mole of nature" in him, and he was not the man to rule an empire; he

knew how to conquer, as Mr Tarn has said, but did not know how to govern.

Out of the conflicts which occupied many years after Alexander's death there ultimately emerged three great powers, each of which performed a different task, and while they were quarrelling over Greece, Syria or Asia Minor were all deliberately spreading Hellenism and unconsciously preparing the way for Roman dominion. The Antigonids of Macedonia were the protectors of the centres of Greek

culture against the barbarians of central Europe who were pressing on the Danube ; the Seleucids preserved Hellenism in the East and made the Parthians less barbarous ; the Ptolemies prepared and set in order the store-house of Egypt which was to be Rome's richest possession.

It was the second Ptolemy who began methodically in the middle of his reign the operation of restoring the economic life of Egypt and making the soil yield all that it was capable of. By what methods this was done can be elicited from contemporary papyri and has been elucidated by Mr Rostovtsev in his masterly study A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century b.c} Ptolemy carried the work out as a landlord managing his own personal estate, during the last fifteen years of his reign, with the help of his trusted dioecetes or economic minister Apollonius, and ample remains of the correspondence of Zeno, who was the man of business (oeconomus) of Apollonius, have been preserved and supply rich information as to the lines which were followed in improving cultivation, irrigating sandy land, draining marshlands, constructing dykes, introducing viticulture, improving stocks, and organizing the administration. Mr Rostovtsev characterizes the work as a "systematic and logically progressive" exploitation of the resources of the country. It was carried out under the direction of Greeks, and its effects were durable.

All these Macedonian monarchs were champions of Hellenism ; all of them, much as some might depart in practice from Hellenic ideals, believed devoutly that Hellenic culture was the most

^ Wisconsin, 1922.

precious thing that humanity had produced. The Macedonians had fought for Greece in the Persian invasion and they had received as it were letters of naturalization in b.c, 476 when they were admitted to take part in the ©lympian games. Though they were thus recognized as not barbarians, they continued to be regarded by the city states of Hellas as outsiders. Their political institutions differed and also their customs. The marriage of brother and sister, incestuous in the eyes of the Hellenes, was practised in Macedonia and the hellenized Macedonian monarchs never learned to consider it as abominable. Thus while Alexander's conquest meant the expansion of the Hellenic world, we must not forget that its rulers came of a state deeply differentiated from the cities which had a long tradition of Greek culture, and they were more capable of ruling successfully non-Greek peoples. It may be doubted whether any of the statesmen who made history in the old city states would have been as successful in governing large heterogeneous kingdoms as were the ablest of the Macedonian despots. One characteristic of these kingdoms, which was distinctly Macedonian, was the considerable part which women of the royal houses played in political history, not on the whole a beneficent part, from Olympias to the last Cleopatra. The^e Stratonices and Laodices, Berenices and Arsinoes cannot be reproached either for cowardice or for scrupulousness.

It was only for about a hundred years that these monarchies, along with the small kingdom of Pergamum and some other minor states, went on their ways, little disturbed by what went on outside

the Hellenic world. From B.C. 200 the shadow of Rome was imminent over them. Ptolemy Philopator and Attalus of Pergamum were perhaps among the first to realize that the future lay with the rising Western power. In the nineties of the second century, after the field of Cynoscephalae, it needed no Delphic inspiration to enable the poet of the Alexandra to speak of Rome's supremacy by land and sea

7^9 KcCi 6a\aaaij<i arKrJTTTpa koI fiovap'x^iav (1. 1229).

The story of the Roman annexations east of the Adriatic has been usually studied and usually told entirely from the Roman point of view. In order to understand Roman polic)"" and judge it, we must look at it also from the point of view of the states that were its victims and observe events from Pella or Antioch or Alexandria or Pergamum as well as from Rome. Roman historians have procured currency for the view that Rome was involved in the politics of the Balkan Peninsula and Hither Asia against her will ; that all her operations were entirely defensive, necessitated by the aggressive designs of the Macedonian states ; that her conquests were the unavoidable and uncalculated result of measures which she was compelled to take in order to escape destruction; that her empire was neither desired nor designed but forced upon her. That was, no doubt, the perfectly sincere opinion of the generality of Romans. We have a modern parallel near home. It is probably the genuine opinion of many Englishmen that in the formation of the British Empire, English governments were never guilty of any aggressive purpose

and were only forced by circumstances from time to time to take territories which they did not desire, either in self-defence or for the good of the world. But this is not a view which is accepted by other nations, who regard it as merely an expression of English hypocrisy. Rome's claim to be inoifensive and innocent of any desire for aggrandizement must have seemed singularly hypocritical to the despots whom she bullied and terrorized during the century after the Punic Wars. If we examine her acts and neglect the gloss she put upon them, we cannot help seeing, as Mr Bouch6-Leclercq has seen, how perfidious the policy of her government must have seemed to the Eastern powers. In modern times, since the rise of democracies, despotic kings have not been greatly in favour, and it has been exhilarating and edifying to see proud monarchs trembling at the word of a plain Roman who represented a republic and disdained pomp and state ; and in gazing on this admirable spectacle people have neglected the fact that the government of the Republic was an oligarchy as grasping and greedy as any of the majesties whom its consuls

and ambassadors humiliated. It is needful to know not only the history of Rome herself but also the history of the Greek monarchs, and to realize not only her, but also their, political and social conditions in order to form a just view of her behaviour. It must also be remembered that Rome was afterwards confronted by the same problems that tested the abilities of the Macedonian rulers, when she took their place — such as the conciliation of central government with regional autonomy, the treatment of Oriental nations and of wild backward

sections of mankind. She inherited their problems and she also learned from their solutions. In studying the Roman administration of Egypt or the exceptional position of many Greek cities under the early Principate, or even the way in which the earlier Emperors managed their financial business, we are inevitably led back to the methods of Alexander's successors. The deification of the Emperors is directly derived from the Macedonians ; the device of maintaining a dynasty without sacrificing the elective principle, characteristic of the Roman Empire, was a Seleucid invention. To understand the origin and nature of the colonatus^ its latest historian takes us back to the landed estates in Ptolemaic Egypt..

It has I think been said that there was a certain continuity in the traditions and fashions of monarchical courts, passing from the Ptolemies and Seleucids to the Roman Emperors, and thence coming down through the Middle Ages to modern times. Now there are certainly remarkable resemblances between the court institutions of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid autocracies and the Roman autocracy into which the Principate passed towards the end of the third century, but the continuity through the intervening centuries of the Principate is not very apparent. I am disposed to think that the resemblances are due to a continuity, not in the "West but in the East. The courts of the absolute monarchs of Egypt and Syria were strongly influenced by the Persian court of the Achaemenids, and the Oriental features which were adopted by Aurelian, Diocletian and Constantine,came from the Persian court of the Sassanids. It is a persist-

ence of Achaemenid tradition through the Parthian period rather than a persistence of Seleucid tradition through the Roman Principate that accounts for the similarities which are noted between the Roman autocrats and the Macedonian autocrats. We may indeed say that the influence of ancient Persia in modern Europe has not yet been fully recognized. It is to be found not only in the general fashions and etiquette of royal courts, but also in the habits and traditions of diplomatic intercourse. It was the relations between Roman Emperors and Sassanid monarchs that developed the strict conventions observed at Constantinople in dealing with foreign states and learned readily enough at other European courts, for in the Middle Ages Constantinople was in many ways the school of Europe.

It will hardly be contested that the considerations summarized in the foregoing pages supply good grounds for assigning to the period of the Macedonian monarchies a more leading and assured place in the study of ancient history than it has hitherto been permitted to occupy.

From the point of view of the progress of man, a great increase in knowledge of his environment or a great increase of his power over nature, has more wide-reaching effects and is a more signal landmark in history than any political changes. The invention of printing was a more important event than the Reformation, the discovery of the American continent more important than the conquests of the Turks.

In these respects our period is not an outstanding landmark in universal history ; its interest is

that it was on the verge of great discoveries, but came to an end without having made any absolutely decisive advance, or any momentous break with the past. It had its Copernicus ; it had an explorer who has been compared to Columbus; but neither of them moved the world.

Aristarchus of Samos (active b.c. 290–260) demonstrated that the geocentric system of astro-

nomy then in vogue could not be true as it did not explain the phenomena, and he hit upon the helio-centric hypothesis including the diurnal revolution of the earth round its axis. It was a flash of genius, and Aristarchus will always be remembered as the first man, so far as we know, who knew the general truth about the solar system. So far as we know ; for he may have been anticipated by some forgotten Babylonian savant. To be first with a scientific discovery seems to be as hard as it was to be first in getting into the pool of Bethesda.

But what happened to be the truth was not received. The new theory must have made a certain sensation and it is interesting to find it denounced on religious grounds just as eighteen hundred years later, when it was revived by Copernicus, religious prejudices were one of the obstacles to its reception.

Of the philosophical schools which were acquir-ing such great influence in the third century, the Stoic was that which had most affinities with a religious community — it has been compared to a Church — and it was the head of the Stoic school, Cleanthes, who raised his voice against a man of science. The Greeks, said Cleanthes, ought to impeach Aristarchus for impiety for disturbing the

hearth of the universe and dragging it to another place. The days were past in Greece for intoler-ance of this kind ; in no age perhaps was the ex-pression of opinion freer or rationalism more widely spread than in Hellenic lands in the third century B.C. The denunciation of Cleanthes could do no harm to Aristarchus, in fact it could only serve as an advertisement for his theory.

Why then in such an intellectual atmosphere was not the heliocentric discovery accepted ? Why did the leading savants of the following genera-tions decline to entertain it ^ They were obliged to concede to Aristarchus that the current theory would not do, but they rejected his solution as too audacious. I am not sure, that they had not, as Mr Beloch has argued, a good case. This revo-lutionary theory, they might say, accounts for the observed phenomena; but otherwise there is no positive ground for any of the assumptions which

it implies. If another hypothesis can be found that explains the celestial movements without disturbing the view that the earth is the centre of the planetary system, it deserves preference. And then the great mathematician, ApoUonius of Perga, came forward with the ingenious theory of epicycles which, leaving the earth undisturbed and comfortable in its old central home, seemed to furnish a full mathematical explanation of the movements of the heavenly bodies. This was the final word of Greek science and it prevailed unchallenged to the six-teenth century. When we remember that the Copernican theory did not convince a man like Lord Bacon, nor win general acceptance until the telescopic observations of Galileo confirmed it, I

do not think we can blame the Greeks very much. They were on the verge of recognizing the truth, which if it had been recognized would have changed the history of the thought of the next two thousand years and produced incalculable effects. We may say that the judgment of the most eminent Greek mathematicians, Archimedes, Apollonius, Conon, Hipparchus, decided a problem of vast importance for human progress and, as it turned out, decided it in the wrong way.

In the growth of man's acquaintance with the earth from the limited conceptions of the early Greeks to the full knowledge of the configuration of its lands and seas to which he has now attained, we may distinguish two Greek stages, and the time of Alexander the Great marks the beginning of the second. Both stages ensued directly from political movements ; the first from Greek colonisation in the Western Mediterranean and the Euxine, the second from Alexander's conquests.

In the first period, the two most important steps were the invention of map-making by an Ionian philosopher and the epoch-making discovery that the earth is a globe, due to some Pythagorean man of genius. The study of geography never stood still from the time of Herodotus to that of Aris-totle, and one result of observation and reflexion was to discredit the authority of the Ionian maps. Yet these maps continued in use down to the end

of the fourth century. Then Alexander's penetration of the East as far as the Punjab and the voyage of his admiral, Nearchus, in the Indian Ocean, gave a new and powerful stimulus to the science of geography which the Greeks had founded.

And about the same time at which the eyes of the Greek world, amazed by Alexander's triumphal progress, were riveted on the East, new geographical facts were being gathered in the West in a region of which the Greeks were far more ignorant thanthey wereof the Persian Empire — andgathered not as gleanings incidental to a military expedition, but as the fruits of the private enterprise of a genuine explorer who had no economic or political aims. Of Pytheas of Marseilles we know tantalizingly little. He sailed along the Atlantic coast of Europe, corrected old erroneous views as to the orientation of the coasts of Gaul and Spain, visited Britain and probably circumnavigated it, and returning to the continent, travelled along the coast of the North Sea perhaps as far as the Elbe. He observed the noonday altitude of the sun at various places in these northern latitudes. One of his objects was to assist in solving what was one of the main problems of geographers at this time, whether the inhabited world is an island entirely surrounded by oceanic waters and what its shape is. The name of the book in which he recorded his discoveries is significant, A Treatise on the Ocean. It was published somewhere about b.c. 320; it was not known to Aristotle but was known to his pupil Dicaearchus. Greek geographers had known since the sixth century of the existence of lerne, and of Britain under its oldest known name Albion, through information collected at Marseilles from Tartessian traders. Pytheas was the first to reveal to the Greeks roughly accurate facts about Britain collected at first hand. He has been described as "the Columbus of antiquity." He was not a rich man

and what we should particularly like to know is under what conditions he made his voyage from Cadiz and in whose ship. The Carthaginians who were masters at Cadiz did not encourage Greeks sailing in the Ocean.

But Pytheas never got the credit he deserved. He supplied data which were indispensable to the construction of a new world-map and Eratosthenes, the greatest of Greek geographers, seems to have recognized the value of his discoveries. Yet Dicaearchus, the predecessor of Eratosthenes, distrusted him, though he appears to have used him, and Polybius roundly declared that he was a liar.

The history of the geographical labours of the Greeks from Aristotle to Poseidonius is a difficult but fascinating study \ One hardly knows whether to admire more the deductions of Eratosthenes, from the limited material available to him and the map which he ventured to construct, or the criticisms which his map evoked from the illustrious astronomer Hipparchus and the principles which he laid down for making a true map. Eratosthenes, working on the information furnished by Pytheas and the equally defective and possibly more misleading information that was available about the far East, was convinced that the oecumene or "inhabited world" was an island, and that the ocean around it was continuous. He thought that this was proved by observation except at two points, the

* Even after the work of Mr Berger, there is much still to be done. The latest work on Eratosthenes, by Mr Thalamas {Etude bibliographique de la geographie d'Eratostkhe, Versailles, 1 921), illustrates the difficult questions that arise as to his writings.

extreme south and the extreme north, and that the chances that at those two points therewas an isthmus of solid land were negligible. He seems to have been misled by the confidence with which those who brought back reports from the East took it for granted that the East coast of India marked the eastern limit of the oecumene, and he accepted the statement of Patrocles, that the Caspian was a gulf of the ocean in the north-east. It must be remembered that it was not till Roman times that anything appears to have been known about Further India and Catti-gara (which maybe Singapore). But inadequate as the grounds were on which Eratosthenes concluded that the oecumene known to him was surrounded by sea, immense as were the tracts of whose existence he had no idea, his general hypothesis was right,

whereas the view of Ptolemy, who lived three centuries later, and knew in consequence of the Roman conquests far more geographical facts, and had the last word in ancient geography, — his view that the Indian Ocean was entirely surrounded by land missed the mark.

Eratosthenes contemplated the possibility of sailing all the way in the same latitude from Spain to India if only the distance were not so great — |he reckons it as over 13,000 miles^ — and this was the view that prevailed till Columbus found the fWestern Oecumene. It was the view of Columbus limself, the view with which he started and indeed the view he held till his death, for he never knew that the lands which he had discovered were a new

^ Eratosthenes calculated the circumference of the earth to be about 28,000 miles. The true figure is 24,860. Considering the nature of his data this is an amazingly close approximation.

continent. But Eratosthenes only put forward this as one possibility. He also contemplated the possible existence of another or more than one oecumene in the Western Hemisphere \ Which possibility he preferred we do not know.

The Greek geographers of the third and second centuries might have reached more accurate results had they devised and realized some scheme of voluntary cooperation or had the governments of the time given them active support. But cooperation in scientific research is a comparatively modern thing, though Hipparchus perhaps had a notion of ; it ; and the successors of Alexander did not appre- \ ciate, as the Romans did, the practical value of maps. It is true that some of the Ptolemies promoted expeditions for the purpose of geographical discovery, but their interests extended only to the Red Sea, Ethiopia and the Ivory Coast, and to the Indian Ocean. The Seleucids did less than they might have done to promote the knowledge of Further Asia ; and if Megasthenes and De'lmachus brought back some knowledge of Bengal, the missions on which they were sent to Palimbothra by Seleucus I and Antiochus I were political. The monarchs who inherited Alexander's dominions did not realize, as his imagination and genius had enabled • him to realize, the importance of geographical work.

He had Greek specialists with him whose business it was to record geographical observations, especially measurements of distances. These memoranda were

^ I think that Mr Berger's conclusions are justified, Geschichte der wissenschaftlicken Erdkunde der Griechen,Tp. 398 (ed. 2, 1903).

' Demodamas, however, a general of Seleucus, penetrated beyond the Jaxartes, and wrote a book on the country.

carefully kept in charge of the royal treasurer, who after the king's death handed them over to Patrocles, the geographer to whom had been entrusted the exploration of the Caspian Sea and who succeeded (under Seleucus) in establishing the untruth that it was a gulf of the ocean. It is remarkable that on this point Herodotus had known the truth.

We may say on the whole that while the creation of geographical science by the Greeks is one of the eminent facts in the history of civilization, and while ; the study was prosecuted during this period with – such notable success (due to the progress of mathe- matics as well as to exploration) that the period may be called the great age of Greek geography, yet no discovery that could be described as revolutionary was made in it, nothing comparable to the Pytha- gorean discovery of the earth's spherical shape in the fifth century or even to the Ionian invention of maps in the sixth.

I must just signalize – I have not space to enlarge on – one other intellectual movement in the third century, which had a more permanent effect than the brilliant researches into astronomy and geography. It is well known. Philological science was founded at Alexandria, and systematic critical inquiries into the whole body of extant Greek literature began. The movement issued from the Peripatetic school – Aristotle was the pioneer in Greek erudition – and it was made possible by the foundation of the Alexandrian Museum, with its famous Library, of which the idea was due to the enlightened Peripa- tetic Demetrius of Phalerum when he was an exile from Athens under the protection of Ptolemy Soter. That was an event. Its consequences are written

all over the world ; we should not recognize our civilization if they were absent. Our public libraries, museums, academies of science and learning, universities have all a common parentage in the great institution which was under the patronage of the Ptolemies.

We may now go on to inquire whether any new original social idea was set afloat that influenced the course of civilization. The ideas which were particularly characteristic of the time and are most prominent, Imperialism, the divinity of sovrans, the legitimacy of absolute rule, were all important for the future, but none of them was new though they all entered on a new stage. But one idea then launched upon the world was quite new and was destined to control the future.

It has, I believe, been maintained that the word "barbarian" first acquired its depreciatory meaning in the fourth century, and from being a neutral term equivalent to non-Greek came to imply moral and intellectual inferiority. It is true that the idea of the inferiority of all non-Greek peoples to the [Greek was diffused and generally accepted in the Greek world in the fourth century but it certainly originated in the fifth. I think we may say with some confidence that the Athenians were responsible for the diffusion of this prejudice. We first find it in Attic literature or in literature directly under Attic influence. We find it very clearly in Euripides; for instance in the Medea, in the Iphigenia in Aulis, and especially in the Andromache. Thus in the 7)&>6/-genia in A u lis we mett the declaration that "It accords with the fitness of things that barbarians should be subject to Greeks, for Greeks are freemen and bar-

barians are slaves by nature." We find it also in Herodotus, and the evidence from Herodotus seems to be very significant. In the first six books, up to the battle of Marathon, the word occurs about a dozen times, and always in the neutral sense of non-Greek. In reading those books you can understand how an ancient critic blamed him for being philo-barbarian. It is only in the last books, written when Herodotus had come under Attic influence, that we find the word occasionally used with a derogatory implication^ and constantly

as a synonym for the Persians ^ We are, I think, entitled to conclude that the theory of the inferiority of the barbarians was started after the Persian Wars, probably at Athens, was propagated from this "School of Hellas," and became in the fourth century a dogma accepted throughout the Greek world, firmly held by men like Aristotle and Isocrates. Xenophon, who had seen something of the wider world, was one of the few dissentients.

This belief of the Greeks in their privileged position among the peoples of the earth — which was as strong as the belief of the white races in their superiority to the coloured races to-day — lasted long after they had lost their political independence. They said, "We Greeks are great and good. As for the barbarians, they may learn from us but they must be kept in their place." Their eminent intellectual and artistic attainments, all they did for our own civilization, may prompt us

' VII, 35; VIII, 142; IX, 79.

^ I count 37 times in Book vii alone. On the other hand, in the account of the Ionic revolt "Persians" is always used, never "barbarians."

to be indulgent to this self-exaltation ; but the idea degenerated into an intolerant bigotry which a modern writer has considered a leading cause of their political decline.

There was born, however, in the generation after Alexander's death, another idea, sharply contrasted with this exclusiveness — the idea of mankind as one great community, the ideal of a state embracing the whole oecumene.

Zeno, the founder of Stoicism, established his school at Athens in b.c. 301 and taught for about forty years. Born in Cyprus he was a hellenized Semite. One of the things which his philosophy did was to overcome the distinction of Greek and barbarian. He introduced the idea of cosmopolitanism \ transcending patriotism ; of the whole world, the oecumene, as a man's true fatherland; of a community embracing all rational beings, without regard to the distinction of Greek and barbarian, or of freeman and slave. According to this doctrine

the philosopher feels himself citizen of a state to which all mankind belongs, a state whose boundaries are measured by the sun. In the ideal state of Zeno all human beings were citizens.

Now this idea was opportune ; it came at the right time. It corresponded to the great revolutionary feature in the policy of Alexander, who in organizing his Oriental empire was bent on breaking down racial antagonisms and overcoming or soften-

* It seems to have been the Cynics who invented the word cosmopolis. Zeno was a pupil of the Cynic Crates. But to the Cynics cosmopolis was hardly more than a specious reason for rejecting the responsibilities of citizenship : the Stoics transformed it into a constructive idea.

ing the distinction between Greek and barbarian. He recognized non-Greeks as part of the human family with equal claims on a common ruler.

The conception of a unity and fellowship of the human race did not do very much immediately to counteract the doctrine of the ingrained inferiority of those who were outside the Hellenic pale. It might be greeted as "a beautiful and inspiring thought"; but common sense was quite another thing. We may doubt whether this side of Stoic teaching made any appeal to such disciples as the Macedonian king, Antigonus Gonatas, who looked on Zeno as his spiritual guide, or to the Spartan king Cleomenes. The new idea did not help the plight of the native Egyptians.

But it was gradually propagated, and reached beyond Stoic circles. We hear that the great savant Eratosthenes, the librarian of Alexandria, whose geographical work has been touched upon above, censured Aristotle for advising Alexander to treat the Greeks as a leader, but the barbarians as a despot. Eratosthenes in his youth had been a disciple of Ariston of Chios, a heretical Stoic, who set up a school of his own at Athens. It may have been from Eratosthenes that Plutarch took the text for the passage in his Essay on Alexander^ which associates the actions of Alexander with the doctrine of Zeno, a memorable passage which I will quoted Having enlarged on the civilizing work of Alexander, he says, " The much admired ideal of Zeno

who founded the Stoic sect amounts to this : that we should not live in separate communities each with its own codes and laws, but that we should
^ De J lex. fort, aut virt.. Or. i, c. 6.

consider all men compatriots and fellow-citizens and that there should be one life and common order. Zeno put forward this as a dream or image of a state based on philosophical principles, but Alexander attempted to realize it. Aristotle had advised Alexander to behave to the Greeks as a leader but to the barbarians as a despot, treating the former ; as friends or kin but the latter as animals or plants. He did not follow that advice. He conceived that he was divinely sent to be the harmonizer and conciliator of Greeks and barbarians alike. He sought to blend as it were in the mixing-cup of good fellowship all civilizations and customs. He bade all men regard the world as their fatherland, not distinguishing Greek and barbarian by dress and outward appearance but making virtue and vice the criteria of distinctions among men." It is in Rome that we see this idea — the ecumenical idea, as I have called it elsewhere — bearing its earliest fruit. While the Roman upper classes had accepted from the Greeks the inferiority of the barbarians, from whom in assimilating Greek culture they dissociated themselves, they became familiar with Stoic doctrine, and it influenced the ideals of Roman administration, and the ecumenical idea dictated the claims of the Roman Empire to worldwide dominions.

Cicero says, in a passage of his Republic [i, 2], that the great motive for industry and toil among high-minded public men, is to increase the resources— not (observe) of their own country, but — of the human race and to make the life of men in general richer and safer. Cicero was not a Stoic, and this passage illustrates how the Stoic idea of

the community of the human race had penetrated beyond the professing members of the sect.

In the next century Pliny justifies the Roman Empire by its aim of providing one fatherland for

all the peoples of the world. Its ideal was to be potentially conterminous with the inhabited globe, the orbis terrarum. Coming down three hundred years into the fourth century when the Empire was threatened by the Goths, we have Themistius praising (or defending) the magnanimity of an Emperorin not pressing too far his victory over the enemy, by an appeal to this idea. "You decided justly that even the barbarians ought not to be utterly destroyed because they also are really a part of your dominion, a complementary section of human kind. Therein you prove yourself a sovran of all the human race. No member of humanity is to be deprived of your care\" But it is interesting to note how in the same breath the orator maintains the view of the inferiority of the barbarians.

Parallel to claims of the Empire and proceeding from the same origin was the claim of the Christian Church to be universal. In mediaeval theory the two claims were united. The passage I quoted from Plutarch strikes a leading note of the whole subsequent progress of man. For, apart from the increase of his knowledge and power, has there been any more salient feature in the advancing movement of human society than the linking up of all

' The idea can be illustrated abundantly by inscriptions, e.g. Julian, domino totius orbis (C.I.L. iii, 247), Valentinian I, iotius orbis Jug. {Eph. epigr. 5, 518), Theodosius, Valentinian II and Arcadius, ot t^s v^ lyXiw y^s avroKpaTopes (Dessau, I.L.S. 5809).

I

parts of the oecumene and the propagation of Western civilization, of which the foundations were laid in Greece, to all the margins of the world ? In that movement Alexander took the first step. And in modern times the confederate idea of the solidarity and fellowship of the human race has become an active and driving force. It has expressed itself as Internationalism which breaks down barriers and disowns country. It has expressed itself in the League of Nations. It is the intellectual basis of humanitarianism. It was Zeno who first taught men to think in terms of the oecumene.

i

ALEXANDRIAN LITERATURE

IN one of the works of Walter Pater there occurs the following passage : —

The trial-task of criticism in regard to literature and art no less than to philosophy begins exactly where the estimate of general conditions, of the conditions common to all the products of this or that particular age — of the "environment" — leaves off and we touch what is unique in the individual genius which contrived, after all, by force of will, to have its own masterful way with that environment.

I will not venture to dispute the general truth of Pater's dictum^ but in this lecture I have no intention of submitting myself to the test which he indicates. Dealing only incidentally with the separate appraisement of the various authors of the Hellenistic age, I wish to concern myself rather with what Pater regards as the secondary task of the critic, the description of environment and the fixing of general tendencies.

I chose this course for two reasons. Firstly, there are in existence several excellent studies of the individual writers of this epoch. Not to men-tion the general histories of Greek Literature, we have in English Dr Mackail's Lectures on Greek Poelry^, which contains three chapters on the Alex-andrian Poets ; in French the brilliant book of Couat on the same subject*^; and in Italian the more

^ Second edition, 1 9 1 1 .

* A. Couat, La Poisie Alexandrine, 1882.

recent work of Rostagni\ My second reason is connected with considerations of time. It might be profitable to spend an hour in analyzing the characteristics of Theocritus or Callimachus or Apollonius Rhodius, but it would be mere waste of time to attempt the same task in five or ten minutes, and this is all that could be spared when there is so much to be said on the general outlines.

Even when thus circumscribed the subject to be treated in my lecture remains sufficiently large and only a selection of the facts can be given. The social and political background, for instance, must mostly be taken for granted and I shall only refer indirectly to such things as the rise of the vast Hellenistic monarchies with their mixed populations and their crowded capitals, or the great increase in wealth and luxury, or the foundation of endowed institutions of learning and the advancement of science.

By virtue of these things the Hellenistic world, it has been remarked, is in many respects nearer to the world of to-day than are the Greeks of the Classical Age. This is not merely true for the material background to life, but may be applied with equal justice to the age's attitude towards literature and the written word. Authors of every kind abounded, and the literary man, as a distinct type, is a creation of this epoch. From one end to another of the Mediterranean men were busy expressing themselves in writing ; on the other hand there was no lack of readers, since education was more widely if more thinly spread than in earlier periods. Further the mechanical production of

^ A. Rostagni, Poeti JUssandrini, 191 6.

"books " had been rendered easierand cheaper by the opening up of Egypt and its inexhaustible supply of papyrus to Greek industry and commercial enterprise.

Yet of all this literary activity there have survived down to our own day comparatively few examples. Prose has suffered much more than verse. Of the latter or at least of the most important school of it — Alexandrian Poetry — we have a reasonably large and representative amount, but the prose literature has perished almost entirely. There survives, it is true, a good deal of Hellenistic philosophy and we still have much of the historian Polybius, but a consideration of these seems to be the concern of the lectures that follow — and in any case Polybius belongs rather to the Roman than to the Hellenistic period of Greek History. Deduct Polybius and the philosophers, deduct a few technical or semi-technical writers such as Euclid, and

there is left nothing but an inventory of prose-writers whose names may be found in the compilations of Susemihl and Christ but of whose works nothing or only the scantiest fragments still survive. It is a somewhat ironic stroke of fate that the generations which preserved and handed on to future ages the literary works of Classical Greece should have been unable to ensure the survival of their own writings, especially when those writings were to be numbered by thousands. But the reason for this disappearance of Hellenistic prose-literature is not far to seek.

During the first century of our era there was consummated a movement which had begun about the second half of the second century b.c. The Greeks

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definitely turned their backs on the literature of the Hellenistic age and demanded that in future writers should conform to Attic or what they deemed Attic canons. This Renaissance^ as it is sometimes called, was retrospective as well as prospective ; that is to say, not only did it lay down rules for the future, but it also applied these rules to the writers of the past and deliberately neglected those who offended against them. Such a standpoint was fatal to the survival of the Hellenistic prose-writers, for almost without exception these men were either careless of the form in which their thoughts were expressed or at the least quite unskilled in the graces and subtleties of the Attic style as understood by the Neo-Atticists. To take two outstanding instances, Epicurus' indifference to elegance of language is notorious and much of Polybius reads like modern journalese. It is true that the Hellenistic age produced its own characteristic prose-style, the so-called Asiatic, but the attempts in this direction were half-hearted and in any case not unnaturally condemned by the later reformers.

These deficiencies of Hellenistic prose- writers are to be explained on various grounds. To begin with, Greek — the Greek of the KOLvy)hiaK€KTos — was now being written by many persons of non-Hellenic or at least mixed descent. The Semitic origin of several prominent Stoic philosophers has often been noted. Again the vocabulary of educated men had become

enormously more technical. Someone has said that Plato had been able to construct a system without using more than one technical word. If we turn to Epicurus and the Stoics, we find that a whole vocabulary of technical terms must be learnt by

heart before their writings become intelligible. It is true, no doubt, that in some ways an increase in technical terms marks an advance in thought (if it were not so, the twentieth century might well despair of itself!), but the habit among these writers goes far beyond what is necessary. Simple verbs are abandoned for compounds without any gain in expressiveness ; abstract terms are found everywhere, and so on. After a short experience of writing, such as we find for instance in Polybius, we begin, I will not say to approve, but at least to understand, the reaction of the Atticists.

As a result of that reaction the bulk of Hellenistic prose has been lost to us : some books have survived because of their value for the specialist, many have been absorbed into later encyclopaedias and general histories, but many more must have simply perished. The loss is more important for the historian and scientist than for the student of literature, for, while it is extremely improbable that we have to regret the disappearance of any literary masterpiece, our knowledge of Greek History would be considerably increased, if we possessed — for instance — the Memoirs of Aratus of Sicyon, or Timaeus' monumental work on Sicily and Magna Graecia, or even Dicaearchus' account of Greek Civilization, entitled Bto5 ∗EXXa8os.

Again much scientific and learned writing which would have been instructive and interesting has no doubt perished. As classical scholars we must desiderate with especial regret the works of Aristarchus and the other Alexandrian grammarians who devoted their lives to the elucidation of the Classics. It is, of course, true that fragments of their teaching

remain imbedded in later Greek treatises — more particularly scholia — and from these modern scholarship has been able to reconstruct the main outlines,

but many points must be left unsettled and nothing can replace the loss of the originals.

With this qualified tribute to the works which have perished we may leave the subject and turn now to the consideration of what actually survives. In this by far the most conspicuous element is represented by the writings which are known under the title of "Alexandrian Poetry" — owing to the relations which connected their authors with the Court, Library and Museum established by the Ptolemaic dynasty at Alexandria. The term is a convenient one and rightly calls attention to circumstances which certainly exerted great influence on many of these writers, but it must not be stretched to cover all the poetic output of the Hellenistic age. Recent discoveries of papyri have revealed to us the existence of a popular satiric and moralizing poetry which — in spirit at least — is quite alien from the products of the Alexandrians. Along with the two types just mentioned we shall do well to take into account what may be called the popular amusement-literature of the age, a mass of writing for which it is hard to find a comprehensive name but which may be loosely denominated as The Mime and its by-products.

As in the case of the popular moralizing poetry » so in the case of the Mime our knowledge has been (widely extended by the discoveries of papyri. This is not the place to dwell at length on the great services rendered by papyrology towards the illustration of the Hellenistic age, but the essential

thing to remember is that before the advent of that science (and incidentally of the thorough investigation into the literary tradition which it has stimulated) our chief difficulty had been that we could not see below the surface. The history of the period, apart of course from Polybius, had to be gathered chiefly from late epitomes, and was then only a bare narrative of events. Now, thanks to the papyri, a great part of the legal and administrative system of Ptolemaic Egypt is laid before our eyes. In religion, again, though it has been said that the Hellenistic age was the least religious in the history of the ancient world and though it is certainly true that a rationalism inherited from Ionia was its chief characteristic,

nevertheless it is gradually becoming plain that we must not take the enthusiastic Pantheism of the philosopher nor the refined scepticism of the cultured poet as the faith of the average man. The researches of Reitzenstein and others show us ^ that the mystic Oriental cults which become so important under the Roman Empire were already ' in high favour with the populace. No doubt the ' ideas connected with these cults did not emerge into the higher branches of literature till the first , century b.c, when Poseidonius made them familiar; to Greeks and Romans alike, but their influence was felt long before.

The causes which have thus transformed our views of Hellenistic government and religion have not failed to aff^ect literary criticism : the lower strata of Hellenistic literature begin to claim re- cognition, and among these we can, as I have said above, not unreasonably distinguish two tendencies

— one represented by the moralizing poetry and one by the Mime.

Before we consider our three types of literature separately, it will not be amiss to say a word or two in explanation of their appearance at this juncture and regarding their inter-relations. When the Greek world began to settle down again after the conquests of Alexander,, it certainly became necessary to create new types of literature, but we should err greatly if we supposed that the old fell into oblivion. While educated men had their libraries, public and private, the masses had their ayoive^^ i.e. public contests or competitions. The ayoiv^ athletic or musical, had been one of the most important elements in the culture of classical Greece: among musical dywi/es the most famous of course were the dramatic contests at Athens. As early as the end of the fifth century the Attic Dionysia were imitated in the islands and in Asia Minor. After the Macedonian conquests the institution spread far and wide over the newly-acquired terri- tories. It is characteristic of the age that the athletic contests, now largely professionalized, were less popular than the musical. These latter might be either cr/oyvt/cot or ^i>/xe\t/cot, according as the performers appeared on the stage {cncrfvyj) or in the orchestra {OvfxeXr)) : tragedies and comedies

were played on the stage, while the other competitors, e.g. reciters of epic, panegyrists, musicians, etc., appeared in the orchestra. At the numerous new festivals, founded by the successors of Alexander in competition with the games of classical Greece, there were always dywves of some kind, and it was customary to produce at them not only

modern specimens of tragedy, comedy, epic, etc., but also works by the classic writers. The business of production and acting was managed by the so-called "Dionysiac artists," troupes of professional players who were either permanently established in one city (Ptolemais, Rhegium, Syracuse, apart from many cities in Old Greece, are cases in point) or else wandered round from one town to another. It is plain that in this way even the masses were still kept familiar with the ancient Epic and Drama. But when all this is admitted we must not take Theocritus' ironic *AXt9 Travrecrcnv "Ofji-qpo^^ as anything but the retort of a patron to an importunate poet. If educated men, as represented by the Alexandrians, were not content with their inheritance, neither were the cosmopolitan inhabitants ofthe new royal towns — "the Macedonians who had degenerated into Syrians, Parthians, and Egyptians" as Livy scornfully styles them. Both classes were thrown back on their own resources with the result that the cultured took refuge in "art for art's sake," in the pursuit of curious learning — and in the cultivation of a mild sentiment for romance. On the other hand the lower classes consoled themselves with the farcical and humorous, and with the frankly sensual — features which one or other of the various types of Mime was able to supply. The moralizing poetry and prose ofthe Hellenistic age come in as a kind of counter-blast to the two tendencies just indicated. They are directed equally against the superficiality of the erudite poet and the sensuality of the proletariat — more perhaps against the former than against the latter, for they

^ Theocr. xvi, 1. 20.

are closely connected with the Cynic philosophy, and the Cynics were always more charitable to primitive than to civilized vice. Ethical considera-

tions of this kind are unknown both to the Alexandrian Poetry and to the Mime. Eratosthenes, a fair representative of the Alexandrian school — though he was more savant than poet — objected to moral criticism of Homer, and Alexandrian Poetry as a whole — with the possible exception of Aratus — disclaimed any moral or religious mission. It was the same naturally enough with the Mime. But while the latter on this point ranges itself with the learned poetry in opposition to the moralists, in one feature, viz. its realism, it quits the Alexandrians and joins the other side. For while the learned poets, owing to their taste for genre treatment, were wont to practise a curious realism in details, their general tone, on account of their subject-matter and almost as it were in spite of themselves, was distinctly romantic and idyllic. The Mime on the other hand was naturally dominated by a realistic spirit, while as for the moralists one has only to read Diogenes Laertius' Lives of the Cynic Philosophers to learn that few people have believed more firmly than they in calling a spade a spade.

It is amusing to observe the very different handling of the same theme by the Alexandrians on the one hand and the mime-writers or moralists on the other. Two instances will show what I mean. To take the first. Diogenes Laertius in his Lives has recorded many scandalous details about the private life of the various early philosophers. This "information" or much of it has been traced to an

anonymous book, entitled 'ApLcrTnrTros Trepl TraXatas Tpv(f>rj<;, which was apparently written between 250 and 200 B.C. The author was a Hedonist of some sort or other and his object was to show that the principles which he advocated had actually been put into practice by the founders of philosophy. The pseudonym Aristippus was no doubt chosen with reference to the founder of the Cyrenaic school of Hedonism, Many of the stories which this pseudo-Aristippus records can be traced back beyond him, and against his treatment of them we may set that of an Alexandrian poet, Hermesianax of Colophon, who lived one or two generations

earlier. Athenaeus has preserved a long fragment from the third Book of Hermesianax' Leontion^ a curious work in which the poet set out to teach his mistress, after whom the poem is called, that all the great men of the past had felt the force of love. Towards the end of the fragment Hermesianax catalogues thelove-affairs of the philosophers. Pythagoras, Socrates, and Aristippus are mentioned, and though, as poetry, the passage is distinctly feeble stuff, there is a certain air of tender melancholy about it which some modern critics appear to have found attractive.

The lines on Socrates and Aristippus run as follows :

And you know with what mighty fire wrathful Cypris melted the heart of the sage proclaimed by Apollo to be the foremost of mankind in wisdom — even Socrates, and how going constantly to the dwelling of Aspasia he relieved his profound mind of pain and lightened his burden, nor yet could he find any remedy, though he had found many a path through argument. Desire too it was that

drew the man of Cyrene to cross the Isthmus what time keen-minded Aristippus fell in love with Lais and fled from all converse with his fellows....

Comparing Hermesianax with the author of the Trepl TTokaias Tpv(f>rj<sWQ see the gulf which separates the two.

Another example of different handling of the same theme comes to light in regard to the Assyrian monarch Ninus, who in the verses of the moralizing poet, Phoenix of Colophon, figures as the type of the dissolute tyrant, but in an early prose romance found in Egypt appears as a manly hero and the honourable lover of a modest princess.

So much for the general tendencies and interrelations of our three types of literature. It is time that we turned to consider them separately.

Of the Alexandrian poetry there have come down to us in the ordinary way the Hymns of Callimachus — the Argonautica of ApoUonius Rhodius — Theocritus— three didactic poems (one by Aratus and two by Nicander) — the Alexandra of Lycophron —

and a considerable number of epigrams by these and other writers. Under the circumstances this is much, though the selection contains no real specimen of the Alexandrians' most important and characteristic composition — the narrative elegy.

The Attic Renaissance interfered but little with the preservation of Alexandrian poetry: the archaizing tendencies of the latter appealed to the Stylists, while its obscure allusions and difficult vocabulary commended it to the professional scholars, the TratSes ypajxixaTiKoiv as Clement of Alexandria calls them. That we possess no more of it to-day seems to be due to accident, for some.

works such as the Aitia and Hecale of Callimachus can be traced right down to late in the Byzantine period.

As a result of this survival through the Roman and early Byzantine ages we have, in addition to the complete works catalogued above, a very large number of fragments cited from Alexandrian poets by grammarians and others. Unfortunately only a very few, like that of Hermesianax quoted earlier, are long enough to be appreciated. To this inheritance transmitted by the usual channels the discovery of papyri has added Herodas and a good deal of Callimachus' works other than the Hymns and EpigramSy including a portion of his Aitia which is of great importance for a just appreciation of Alexandrian achievement and its limitations.

That achievement is too often said to lie exclusively in its attention to and mastery of poetic form. This defect of criticism seems to be due to the fact that these poets have usually been considered chiefly in relation to their Roman imitators, and that in this connexion it is certainly correct to emphasize the formal importance of the school. But this accident ought not to blind us to the real nature of the facts : if we look beyond the Romans , to certain productions of Greek literature under the Empire, to Nonnus and his school, to the Greek novelists, to the letter-writers, Alciphron . and Aristaenetus, or even if we examine a little more closely the short epics {epyllid) of the Roman vecorepoL (Catullus, Cinna and the rest), it becomes plain that the Alexandrians, besides being masters

of form, were also very important innovators in poetic material.

I do not refer here to the "didactic" poetry of Aratus and Nicander, nor to the thousand and one odd subjects, which an enterprising age clothed in metrical form. Many of these "didactic" writers are simple metaphrasts, that is to say, they do nothing but take a prose treatise and turn it into verse. It was in this way that Aratus versified the astronomical treatise of Eudoxus and Theophrastus' remarks on weather-signs ; similarly Nicander in his Alexipharmaka and Theriaca is versifying the prose-writings of one ApoUodorus — on "Antidotes to Poisons" and "Snake-Bites" respectively. The works of Nicander are but little mentioned in antiquity, but the popularity of Aratus is one of the puzzles of literary history. Astronomy is no doubt a fitting subject for poetry, if adequately treated, but Aratus makes no attempt to soar. A mild Stoicism pervades the poem, but it may be doubted whether this fact explains the appeal which Aratus made both to Greeks and Romans. The only thing which to-day really merits our admiration in these poets is their ingenuity in putting technical terms into verse. This ingenuity is greater in Aratus than in Nicander, for it is more difficult to suggest in verse the shape of an isosceles triangle than to depict in the same medium the results of drinking white lead.

Again when I speak of innovation in poetic material I do not even refer to the Pastorals of Theocritus and his imitators. These of course have exerted a very great influence on succeeding literature, but they do not reveal, except incidentally, the essence of Alexandrian Poetry. This must be sought rather in its relation to and treatment of mythology.

POETIC INNOVATION 4^

Ever since the dawn of Greek history the mythology of the epic cycle had supplied the material for nearly all Greek poetry — epic, lyric, and tragic. But times were now changed, and amid the literary war-cries which issue from the school of Callimachus, we find expressions of

dislike and contempt for those poets who still pursue the beaten track. That this opposition to the so-called "cyclic" writers was not directed merely against their unimaginative repetition of Homeric phraseology seems to follow from passages where Callimachus reveals his distaste for the matter of the epic cycle. But, if the heroic mythology was to be regarded as exhausted for poetic purposes, to what could the poet turn.'' Sheer invention was unnatural to the Greek turn of mind ; nor was the choice of a strictly historical theme looked upon with much favour, since it limited the poet's freedom. Hellenistic monarchs sometimes maintained court poets, whose duty it was to sing their patrons' achievements — one such was the epic poet Simonides of Magnesia, who celebrated the victories of Antiochus Soter — but though, if we may judge them by the official panegyrics of Theocritus and Callimachus, these poets wrote with more grace and less servility than the Roman eulogists of the Caesars, their reputation was not great.

Nevertheless, though no inspired writer appeared able to fashion current history into a great epic, the historical had much interest for these Epigoni, and in their search for new poetic material they tried to combine something of the old mythology with the history or pseudo-history fashionable in

their own age. It must not be supposed that this fusion was due to the Alexandrians: we should always remember Callimachus' words of warning — dfidpTvpov ovhkv deCBo). As a matter of fact the material lay there before them, with the mythological and historical elements already combined, but waiting to be touched into poetry. It was to be found in the Local Legends, the myths, that is, explanatory of local custom and ritual which, scarcely touched by the Homeric influence and Athenian tradition, still survived in the places which had given them birth.

In Asia Minor and more especially in Ionia these

' myths were still vivid in the minds of the people or carefully treasured in the city annals. Ionian influence on Hellenistic civilization has long been recognized : exactly then as the Ionian dialect

influenced the Kouvrj StaXc/crog so the spirit of Ionian literature aff'ected the tendency of Alexandrian Poetry. For these tales and local legends

1 were selected by the Alexandrians as material for

I poetry, and in this selection lies perhaps the

! greatest importance of the school.

The famous quarrel between Apollonius and Callimachus has tended to give undue prominence to the Callimachean ideal of polished brevity, and to make modern critics, as perhaps also contemporaries, almost forget that, though their temperaments were very difi^erent and though in consequence the spirit which colours their writings is dissimilar, yet in one respect Apollonius and Callimachus were in agreement. If not altogether in his Argonauticay at least in his other poems Apollonius like Callimachus turned from the highway of Homeric

saga to the themes of local history and mythology. The other poets of the age did likewise.

The greater number of these stories are narratives of unhappy love, either between two mortals, or between a mortal and a god or goddess. Many of the latter kind are attached to a locality by the "metamorphosis" idea, i.e. the belief that some stream or rock or what-not in the neighbourhood really represents the shape assumed by a maiden fleeing from the amorous god, and so on. In the former class a favourite theme is the princess in the besieged city, who betrays her folk to the enemy out of love for the commander of the besieging army: the Italian story of Tarpeia, the subject of an elegy by Propertius, the Roman Callimachus, is perhaps the most famous of all tales of this description. No doubt in many of these stories there is a nucleus of historical fact, but in course of time the particular has been obscured by the typical.

Our chief source for these tales is the mythological handbook of Parthenius. Parthenius was a Greek of Nicaea in Asia Minor who was brought captive to Rome somewhere about 75-70 b.c. and became instructor of the poets (Calvus, Catullus, Cinna and the rest) who were attempting to build

up stricter canons of style by a close study of Alexandrian poetry. Parthenius himself has been called, not without reason, " the last of the Alex-andrians." He was also the teacher of Virgil, and it was for Virgil's friend, the poet and politician Cornelius Gallus, as he tells us in the preface, that he put together this collection of love-stories, for that is what his book calls itself — 'Epcon/ca UaOiJixaTa. Gallus was to use the stories as the material for his

epic and elegiac poems, and here we may be sure that Parthenius is recommending the practice of the Alexandrians.

In the single MS. of the ∗EpQ)TLKa UaOijixaTay attached to most of the tales, is a brief list giving the names of authors who have recorded them. These lists, it has been proved, do not always give the sources used by Parthenius himself, but they are generally regarded as trustworthy and as the work of some accurate and widely-read scholar of comparatively early date. A perusal of them is instructive : along with the names of Alexandrian poets such as Apollonius and Euphorion, we find frequent mention of local historians, e.g. Aristocritus in his History of SamoSy Aristotle and the Historians of Miletus^ and so on. Besides Miletus and Ephesus other districts which seem to have been fertile in such legends are Bithynia, Pallene, and the islands of the Aegean.

Before the Hellenistic epoch not many poets, so far as we can see, had exploited the material contained in these legends. Stesichorus, the early Sicilian poet, was perhaps the first to introduce the theme into literature, but his Kalyke and Rhadina found no immediate successors. The Athenian tradition was unfavourable to the motive, though here, as in so much else, Euripides foreshadows the taste of later generations. Ovid, it is true, can write of Tragedy

haec quoque materiam semper amoris habet∗,

but that was much later, when Alexandrian in-fluence had affected even drama. It is more to the

^ Tnst. II, 1. 382.

point perhaps to observe the changed attitude which historians later than the Attic age adopt towards these legends. Thucydides had made but a passing and contemptuous reference to the story of Tereus, Procne, and Philomela : on the other hand writers like Timaeus and Phylarchus seem, to judge by the fragments, to have been at great pains to develop any episode of this kind which crossed their path.

The way was thus paved for the Alexandrians, and to some extent their choice of material must have been influenced by contemporary taste, but two particular reasons may be adduced to explain that choice. The first is simply their position as writers attached to an establishment of learning, the Museum at Alexandria. Being as much scholars as poets they turned very naturally to ^evau /cat drpLiTTot, la-Topiai^such. as the locallegends. Further a more immediate influence was probably exerted — at least upon the earlier Alexandrians — by Demetrius of Phalerum. Whatever the part played by this person in the foundation of the great Library at Alexandria, it is certain that during the earlier period of Alexandrian Poetry the Peripatetic school was the leading school of philosophy in the Egyptian capital, a fact that is plausibly attributed to the influence of Demetrius. But not only had Aristotle and his successors shown more ardour than the other schools in investigating the psychology of love, they had also distinguished themselves by their researches into local history and con-stitutions. Studies like these must have brought to light plenty of poetic material, for in nine

^ Artemidorus, Oneirocr., iv, 63.

cases out of ten the overthrow of a Tvpavvis was connected with some episode of passionate love.

The second reason which accounts for the treat-ment of these stories by the Alexandrians is the re-juvenescence of local patriotism. This phrase may seem paradoxical in view of the tendency to cosmo-

politanism which admittedly marks the Hellenistic age, but by "local patriotism" in this context is to be understood not a living faith in a country's present, but a sentimental enthusiasm for its past — in other words just such a feeling as produced so many local chronicles of the 'Ar^tSe? type about this very time.

Some cities had no title to fame except in their legendary associations. Thus both Strabo and Mela tell us that Sestos and Abydos contain nothing of interest except the tower of Hero and the story of Hero and Leander, and in the same connexion it has sometimes been suspected that the late Greek poem by Musaeus on this subject is based on an earlier Hellenistic original, which made the tower and its obscure origin the starting-point of the] narrative. Ancient cities such as those just men-j tioned were alive to the material advantages which] the glories of their past might procure for them ;j they seem to have run a Publicity Department and! we get a glimpse of its methods when we read in-| scriptions which mention the rewards given to poets] for singing the past of this or that city. These] complimentary poems were known as eyKWfxia eVtKa,] and were generally recited at the ayayve^ ^v/>t€\t/cot.j In many cases we find the services of a distinguishec writer employed for this purpose, and poems whicl

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narrated the foundation (/crto-t?) of cities became a recognized branch of Alexandrian art. ApoUonius for example wrote /crtcrets of Rhodes, Caunus, Alexandria, and Naucratis besides a poem called Campus. When we reflect that ApoUonius, who was almost certainly a native of Alexandria, subsequently received the citizenship of Rhodes and perhaps of Naucratis, we begin to understand that these poems were not written in the air. There were practical reasons which tended to draw the interest of the Alexandrians to local legend.

In what ways did they handle their material } The departments of Classical Greek Poetry may be put at five, viz. epic, lyric, elegiac, tragic, and comic. Hellenistic Comedy had best be considered with the Mime and of the remaining four two need not detain

us long, for lyric was practically dead and tragedy was in not much better plight.

In the first half of the third century B.C. certain Tragic poets were known as the Pleiad^ and seem to have enjoyed considerable fame among their contemporaries. We can form but little idea of their achievement. One member of the Pleiad –w^is Sositheus, who is praised by a writer in the Anthology for having revived the ancient coarseness of the Satyric Drama – a doubtful compliment. Another was Lycophron, the only Hellenistic tragedian of whom we possess a complete drama. This extraordinary monologue-play – the Alexandra – can scarcely be representative of contemporary tragedy nor perhaps is it typical of Lycophron himself, for that he could write lighter verse, when he chose, is shown by the fragments of his Satyric drama, in which he pokes fun at the philosopher Menedemus

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and the coterie of intellectuals at Eretria, among whom the author had spent his youth. His versification in the Alexandra of obscure mythology, , which is mostly taken from the geographer and ^ historian Timaeus, accords with Alexandrian principles, but Lycophron lacks the qualities by which such poets as Callimachus redeemed their works from dulness.

Lyric, we have said, was practically extinct. Songs j continued to be written for public festivals and ^ processions, and both Callimachus and Theocritus attempted lyric measures, but in Alexandrian poetry these are exceptions. Poetry was now written, if not for reading, at least for recitation, so that it came to be composed almost exclusively in the three metres which adapt themselves to recitation – the hexameter, the elegiac and the iambus. It is significant that Theocritus modernizes Pindar and Stesichorus by rewriting their lyric compositions in hexameters. Iambic metres – especially the scazon or choliambic verse – were frequently employed in the Hellenistic age, both by the Cynics and others, as we shall see, for moralizing poetry and by the Alexandrians for informal miscellaneous writing, mildly satirical, such as we get in Callimachus'

lambiy of which work a largish fragment has been discovered among the papyri from Oxyrhynchus.

But the two metres chiefly favoured by the Alexandrians were the hexameter and the elegiac. The hexameter was used for epic compositions such as the Argonautica^ for the shorter works called CTTuXXia, for the pastoral, for hymns, and many other subjects. The elegiac could also be adapted to hymns, but was chiefly employed for narrative elegy

LOVE AND LOCAL LEGENDS $2

and every kind of epigram. The material derived from local legends seems to have been usually treated in either cTrvXXta or narrative elegies. Of a real Hellenistic invkXiov we possess no satisfactory example, but we can form some idea of the genus by separating the third Bookof ApoUonius' Argonautica in which he describes the love of Jason and Medea, from the rest of the poem, or again by reference to Roman imitations such as Catullus' Peleus and Thetis^ the Ciris, or Book IV of the Aeneid. As regards narrative elegy it is true that we possess no complete specimen even of this, but we have considerable remains of the Apollo by Alexander Aetolus, the Leontion by Hermesianax, the Erotes by Phanocles, and the Aitia by Callimachus. Compared with the imitations of the Romans and later Greeks these remains enable us to judge with some confidence of Alexandrian achievement in this branch.

Our point about the importance of the local legends has been that their exploitation by the poets meant the introduction to Greek Poetry of romantic and erotic motives which had not hitherto been given adequate presentment. Unfortunately most of the Alexandrians were prevented alike by temperament and environment from making the most of the opportunity which offered itself. It is perhaps possible here to make a distinction between the first and second generation. Some of the former, though in style they are genuine Alexandrians, wrote before the full effect of the close connexion established between poetry and learning at Alexandria had made itself felt. Philetas and Hermesianax, following in the steps of Antimachus of Colophon, who lived a generation or so before them, seem to have kept

their narrative love-poems fairly clear of irrelevant learning, but in the later Alexandrians the romantic interest is made subordinate to the aetiological.

The fragment of Callimachus' Aitia discovered at Oxyrhynchus is very instructive on this point. By a rare stroke of good fortune it contains part of the most celebrated episode in the whole work, the love-story of Acontius of Ceos and Cydippe of Naxos. The tale is well known from Ovid's Heroides* and other sources, how Acontius by a ruse obtained from Cydippe an oath that she would marry him, how her parents in ignorance tried to wed her to another, with the result that Cydippe invariably fell ill on the eve of the marriage, how eventually Apollo at Delphi enlightened Cydippe's father and all ended happily. Callimachus' handling of this story in the Aitia had been largely reconstructed, before the discovery of the new fragment, from the adaptation in the late Greek letter-writer Aristaenetus. When compared with the latter, the fragment from Oxyrhynchus shows how Aristaenetus with his rhetorical training has infused into the narrative a pathos which is notably absent from the original. It now appears that Callimachus merely happened upon the story when he was putting into elegiacs the prose chronicle of Ceos compiled by one Xenomedes. He tells us this in so many words himself, and he records the chequered career of Acontius and Cydippe with no more enthusiasm than that which he devotes to various points of early Cean history that are treated immediately afterwards. The poetry is brilliantly superficial : Callimachus makes no attempt to analyze the sentiments of the ,

* Ov. Heroides, xx.

two lovers or to do anything but record the facts. In short there is a complete absence of humanity.

In view of this it is disconcerting to find that the ancient world seems to have regarded Callimachus' presentment of this tale as the ideal love-story. We are left wondering, but we may note this. Some of its popularity may have been due to its happy ending. Most Alexandrian love-stories — see Parthenius passim — concluded in much more tragic fashion : the metamorphosis motive in particular rarely permitted a happy ending. In his tale of

Acontius and Cydippe Callimachus hit the popular taste and it was this type of story — i.e. of two lovers first kept apart by all manner of difficulties, but afterwards united — which eventually won the day and centuries later inspired the Greek Novelists. Only a small part of the credit for all this is due to Callimachus and his fellows : they had stumbled almost by accident on first-rate poetic material, but they had bungled in their use of it. The plain fact is that the Alexandrians had little heart, and all the cleverness in the world could not compensate for this deficiency.

The exception proves the rule. For ApoUonius of Rhodes whose portrayal of Medea in his Argonautica is the greatest piece of character-drawing in Alexandrian poetry, was reckoned a heretic by his contemporaries and it has been shrewdly suspected that it was this revelation of humanity and a genuinely romantic spirit — and not some academic difference of opinion concerning the merits of long and short poems — which really brought about his quarrel with Callimachus.

In this connexion it is extremely difficult to ex-

plain why the Roman elegists so constantly refer to the Alexandrians — especially Philetas and Callimachus — as their masters in the art of amatory poetry. The love-elegy as we find it in TibuUus, Propertius, and Ovid seems to have little connexion with narrative poems such as the j^itia. It has therefore been argued that Philetas and Callimachus at least wrote not only narrative elegies in which stories like that of Cydippe found a place, but also subjective erotic elegies in which they described their own affairs of the heart much in the manner of the Roman poets. The alternative theory is that the Latin subjective elegy dealing with love was a more or less original product, a development and enlargement of the Greek amatory epigram. The problem remains and must remain undecided, but it is certainly true that what genuine feeling and passion the Alexandrians possessed they seem to have reserved for their epigrams. There is nothing in the more ambitious works of Callimachus which from this point of view can equal the famous memorial verses on his dead friend Heraclitus.

The Greek epigram has a long history before the Hellenistic age, but it was the Alexandrians who fashioned it into an instrument marvellously adapted to convey their comment on every aspect of the life that surrounded them. Of the extant Hellenistic epigrams the greater number are amatory, and these, though they already employ all the conventional machinery of artificial love-poetry, e.g. the boy Eros, his arrows, and the rest of the paraphernalia, nevertheless, at least in the hands of poets who stand rather outside the Museum circle, such as Asclepiades of Samos, still exhibit a

genuineness of feeling which under the circumstances is perhaps surprising.

Our two remaining types of Hellenistic writing, the amusement-literature and the moralizing poetry, may and must be treated more briefly. Both exhibit popular elements which are absent from the works of the Alexandrians. Their appeal was primarily to the masses and in the case of the amusement-literature this appeal was made not through books — the day of cheap novels and the comic press had not yet dawned — but through the spoken word of public performances.

The same thing is, of course, true for Athens of the fifth and fourth centuries, but Athenian tragedy and comedy, the vehicles of popular education and amusement in those centuries, were ill-adapted to serve the same purpose in the Hellenistic age. Tragedy, as we have seen, continued to be performed, but it can scarcely have appealed to the crowd. The same remark applies even more to comedy. The art of Aristophanes could convey little meaning to a subject of the Ptolemies and even the New Comedy with all its cosmopolitanism was only at home in the academic and rather supercilious Athens of Hellenistic days. It is true that the Ptolemies made some attempt to persuade the leading writers of the New Comedy to desert Athens for Alexandria, but Menander refused the invitation and even Philemon, who accepted, stayed only a short time. It is obvious that the atmosphere was uncongenial. There is however one exception and that not without significance. Machon, a native of the Peloponnese and the author of comedies, is expressly said by Athenaeus to have resided in

Alexandria and to have exhibited his plays there. These have not survived : but from another work of the same man, viz. a witty but somewhat ob- scene collection of anecdotes relating to hetairaiy Athenaeus has preserved for us considerable ex- tracts. Compare these with the writings of Men- i ander and the other authors of the New Comedy, who are careful to preserve at least a semblance of respectability, and the difference between Athenian) and Alexandrian taste is revealed.

The inclination of the masses in the Hellenistic age was towards realism, to a close study and re- presentation of the life which surrounded them, a life which, owing to increased luxury and the mingling of nationalities, had become more sensual I than that of their predecessors, and this inclination found satisfaction in the Mime, which according to the definition of an ancient grammarian is " an imitation of life embracing both what is proper and what is improper."

Certainly in this period and probably afterwards

there were two kinds of Mime, one spoken and

one sung — the actors being called yutijaoXoyot and

fttjLtwSot respectively. The two varieties probably

originated in different parts of the ancient world,

the spoken Mime being a native of the Doric West,

and the Mime which was sung of the Ionian East.

There are obvious resemblances between the culture

and civilization of Magna Graecia and Ionia on the

one hand and of the monarchies of the Diadochoi

on the other. In the earlier period there are great

. cities, e.g. Syracuse, Miletus, Ephesus, which an-

\ ticipate the various capitals of the Hellenistic age,

I and life in these cities was almost as complex and

luxurious. It was therefore natural that a type of art, [which seems to have arisen amidst this early city-civilization, and then to have suffered temporary eclipse during the age of Athenian supremacy, should regain its popularity when the former conditions of life were largely reproduced.

The spoken Mime, then, originated in Magna Graecia, being probably a development of one of the forms of "Dorian Comedy" imported from the Peloponnese. Such a development would not have been difficult, for there is evidence that even in the Peloponnese "Dorian Comedy" could eschew mythological travesty and its phantastic elements and concentrate on the realistic portrayal of life. Athenaeus, at least, tells us of a dramatic entertainment at Sparta called the Deikelon in which the actor represented (e/xtjaetro) such different characters as a fruit-thief and a foreign doctor. Apart from the literary Mimes of Theocritus and Herodas the only specimen of a spoken Mime which has survived belongs to a considerably later period, but there is plenty of evidence for the popularity which these works enjoyed in the Hellenistic age.

Even as early as the fifth century b.c. Syracusan performers began to wander East, exhibiting their skill in the mimic art. But it was only about the beginning of the third century b.c. that, thanks no ^ doubt to the increasing unity of Mediterranean civilization, the actors of mimes became as regular a feature of the Greek world as the other travelling players. Production was apparently in the hands of the vague class known as davfiaTOTTOLOi, and the ordinary troupe probably included no more than three or four persons. Of these practically all ex-

cept the d/o)(t/>tt/Aos were of negligible importance, for the Mime was essentially a one-actor affair. To begin with, no doubt, this was literally true, but later the original actor took in certain complementary persons as the occasion required — e.g. if the ap^t/Atjotos were acting the part of a doctor he

would require a patient and so on — but he always contrived to retain all the threads of the action in his own hand. The importance of these " actor-managers " is well illustrated by the epitaphs of archimimi — and by those of arc/iimimae, for — another advance in realism — women appeared in the mimes no less than men, in fact, to judge by the remains, even more frequently. Thus it would appear that by the third century b.c. the Mime had obtained an adequate class of players, though naturally the less ambitious nature of their plays and perhaps the inclusion of actresses — no doubt women of ambiguous morals — caused the Dionysiac artists to regard them with suspicion. From forming a mere side-show to the displays of Tragedy, Comedy, etc. they gradually pushed their way into the official programme at games and other festivals. As early as 270 B.C. a davfxaToiroLos Cleopatra is mentioned in an inscription of Delos among other prize-winners, and from this date onward /Ltt/xoXoyot, yStoXoyot, rjOoXoyoL (all names denoting the actors of spoken Mimes) appear with increasing frequency in this connexion.

So much for the external features of the spoken Mime. What of its content ? Here the task of the literary historian is rendered difficult by the lack of material. We have, as noted above, one Mime from Oxyrhynchus : this papyrus belongs to the second

century A. D. but the compositions which it contains, a Mime and a Farce, are assigned to late Ptolemaic or early Imperial times. We have some hints in Athenaeus, which all tend to show that the subject-matter of the Mime was taken from low life, and lastly we may within limits argue as to the nature of the popular Mime from the literary type com-posed by Sophron, Theocritus, and Herodas.

The theme of the Mime from Oxyrhynchus is the same as that treated by Herodas in his fifth Mime, to wit a jealous mistress and a slave who refuses to yield to her demands. The details of the action remain obscure and it is probable that the papyrus contains merely the outline of a play jotted down as the basis on which the company could improvise as they pleased. The coincidence with Herodas has been variously interpreted, some thinking that the work from Oxyrhynchus is a

popular adaptation and expansion of the earlier composition, others supposing that both mimes are handling a traditional subject independently.

Of Mimody, i.e. of the Mime which was intended to be sung, we possess more examples than of the spoken Mime. Improvisation was here more difficult and consequently the words of a piece were more likely to be written down from the beginning. Mimody, we have seen, derives from Ionia, and the performers are to some extent degenerate rhapsodists. Thus, while the actors in the spoken Mime probably appeared in everyday costume and without masks, those in the musical Mime wore a long white garment and a golden crown. Festus defines one of the two chief types of the mimode as lascivi etdelicati carminis cantator 3ind no doubt the ordinary

productions of Mimody were of this description, like the " Ionian songs " referred to by Aristophanes and Lucian.

The papyri have preserved several examples of this variety of the Mime. By far the most important is the famous Alexandrian Erotic Fragment. This is not really a fragment at all, but a complete composition which gives the lament of a deserted hetaira who pleads outside her lover's house to be taken back again into his affections. The piece is written for the most part in excited Dochmiacs: the language is the koivtj of the second century B.C., set off with many poetical expressions. There are obvious resemblances between this composition and the second Idyl of Theocritus. Only here we have a vehemence of phrasing and a wild licence of the emotions which are absent from Theocritus.

Another example of Mimody has been found inscribed on the wall of a rock-tomb at Marisa in Palestine. Its contents are a striking confirmation of a passage in Athenaeus^, where he tells us that all Phoenicia was full of the so-called " Locrian " songs, which are, he says, songs with adultery for their theme.

We are told by Aristoxenus* that Mimody was divided into two types — hilarody and magody, the former being a burlesque of Tragedy and the latter of Comedy. If this is correct, the Farce from

Oxyrhynchus mentioned above is a specimen of hilarody, for it is a parody of the story made famous in Tragedy by Euripides' Iphigenia in Tauris. A Greek maiden, Charition, is held captive by Indian barbarians : her brother succeeds in

* XV, 679 B. ' Ath. XIV, 62 1 c.

rescuing her after making the Indians and their king too drunk to follow in pursuit. A realistic feature is that the barbarians are represented as speaking their own language, which has been identified by Orientalists as one of the dialects of Southern India.

Before concluding this section of our subject it seems necessary to say a word about the literary Mimes of Theocritus and Herodas. Both these Alexandrian writers were following in the tracks of Sophron, the father of the literary Mime, who flourished about 450 b.c. and wrote at Syracuse. It is impossible to reconstruct any one Mime of his from the fragments which survive, but the titles, e.g. "The Tunny-fisher," "The Messenger," "The Sempstresses," "Women Spectators at the Isthmian Games," etc. show that Sophron was concerned to depict typical scenes from everyday life. There was no phantastic element such as remained in Athenian Old Comedy, no parody of mythology like that practised by the other great Sicilian, Epicharmus, and revived in the third century by Rhinthon and the various authors of Phlyakes. The Mime in the hands of Sophron was simply an imitation of life. In one respect Sophron stood nearer to the non-literary Mime than his imitators did: he wrote in prose — a "rhythmical prose" it is true, whatever that may mean, but prose for all that. When Theocritus and Herodas composed their Mimes in verse, they were definitely sacrificing one instrument of realism. Of the two Theocritus with his hexameters naturally idealizes more than Herodas with his scazons.

Of Herodas' Mimes we possess seven, with

considerable remains of an eighth. The pieces bear out the definition of the Mime which we cited

earlier, for Mimes i, 2, 5, and 6 all deal with rather unpleasant subjects. But Herodas is never offensive : his art is purely impersonal, and he shows neither anger nor pleasure in regard to his characters. The only subjective note is one of ironical depreciation.

Theocritus has left us three Mimes, viz. Idyl II {T^he Sorceresses), Idyl XIV (The Love of Cynisca), and Idyl XV {The Syracusan JVomen). All three have long been recognized as masterpieces of inspired realism. His Bucolic Idyls have sometimes been classed as Mimes dealing with rustic life, but here Theocritus idealizes far more than in the urban Mimes and deliberately omits much that a more realistic handling of the theme would have been bound to include. Yet it should be noted that his procedure is by no means the same in all the bucolic poems. Least artificial are without doubt Idyls IV and V ; in these the scene is laid in Magna Graecia, and it is a reasonable theory that they represent Theocritus' first essay in the portrayal of rustic life, an essay made early in his residence at Cos before the vivid impressions of a boyhood spent in Sicily and Southern Italy had faded away. Next to these in realism comes Idyl X; the remainder are far more artificial. Either Theocritus generalizes and sublimates his subject as in Idyl I, or he uses the Pastoral as a setting in which to place his friends andcontemporary authors. Idyl VII, the famous Thalusia, is admittedly the best example ofthis so-called "Bucolic Masquerade," but there are in addition other poems where the

intention is the same if less obvious. In Idyl XI, for instance, the picture of the love-sick Polyphemus and the parody of motives dear to the writers of the amatory elegy is surely a satire not so much on contemporary poetry, as is sometimes supposed, but on a fashion or affectation of contemporary life. But Theocritus' satire is always friendly and i good-natured, perhaps because it springs not from any moral earnestness but simply from his strong sense of humour.

The debt of Herodas and of Theocritus in the | urban Mimes to Sophron is hard to estimated 1 Some verbal resemblances are striking, but it is absurd to talk as though Theocritus had done

nothing but modernize the earlier writer. Both he and Herodas used their own eyes and described contemporary life from their own observation.

Our last type of Hellenistic literature — the productions of the moralists and the satirists — has been described above as a kind of counter-blast to the unmoral poetry of the Alexandrians and the immoral pieces of the variety-stage. As might be expected its authors have no connexions with the Court and Museum of Alexandria: satire and moralizing were not appreciated by the Ptolemies, as Sotades drowned by the royal Admiral for his attacks on the private life of Ptolemy II found out to his cost. Most of the moralists spent their lives ■ roaming about the Greek world : if they settled anywhere it was at Athens where the population tolerated them as harmless eccentrics just as it had tolerated Diogenes in the fourth century. Priding themselves — to the point of ostentation — on their
^ Comp. Headlam, Herodas (1922), p. xxv.
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independence they viewed with contempt the scholars and poets penned up in the Museum of Alexandria — an institution which one of them, Timon of Phlius, described as "the hen-coop of the Muses." The scholars returned the attack, if it be true that it was Eratosthenes who described Bion the Borysthenite — perhaps the most famous among these wandering moralists — ashavingdressed philosophy in avBivd^ the coloured garments of the courtesan, or in other words of having prostituted that noble science. Theocritus with his gibes at the starved and ill-kempt devotees of Pythagorean-ism voices the same dislike. Bion was OeaTpuKo?, i.e. he played to the gallery^, said his critics, and such methods were abhorred by Alexandrianism.

The prose form in which these men usually expressed themselves seems to have been that which it is fashionable nowadays to call the Diatribe^ a type of literary composition which is very variously defined by different scholars. Ordinarily by this term is meant the pagan equivalent of the I) Christian sermon, a popular homily on some familiar theme, delivered by an itinerant philosopher to such audience as he can collect at a street-corner, or in some camp or at a public festival. These

harangues appear to have been marked by certain features of style which would appeal to the mob, e.g. antithesis, personification, metaphors, puns, etc. I suspect that German scholars have attributed to the Diatribe virtues which it usually did not possess: at any rate the moralizings of Teles who is supposed to reproduce Bion — the so-called founder of the Diatribe — are platitudinous to the point of dulness.
* Comp. Tarn, Antigonos GonataSy p. 236, n. 49.

But the prose Diatribe is far too complex a subject to discuss here. We can only consider — and that briefly — the satirical and moralizing works which were composed in verse, or in the medley of prose and verse of which Menippus of Gadara was the chief exponent.

There are perhaps five writers in this department of whom we are able to form a more or less adequate idea. These are Crates of Thebes, Menippus of Gadara, Cercidas of Megalopolis, Phoenix of Colophon, and Timon of Phlius. Of these five the first three professed adherence to the Cynic philosophy, but Phoenix cannot be shown to belong to any school, and Timon was a Sceptic, a follower of Pyrrho.

That the Cynics were the chief representatives [of popular philosophy in the early Hellenistic age | may be admitted, but in recent years there has - been an obvious tendency to exaggerate their importance. Every scrap of moralizing which can be assigned to the third century b.c. is asserted to be of Cynic origin and books are written to prove the all-pervading influence of the Cynic ideas in later literature. It is certainly true that the paradoxes of Antisthenes and Diogenes had become widely known by 300 b.c. and that they affbrded a useful basis for any would-be satirist or preacher. Further the school could still boast many notable representatives in the third century, but the other philosophic systems contributed not a little to the development of the literature which we are con-sidering, and in addition there was a large body of popular moral teaching which owed nothing to philosophy but had been simply handed down

from one generation of ordinary men to another.

The general colour of the Cynic ideas is well known. Marked features of their system are its transvaluation of ordinary values, its criticism of society, its exaltation of the poor and oppressed. Clearly these are ideas of which the satirist and moralist can avail himself without difficulty, and in fact the Hellenistic writers whose inclination was this way did so avail themselves, but they were not all for that reason Cynics.

It may seem strange perhaps that men like Crates and the other writers just mentioned should have employed verse for the exposition of their ideas, but several considerations may be put forward to explain this phenomenon. To begin with, one of the most favoured instruments employed by these men to inculcate their ideas was Parody, and Parody naturally tends to be parody of verse. Again, it was the fashion to regard early Greek poets like Archilochus and especially Hipponax as in some ways the precursors of the popular preacher of the third century, and the scazon metre of the latter was constantly used by Hellenistic moralists, no less than by learned poets such as Callimachus. Lastly, though in some ways it was an age of prose, it was nevertheless a time when the field was free for any kind of poetical experiment, and at such a time it would have been strange if philosophy alone had escaped being put into verse.

Crates of Thebes is an interesting figure, a man of possessions who abandoned them to embrace the life of a wandering philosopher and thus became the first Cynic missionary, for Diogenes, his Master,

seems to have been little more than a notoriety-hunter. Crates on the other hand was inspired with a genuine zeal for conversion, anxious to "labour with men" (in John Woolman's pleasant phrase) for their soul's good, and earning the nickname of OvpeTravoLKTrj*; from his habit of making house-to-house visits. His literary works are like the man himself, simple and homely but possessing a certain straightforward charm. He wrote, it appears, tragedies, iraiyvia (parodies in the hexameter and elegiac metre), and letters. Crates is the first Cynic parodist and set an example which his successors were not slow to follow. One form of parody, the so-called Silloi poems, in which Homeric lines and phrases were employed for the purpose of a more or less personal satire, had already been made famous by Xenophanes in the sixth century and was soon to be revived by Timon. A few lines of Crates which survive show that he too had written such poems. But this Hellenistic Quaker scarcely pos-sessed the qualities which satire of the kind just mentioned seems to demand : he was more at home in quiet parodies of every variety of verse, in which he was able to correct the mistaken standpoint of his originals, or supply a moral if none existed. His most famous effort in this direction was his parody of Homer, entitled Pera {The Wallei)^ in which this outward symbol of the Cynic faith gave its name to a sort of Utopia. Among the fragments the follow-ing two lines are notable for their expression of a sturdy independence :

■^8ovf) dyBpaTToBcoSei dSovXaroc Kol aKvaiTTOC
dddvarov ^aaiXetav eXevOeptav r a^airaxriv.

Menippus of Gadara was a very different person. Of the man himself we know little, amounting to no more than this, that he was the slave of one Baton in Sinope, later became a pupil of the Cynic Metrocles and having amassed a fortune in commerce died a freeman of Thebes. This somewhat drab if re-spectable career forms an odd background to his writings so far as we can reconstruct them. He appears in the handbooks as the creator of the (TirovSoyekoLov type of literature, the mixture that is of the earnest and the jesting, the aim of which is ridentem dicere verum. "A mocker of man's ephemeral existence" Marcus Aurelius calls him ; "A terrifying hound with a treacherous

bite" says Lucian in the passage where he confesses his debt to him.

The works of Menippus are lost, but fortunately he had imitators in plenty both Greek and Roman, among them Varro, Seneca (in his skit on Claudius) and Lucian, and from these writers it is possible to win some idea of the original which they all followed. Lucian is our most helpful source, and for this reason. It would appear that after the Atticist Renaissance Menippus was forgotten by the Greek world till Lucian discovered this discarded jester who was a compatriot of his own and modernized, that is, "Atticized" him to suit the prevailing taste. In two passages Lucian openly admits his debt, but recent research has shown that the later writer's originality was even smaller than was supposed. Many points naturally remain open to doubt, but it does seem possible to reconstruct in outline at least one composition of Menippus — his Ne/cvta. In this work, which was really rather a KaraySao-ts

or Descent into Hell, he described how he visited the Lower World in order to find Teiresias and to ask him which is the best life. Here on earth the philosophers all preach different creeds and Menippus ironically pretends that certainty can only be reached in some such supernatural way as this. He finds the blind seer in the end and receives his answer that the best life is the life rwv tStwrwi/, by which he seems to mean a life exempt from any kind of dogmatism, and the wisest policy TO rrapov ev dicrdai, a response which Menippus might have given himself without the trouble of visiting Hades. But ot course the Teiresias-motive is a mere framework into which is set the vision of what Menippus saw in the underworld. The description of this seems to have fallen into the usual inconsistencies, which are almost inevitable when a writer is dealing with such a theme ; but two motives stand out above the rest, firstly a bitter ridicule of the rich and of despotic rulers, and secondly a parody of the serious works which narrated the Descents into Hell of Orpheus, Heracles, and the rest, and a caricature of all theories which terrified man with pictures of a world beyond the grave.

Menippus seems to have employed many other settings for his caustic satire — banquet scenes, as-

cents into heaven, auctions and so on ; but Lucian's imitations do not allow us to distinguish the original so well as in the case of the Ne^vta. It is clear that Menippus had a marked gift for satire : he spares no man, and though he professes the Cynic creed he has no mercy for others who professed it without sincerity. His main object no doubt was to display his nimble wit : the moral influence of his writings

was a minor consideration, and from this point of view one may compare him with Diogenes rather than with Crates.

Cercidas, our third Cynic moralist, has of course only emerged from obscurity since the publication of a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus which contains substantial fragments of his Meliambi. A successful politician in third century Greece, he was in intimate relations with Aratus of Sicyon during the latter's attempt to combat the communist and revolutionary tendencies brought into existence by the economic crisis of those days. But despite these relations Cercidas professed to belong to the Cynic school and there is evidence in the fragments that he was not blind to the justice of some of the claims put forward by his political opponents. In the longest of these according to the most likely interpretation he first satirizes the habits of the niggard and the spendthrift, then questions the existence of a Divine Providence, and concludes by warning his fellows of the wealthy class that unless they mended their ways and showed more charity to those below them, they would be caught by the full blast of the Social Revolution and compelled to disgorge all that they possessed. Of the remaining fragments one is more autobiographical : in it Cercidas addresses his soul and contrasts his own placid expectation of old age and death with the usual reluctance of men to close their eyes on this world. The other pieces for the most part deal with less pleasing aspects of the Cynic creed, such as their Hedonist conception of Love and so on.

Phoenix of Colophon is another writer rescued from oblivion by the papyrologists. His editor has

made manful efforts to claim him as a Cynic, but it does not appear that he was a whit more affected by Cynic ideas than any man who wrote in that age as a popular philosopher was bound to be. His scazons exhibit some skill in phrasing and a certain effectiveness of vocabulary, but his subject-matter is not of great interest, being for the most part commonplace moralizing on the failings of the rich and the undeserved sufferings of the poor. Still to-day he is the chief representative of what must once have been a considerable body of writing in which standards very different from those of the Alexandrian Poets were applied to Hellenistic life.

A far more interesting figure is Timon of Phlius. Timon was in his philosophy a Sceptic, a follower of Pyrrho of Elis, but he was no ordinary philosopher. Like King Antigonus he possessed but one eye, but unlike the monarch who refused to have his portrait painted till an artist hit upon the brilliant idea of painting him in profile and so invented a fashion, Timon boasted of his own infirmity and was never tired of referring to himself as Cyclops. Born at Phlius he was first a stage-dancer, then a successful sophist practising for long years at Chalcedon, finally a teacher of philosophy living for the most part at Athens and Thebes. His moral character might seem to be impugned by Diogenes Laertius who calls him ^iXoTrdrry? (fond of the bottle), but Wachsmuth in his edition of the Sillographi shows, I think, that the text does Timon an injustice and that the more eulogistic word <l)LXo7roLr)T7]s (a lover of poets) should be substituted. Timon was like the leading Cynics a "character," and Antigonus of Carystos, the bio-

grapher of the philosophers, described him as IBioTrpdyixcov (an independent sort of person). He was quick at observing men's weaknesses, say the records, and an adept at turning them to ridicule. Other stories picture him as the abstracted sage who allows his writings to lie about half-eaten by the mice. To the same trait may have been due his omission (duly noted by Diogenes) to take any breakfast, though Wachsmuth would regard this as asceticism. Timon was a man of considerable learning : his knowledge of Homer is shown to have been great by the skilful way in which he parodies the epics, and we are told that Aratus the

poet consulted him on the question how to obtain the best text.

Of his prose-writings two only are known to us at all clearly, viz. the Ilvdwvy in which he recorded his conversion to Scepticism, and the * ApKea-tkdov nepiBeLTTvov {Funeral Feast of Arcesilaus), a sort of palinode in which he atoned for the attacks that he had previously made on the same man. In the verse-writings the satiric intent is more obvious. Diogenes gives a formidable list, viz. tragedies, satyric plays or perhaps comedies, iambi (J)^ and — most important — Silloi. Nearly all the surviving fragments come from these last. Whatever the derivation of the word StWosj it implies a poetry of which the chief ingredients are ridicule and invec- tive. The style originated, as we have seen, with Xenophanes in the sixth century, and a generation before Timon seems to have been employed by Crates. Timon followed in the footsteps of Xeno- phanes, but like most satiric writers of his age, e.g. Menippus, added considerable elements from

Comedy, for instance a passion for monstrous compounds, an affectation which he shared with Cercidas. In his Silloi Timon's aim was to satirize the dogmatic philosophers and he realized this purpose by a parody of Homer in which the Epic phrases were perverted to expose the weaknesses and exaggerations of the various pundits, and in which whole motives, e.g. battle scenes, visits to the lower world, etc., were adapted for the same object.

In his satiric outlook as in his vagrant life Timon shows himself in sympathy with the Cynics, but in one. particular he was very un-Cynic. The Silloi is emphatically not a popular poem. To appreciate the satire it was necessary to possess a pretty comprehensive knowledge of the history of philosophy, and it was no doubt to give readers this knowledge that in later ages two scholars at least wrote commentaries on the poem. Thus though Timon sneered at the academic society of his day, the inmates of the Alexandrian Museum, his chief work must have been as much "caviare to the general" as was the poetry of the learned poets.

The main purpose of this lecture has been to

suggest that the conventional view of the Greek writing produced in the Hellenistic age is somewhat one-sided. The tendency of that view has been to stress the ∗' learned" character of the literature belonging to this epoch. Operating in the main with the works of the scientific prose-writers and the Alexandrian Poets and judging the latter rather on the form than on the content of their writings, rather in relation to Rome than to later Greece, critics have been misled into drawing a picture of [

Hellenistic literature which was too consistent to be accurate. The researches inaugurated by Rohde in his illuminating book on the Greek Novel have shown that even the Alexandrians bequeathed to posterity something more than the art of writing "learned" poetry brilliantly: on the other hand the Egyptian discoveries of the last forty years have brought to light two other types of Hellenistic writing which contrast sharply with productions of the poets attached to Court and Museum. These twp popular types are animated by a realistic spirit, while the learned poetry, in virtue of its material, exhibits incomplete but undoubted inclinations to romanticism.

The connecting-link between the Alexandrian Poets on the one hand and the Mime and Moralizing Writers on the other is to be found in such writers as Theocritus and Herodas, who handled the popular material according to the principles of Alexandrian art. The realism which, to a different degree of course, governs the work of the two poets just mentioned and which also appears with good effect in such compositions as the epigrams of Leonidas of Tarentum, dealing as these do for the most part with humble life, is found sporadically in more conventional worksof the Alexandrians, where its appearance is somewhat incongruous. Callimachus it is true in his Hecale seems to have given a charming picture of the old woman who entertained Theseus prior to his encounter with the bull of Marathon and of her rustic cottage, but the ordinary Alexandrian use of this motive was more artificial. The learned poets delighted to depict the life of the gods and heroes in all the

detail which they observed in the life of men. Sometimes the gods are described as living in the everyday fashion of the ordinary mortal, sometimes in that of a Hellenistic king or princess. Instances of the second kind are Apollonius' description of Eros and Ganymede playing at dice like two court pages, of Aphrodite at her toilet-table, or Theocritus' picture of Ptolemy Soter and Alexander conducting Heracles to his sleeping-chamber — "when he hath taken his fill of fragrant nectar." For the first sort we have Callimachus' interesting anecdote about Hermes and the daughters of the gods, how, when they are naughty, in collusion with their mothers he disguises himself as one of the Cyclopes and rushes out of the house to terrify them into obedience. Similar in kind are Theocritus' careful studies in the youth and upbringing of Heracles, or in the household arrangements of Alcmena and Amphitryon.

Touches like these seem to suggest that even the Alexandrians were not wholly uninfluenced in some of their ideas by the more popular tendencies of the age, but the diflference of standpoint between them and the other writers is far from being bridged by coincidences such as these just noted. Nowhere does that difference emerge more clearly than in a passage of Horace's Saiires^, where he first translates an epigram of Callimachus on the typical Alexandrian theme of the love which

Kol (f>evy€i <f>c\iovTa koI ov (f)i\iovTa BccoKCi^,

and puts it into the mouth of his romantic lover,

^ Sat. I. 2, 11. 105 sqq. ' Theocr. vi, 1. 17.

and then asks in language reminiscent of Diogenes or Cercidas, how pretty verses such as these can do anything to cure the torments and disorder of the soul :

Hiscine versicuHs speras tibi posse dolores
atque aestus curasque graves e pectore pelli ?

The indignant question might well stand as the verdict of the Hellenistic Moralists on their

Alexandrian contemporaries ; but there is no need why it should be ours as well. However much we may be compelled in the light of the new discoveries to revise our notions about Hellenistic literature as a whole, Alexandrian Poetry will still retain its importance and interest, not so much perhaps on account of its own achievement as for the sources of inspiration which it revealed to later writers. To take one instance out of many — Ovid, except for Alexandria, could scarcely have written his Metamorphoses^ and not only modern literature but modern art as well would have been the poorer for the loss.

HELLENISTIC POPULAR PHILOSOPHY

THE Macedonian conquest of the Nearer East marked a great epoch in human history. In the preceding centuries a culture of peculiar quality had been developed in the Greek city states which possessed the southern part of the Balkan Peninsula and tracts of sea-board in other parts of the Mediterranean Sea. That culture had already, when Alexander set out to attack Persia, produced the great works of literature and art which we study to-day as classical. Through the Macedonian conquest there came a great change. Hellenic culture had been generated and focussed in the frame of the city state, and if we cannot say exactly that the frame was now broken, it was at any rate depleted, depotentiated, when large numbers of the citizens of the old Greek cities were drawn away to populate the new cities in the East and when all Greek cities, old and new, had their scope of political action restricted by the predominant power of one or other of the new Greco-Macedonian royal houses. It has often been described how the individual Greek, under the changed conditions, found himself much more of a loose atom in a world of vaster geographical horizons. In the old days the life, political and social, of his native city had given the ordinary man all the interest he required ; its traditions and public opinion gave him

something of a moral code. But now its politics had become parochial by comparison with the larger world and failed to supply adequate interest,

whilst outside in the lands thrown open to commercial enterprise, in the courts and armies of Hellenistic kings, were new possibilities of excitement, adventure and the acquisition of wealth. In the markets and courts and armies Greeks from a multitude of different city states were indiscriminately mixed together, not a stable society with fixed traditions, but a crowd of individuals, each out for his own profit in the great scramble. A world of unrest, the Greek citizen diracinS^ unrooted, with no end in life but to get wealth, to get sensation, to get power — disorder and giddy chance in the place of the regular activities, amenities and duties of the old city state, a society demoralized as all societies must be in which there are continual dramatic vicissitudes of fortune, the same man now on the pinnacle of power and riches, now flung down into the mud. f There was no sense or principle or order in the course of things, it was just a huge haphazard play of chance, of luck, Tv^^y, the only deity to be discovered in the world.

But, of course, there were many people to whom such a world could not give permanent satisfaction. The hunting after riches and after sensation might fill life with interest for a time, but inevitably it produced often the reaction of a great weariness and disgust. Men who felt themselves whirled along in a confused dance came to long for some firm rule of life. The ancestral Hellenic religion, although it certainly had a moral element in it, although no doubt the idea that the gods, the

powers ruling the world, were on the side of righteousness, was still to some extent alive — the Hellenic religion was so mixed up with baser elements, at any rate with crude and primitive elements, that it could not supply such a guide as the Hebrew had in the Law of Jehovah. It was in these days that philosophy, which did purport to supply a guide, became popular as it had never been before.

Philosophers were to be seen everywhere — in the streets of the cities, at the banquets of kings — Platonic, Peripatetic, Stoic, Epicurean, Sceptic, Cynic, those of the ascetic schools being assimilated to the humbler class of manual workers in their dress — the plain sort of mantle called a

triboHy whilst philosophers generally were marked out, in a society where it was the rule for men of the upper class to shave clean, by the long beards which they were commonly believed to cherish with care and pride. Between the rival schools controversy was always going on, and it tended often to become violent. Lucian gives us vivid pictures of the wrangling and scuffling between philosophers in his time, the second century of the Christian era. But even in the earlier Hellenistic time we may see in Diogenes Laertius how bitterly the philosophers of different schools often attacked each other. Philosophers contended for the souls of kings. A curious document in this connexion is the life of the Epicurean philosopher, Philonides, deciphered a few years ago in a papyrus roll from Herculaneum. This man was a contemporary of the Seleucid king, Antiochus Epiphanes, the "little horn" of the book of Daniel, notorious for his

attempt to Hellenize the Jews by force. Philonides went to the Syrian court to convert Antiochus to Epicureanism, for Antiochus at the time apparently professed himself a believer in the rival Stoic creed. He was now plied with Epicurean tracts. We are told that after the king had read, or Philonides had read to him, no less than a hundred and fifty tracts, the good work was done and Antiochus embraced Epicureanism.

Whilst however these quarrels of philosophers are evidence that there existed sensible differences between the schools, perhaps what most strikes one to-day in going over the remains of that voluminous ethical literature which they severally put forth, is the extent of that which all the schools had in _\ common. The ideals of temper and conduct which govefned that ancient world, so far as men sought at all to rise above mere sensuality and greed of gain, were embodied in a kind of popular philosophy, much of which might have come from any of the rival schools. We may say that the aim which they all set up for the individual to strive after was expressed in the word avra/a/ceta, self-sufficiency, independence. The horrible thing, so it seemeH"m those days, was to be caught in the rush of this universal unrest which had no end or issue, to be

whirled along helpless like a stick in a torrent, at the mercy.of chance, Tv)(7)y Fortuna, at.the.mer€y- — :-^ of one^^s own spasmpdic desires. If the movement *" of the world, in which the individual finds himself involved, has no perceivable purpose, if there is no cause larger than himself which he may hope to see go forward, and go forward in some degree by his own devotion and efix>rts — then for certain men

there comes, sooner or later, an imperious desire to escape from the current, to find rest for the soul in some firm standing-place outside the turmoil. For some temperaments the continued excitements and pleasures of the world may keep up interest, may maintain a kind of intoxication which never allows this desire for emancipation to assert itself; but for other temperaments the cry for freedom arises with an urgency which will not be denied. It was to men in this mood in the Hellenistic world that philosophy came, to show them the way pf deliver- ance. Why were they entangled in this unrest, dragged hither and thither by forces outside their control.? The answer .jyaS— to be— found in the distrihiitipn of interest. Every interest man had in any object "was a filament, as it were, going out from his heart and attaching itself to that object, so that if the object was unstable and elusive he was pulled miserably after it. The way of freedom therefore was to cut all these strands going oiit in all directions and attaching to a multitude of objects, to abolish interest in everything except in — but at this point the schools diverged. They were all agreed that deliverance was to be found in re- ducing the field of interest; but they were not agreed as to the object upon which interest should be concentrated.

Most of this popular philosophy of the Hellen- istic and Roman world, whether uttered upon the air of the streets or embodied in little rolls of papyrus, has perished for ever from the memory of men, but we may see a specimen of it in the extracts from the sermons of Teles preserved for us by John Stobaeus. Teles, of whom we know

nothing except from these extracts, seems by-
internal evidence to have belonged to the middle
of the third century B.C. and to have drawn largely
from the written discourses of a much abler man,
Bion of Borysthenes — the far-off Greek colony in
the Crimea. Bion was the Cynic preacher, of whom
Eratosthenes said that he was the first to clothe
philosophy in gaudy raiment (dvdiva ivehvcrev).
There was something theatrical about his style,
and he drove home his satire by trenchant, often
coarse, colloquialisms. Teles too apparently fol-
lowed the Cynic way — the sect which went farthest
in denying values ordinarily recognized by the
citizens of Greek cities. The ordinary man's life
was largely governed by his attachment to posses-
sions of various sorts, to certain kinds of food and
to good clothes, to a particular place — his native
country — to particular people, his children, for
instance, and friends. It was this attachment which
brought all the trouble into his life and made him
dependent on circumstances outside his own con-
trol. The Cynics point out the way of securing
independence by a simple abolition of interest in
these things. Possessions ? Why, rich men don't
actually use a large number of the things they
possess. And what profit is it then to possess them ?
They have such things only in the sense in which
a banker possesses someone else's deposit (p. 26).
The slave gets on well enough without someone
to wait on him ; why should a free man be any less
independent ? Many poor men, Aristides, for ex-
ample, have been more honoured in their cities than
any of the rich (p. 36).

Food ? The roads are full of herbs and the springs

of water. Look, says Teles, at those old women
singing in their quavering voices as they munch a
common barley-cake (pp. 4, 5). You can buy a quart
of lupines for a copper coin (p.9). You don't need
a kitchen of your own to fry your couple of sprats.
The bronze-founders will no doubt let you use
their furnace (p. 30).

Good clothes.^ In cold weather there is no
need to seek a thicker mantle. You have only
to fold your present old cloak and there you
have a garment of double thickness all ready

(P- 30)-

Native country ? What of substantial worth does

the exile lose ? I am excluded, you may say, from the governing body of citizens in a strange city. But how many people in your own country are excluded from the governing body — women, slaves — and do not make a grievance of it ^ As for the disgrace of banishment, if you were banished, although virtu- ous, the disgrace is theirs who banished you, not yours (pp. 16, 17).

Fellow-citizens.'' In the present war, says Teles — that is, probably, the Chremonidean war (265-261), it is the rich man who is troubled by having to think about others ; the man who has attained freedom by having no dependents is in the happy position of having to think about no one but himself (p. 36).

Children and friends ? If the free man is not going to be worried about his own death, why should he be worried by the death of his children and friends .? "How unreasonable and utterly foolish for a man to sit weeping and mourning because his friend is dead ! Making himself ill as well ! If he is really

going to act according to the values of this mad world, it would seem to be more philosophic for him to grieve whilst his friend is still alive, reflecting that his friend will have to die some day. It shows a strange perversion of judgment, as Stilpo said, for a man to stop thinking about the living for the sake of those who are here no longer. That is not the way the husbandman behaves. If one branch of a tree dies, he doesn't lop off the others as well, but tends them with extra care, so that they may replace the branch that is gone. Because my son or my wife is dead, is that any reason for my neglecting my- self, who am still alive, and ceasing to look after my property?" (p. 46).

It is to be noticed that Cynics of the stamp of Bion and Teles do not advise any man to renounce riches or pleasure, if they spontaneously come his way. The game with Fortune is properly played if you take every bit of enjoyment that Fortune

offers you, but never let yourself become so dependent upon her, that you mind if Fortune takes anything away. "You," Teles says to a rich man, "give liberally and I take valiantly from you, neither grovelling nor demeaning myself basely nor grumbling" (p. 3). One short sermon which states this theory of life one may translate as it stands.

"Fortune is like a playwright who designs a number of parts — the shipwrecked man, the poor man, the exile, the king, the beggar. What the good man has to do is to play well any part with which Fortune may invest him. You have been shipwrecked ; very well, give a fine rendering of the part * Shipwrecked man.' You were rich and have be-

come poor. Play the part *Poor man' as it ought to be played.

Be your office great or small,
Equally at home in all —

contented with whatever clothing, whatever fare, whatever service falls to your lot, like Laertes in Homer :

With an aged woman to tend him, to set before

him still
Meat and drink.

And he slept, as we know, upon a bed of leaves.

"Such a life lacks nothing in pleasantness or healthfulness, so long as one's heart is not set on luxury.

Not in the belly's glut
Doth true good stand. (Euripides.)

No, nor in the style of a garment nor in the softness of a bed. Euripides says rather happily ;

Being luxurious
We hunt for new devices of strange foods.

Not foods only, but things to gratify our noses,

things to gratify our ears. Our rule should be *No luxury unless circumstances put it easily in our reach.' We should be like the sailors who observe wind and weather. Is the wind there, use it : no wind, then stop. Or like soldiers again ; the man who has a horse serves as a trooper, the man who has heavy armour, serves as a hoplite, the man who has no armour, serves as a psilast, and just as in that case, suppose the enemy make your position uncomfortable by his archery, you fall back, if you are a light-armed soldier, to the protection of the heavy

troops, SO if at any time you are assailed by war, by poverty, by sickness, retire to the lonely crust, retire to being your own servant, retire to the poor man's cloak, in the last resort, retire out of the world altogether."

In Lucian's little dialogue entitled Cynicus we have a defence of the Cynic way of life put into the mouth of one who practises it. "I have no desire," we find him say, "to be like the men of modern fashion, even if they suppose themselves to have made such a wonderful advance in happiness beyond their ancestors, in the way they eat and the way they dress, sleeking their skins and shaving the hair off their bodies. I boast that my feet are just like the hoofs of horses. I need an artificial bed no more than the lion does. I need expensive food no more than a dog does. Be it mine to have the whole earth for my bed, the whole world for my house, and the food which comes readiest to hand for my fare. Is my appearance not that most seemly for a good man — to be unwashed, to be hairy, to wear a poor man's cloak, to walk bare-foot .^ . .This cloak of mine, which you mock at, this long hair, this appearance of mine, has such power that it enables me to live in peace of mind, to do what I will, to consort with whom I will. For my appearance frightens off all who are fools and uninstructed ; soft-livers give me a wide enough berth ; but the men of finest temper, the men most truly reasonable, those who hunger after virtue, seek my companionship."

The Cynic sect, as was said just now, went farther than any other in a practical repudiation of the values which governed the ordinary man's life. But the Stoics, as is well known, took over from the outset a great deal of the Cynic teaching and the

Cynic ideal. Diogenes was, with Herakles and Socrates, one of the stock typical heroes of later Stoic philosophers. It is not therefore surprising that much in Seneca and Epictetus should be closely parallel to what we read in the sermons of Teles. The figure, for instance, of the actor who has to play well the part assigned him, which recurs in Teles, was also a favourite one with Epictetus.

" Do you not see that Polus did not act Oedipus the king in better voice or with greater pleasure than he acted Oedipus the poor beggar at Colonus ? What ! is the good man and true to shew himself inferior to Polus, instead of playing any part well that Providence puts upon him } Will he not rather make Odysseus his pattern, who was just as remarkable in his rags as in his rich cloak of purple .?" [Fragment 11. Translation by P. E. Matheson, 1916.]

What is more noteworthy, for our present purpose, than the resemblance between the Cynic and the Stoic is the resemblance between much in the Cynic-Stoic teachmg and wKat we find in the schools regarded as the precise opposite, the schools which made the chief good consist in pleasure. Teles himself on occasion reinforces his sermons by sayings of Aristippus, the founder of the Cyrenaic school. Teles indeed represents a brand of Cynicism which had probably become more assimilated to Aristippus than the founders of Cynicism, Antisthenes and Diogenes, would have approved. In his repeated counsel to use the opportunities for enjoyment when they are there. Teles is more Cyrenaic than true Cynic. When he says to the rich man "I take valiantly what you give" Teles reproduces precisely the position of Aristippus, who maintained that it

was no shame that he should enjoy heartily the pleasures which the gifts of kings and tyrants put at his command. But this blending of Cynicism and Cyrenaicism was possible only because there was an element of as^fij^fiisfn in the Cyrenaic philosophy which might seem at first sight incompatible with a philosophy of pleasure. Aristippus too was out to

procure avrdpKeia, independence of the caprices of Fortune, and he thought he found this independence just as Teles finds it, in keeping your inner detachment all the time you enjoy the gifts of Fortune, so that you are not in the least thrown out, when Fortune withdraws her favours. You score off Fortune, as it were, by taking everything that she offers and never letting your heart get entangled. The Cyrenaic way of deliverance, like that of the other schools, consists in the reduction of interest to a certain narrowly limited field, a cutting off of the interests which entangle the heart in things outside this field. The one thing we really possess, said the Cyrenaics, was the present jnoment. If therefore you savour to the full every bit of enjoyment that the present moment offers, and cut off the interests which make you regret the past, or fear the future, you attain deliverance. So far as it meant this cutting off of interests, there was an ascetic element in the Cyrenaic philosophy. And Aristippus on occasion could show just the same inner detachment which might have been shown in similar circumstances by a Cynic or Stoic. There was the story to which Horace alludes in one of his Satires, how Aristippus was once making a journey over some bit of the African desert with his slaves carrying bags of gold, and how, when the load seemed too much

for them, he ordered them simply to throw the gold away.

The as^gtlc element is still more strongly pronounced in Epicureanism. Perhaps when I read out passages from Teles just now, someone may have been struck by the very close resemblance between the attitude he describes and that described by the Epicurean poet Horace, in the famous stanzas :

Fortuna, saevo laeta negotio,
ludum insolentem ludere pertinax,
transmutat incertos honores,
nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.
laudo manentem, cum celeres quatit
pinnas, resigno quae dedit et mea
virtute me involve probamque
pauperiem sine dote quaero.

That is not Stoic, nor Epicurean, nor the distinctive philosophy of any one school ; that is a bit

of the popular philosophy common to all the philo- p
sophic schools of later antiquity.

According to Epicurus too, deliverance is found
by rigidly cutting down the field of interest to a
certain small compass. That compass, it is true, is
pleasure, Epicurus differing however from the
Cyrenaics in denying that the present moiuejtvtis .^^.
our only possession. We possess the past top by
the pleasures of memory, upon which Epicurus
laid great stress, and in choosing pleasure we have
to take account of the, futu.re^_i:onsidering what
kind of pleasure has the greatest promise of
durability. But when Epicurus says that the chief
good is pleasure, you have to understand in that a
negative, as well as a positive, assertion ; it means
that a large amount of interest going out in all

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directions without profit ought to be negated and
cut off. The scientific interest, to know the truth
about the world for the sake of knowing, is a
vanity. Epicurus is very strong that we only need
> to know as much about nature as will secure us
from being afraid of any imaginary supernatural
power behind the movement of the world. For
that purpose it is quite enough to see one way, or
a number of different ways, in which meteorological
phenomena, for instance, might have been produced
by physical causation, because that shows the hypo-
thesis of divine agency to be unnecessary; but it
is mere waste of time to try to find out which of all
possible modes of physical causation does, as a
matter of fact, bring them about. He says this
over and over again in the Letter to Pythocles.
And when he comes to explain what he means by
pleasure, you find that the true end is not so much
-^ pleasure as the absence of pain. And if you strictly
limit yourself fo this you can secure it by quite
simple means and be practically independent of
Fortune. You choose the plainest fare, you choose
enjoyment that does not involve any violent emo-
tional disturbance, you mark out this field and cut
off the interests which range outside of it ; then
you are safe. "Let us give thanks to blessed
Nature," one of his recorded sayings, "that she
made necessary things easy to come by, and things

difficult to procure unnecessary." For the happiest life a fare of barley-bread and nuts suffices. If he had barley-bread and water, Epicurus said, he was prepared to set his happiness against that of Zeus. He seems to have practised and recommended regular fasting on certain days every

month, in order to procure greater independence in the matter of food \

Epicurus was sometimes represented as profligate because certain hetairai were amongst his associates. But, as a matter of fact, he seems to have looked rather with dislike upon the emotions of physical love, because of their disturbing character ^ Thus Lucretius in dwelling upon the discomfort and ugliness of sexual gratification, and Tennyson in his description of the disgust and self-loathing created in Lucretius by the love-potion, seem to have been quite in accord with the feeling of the Master himself.

There is certainly an ascetic element here and we can understand why Seneca so continually quotes sayings of Epicurus, as admirable from the Stoic point of view.

"If you wish to make Pythocles rich, do not add to his money, but subtract from his desires." {Ep. 21, 7.)

" I have never wished to please the multitude, because the things which I know the multitude disapproves of, and of the things of which the multitude approves I know nothing." {Ep. 29, 10.)

"You should make yourself the servant of philosophy, so that there may come to you true liberty." {Ep. 8, 7.)

"Poverty brought within the compass of the law of nature is great riches." {Ep. 4, 10.)

"Cheerful poverty is a thing of beauty." {Ep. 2,6.)

1 Sen. Ep. 18, 6.

* ipa<r9TJ<r€(T6ai tov aocfiov oi Soxei aiTOL<;,..ovSk OeoirefX'Trrov etvai TOV tpwra (Diog. x. 1 8). crvvovair) wvrjae /i,€v ovScttotc, ayaTTip-ov 8" ci fxr) e^SAai/^e (Usener, frag. 62). Cf. Senf. Vat. 51.

" He enjoys riches most, who has least need of riches." {Ep. 14, 17.)

'*It is especially when you are compelled to be in a crowd that you should retire into yourself." {Ep. IS, 6.)

" If what a man possesses does not seem suffi- cient to him, he will be miserable, even if he becomes lord of the universe." (Ep. 9, 20.)

" Excessive anger begets insanity." {Ep. 6, 4.)

"The unwise life is disagreeable and full of trouble ; it is all reaching out into the future."

(^/•i5. 9-)

"The wise man, though he is being roasted in

the brazen bull of Phalaris, will exclaim 'O the pleasure that I enjoy! All this is nothing to me'." {Ep. 66, 18.)

All sects alike, we have seen, aimed at making the individual independent of the play of Fortune, and all sects alike declared that such independence was to be secured by cutting off interests outside a certain prescribed field. They differed when they came to state what the prescribed field was to be. It is plain that supposing you could cut off interest altogether, you would secure complete indepen- dence ; Fortune would no longer have any purchase at all. The Cynics went farther than other sects in negating generally recognized values. They abolished, for instance, as we have seen, the interest in cleanliness. Even the Stoics did not do this. Epictetus especially required his disciples to be dressed indeed with extreme plainness, but to be clean and sweet in person. Yet it is plain that if you have an interest in being clean, you are to that extent within the grasp of Fortune ; you are

certainly more independent if it makes no sort of difference to you whether you are clean or dirty. In the ideal of heroic virtue which came up with Christian monasticism the indifference to cleanliness was, as is well known, a prominent characteristic. Augustine writes in a letter of counsel to some nuns: "Lavacrum etiam corporum ususque balnea- rum non sit assiduus, sed eo quo solet intervallo temporis tribuatur, hoc est semel in mense."

St Jerome, describing his condition when he was living as a hermit in the Syrian wilderness, writes : " Horrebant sacco membra deformia, et squalida cutis situm aethiopicae carnis obduxerat." " My skin was covered with a coating of dirt which made it look like a negro's."

Christianity was here perfectly in agreement with the Cynic ideal of independence. The Em- peror Julian, the would-be champion of Hellenism against Christianity, was wont. Gibbon tells us, to jest about the populousness of his beard.

A thorough cutting off of all interests must no doubt include the interest in cleanliness amongst the rest, and a thorough cutting off of all interests would unquestionably destroy everything by which Fortune has a hold. Why was it that the ancient philosophies could not simply prescribe this thoroughgoing method ? Why must they still leave some field for interest to be directed on? The reason is, of course, that they needed, not only to secure a man independence, but to leave him still some mptiye for action, and without interest in something no "rhotive for action is possible. If man had been a purely passive being, it might have been possible to advise an extinction

of all interest. Because man was under the necessity of acting in some way or other, they were bound to leave him some interest by which action might be prompted and guided. But how can you give man an interest for action and not, to that

T extent, sacrifice his independence? This was the standing crux, the essential problem, of the later Greek schools of philosophy. Having cut a man off from the world, as far as you can, for the sake

_ , of independence, you had to bring him back to the ^^ world as an agent. How was this to be achieved .? Epicurus thought you could manage it by cutting down the field of interest to such simple pleasures as you might be pretty sure of having at your command, whatever turn Fortune took. Interest in these would be enough to give the wise man all the motives for action he required, and at the same time not put him dangerously at Fortune's mercy. The Sceptic plan was to bid the man take, as his guide for action, the ordinary conventions of society, which he found established, but to keep his interest in check by telling himself all the time that he did not know whether any object of action was good or evil. The Stoic plan was the most subtle and elaborate. Interest was to be concen- trated upon the action itself, never upon the result of the action. A man should have full satisfaction in the consciousness that his action was right, whether the thing he tried to do was achieved or not. But, since action is at any rate directed upon outside things, that leaves one still in need of some principle by which right objects of action may be distinguished from wrong. And so the Stoics planned a scheme of values in outside things —

they actually used the word ct^ta — which yet were to be wholly separate from interest — a difficult business, but it seems to me that a figure I once used in a book of mine may help us to understand what they had in their minds. If a servant is sent to fetch a parcel from the post office, his whole action will be determined by the intention to get the parcel, but he will have no interest in the parcel which will make him disappointed if he finds, when he reaches the post office, that the parcel has not arrived. He will be satisfied with having performed the action commanded. Just so, for the Stoic, riches, for instance, are one of the things that have value. If a Stoic is in business he will conduct his transactions in the way which he thinks will be most profitable — consistently, of course, with honesty; Reason, God, Nature — he used all words to mean the same thing — commands him in certain circumstances to make the acqui- sition of wealth the object of his action. But he will be perfectly indifferent as to whether he succeeds. He will do his level best to grow rich, ' but if, by some caprice of Fortune, his ships are

swallowed up by the Icarian Sea under the buffeting of Africus, and he becomes bankrupt, he will not suffer a pang.

That was the object of all the schools, to create in the midst of this rushing, fevered, tumultuous, distracted world the Wise Man, a figure of abiding and unearthly calm. He looks at you with eyes in which there if S* benign and radiant serenity — something really unearthly and strangely quelling — because in him the interests by which you and I are driven hither and thither are dead. "Nil

admirari prope res est una, Numici, Solaque quae possit facere et servare beatum," says Horace. "Nil admirari" — to be beyond fear and beyond wonder at the spectacle of all this vast world moving round us

hunc solem et Stellas et decedentia certis

tempora momentis.

Where men have made this detachment the ideal after which they strive some have really come by self-discipline sufficiently near it to be extraordinarily impressive. In India to-day, where an ideal analogous to the Stoic has prevailed, there are a certain number of individuals who do disconcert Europeans by their appearance of having attained an uncanny satisfaction and tranquillity. There must have been similar figures in the Greco-Roman world. Even Lucian, who mocks so habitually at the false philosophers, occasionally draws the portrait of a true one — Nigrinus, Demonax.

It is certainly impressive, the attainment, or apparent attainment, of this ideal. Yet one must question whether it is one which the human spirit, in its full development, can find adequate. A different ideal was before the minds of the Greeks in the great stirring days of the free city state ; a different ideal has been before the modern European world. That other ideal too, so far as it is attained, frees a man from dependence upon Fortune, but it does not free him by cutting off his interest from outside things. On the contrary, his interest is heightened and intensified. Interest, it

is felt, is life, and, when all is said and done, the quietness attained in the Stoic, and in the Indian,

way, is too like the quietness of death. The alternative ideal is, I think, expressed in the word "a causey I do not, of course, mean cause as the correlative of effect, but cause in the sense in which we speak of some cause for which men will live and die — a national cause, a religious cause. There seem to me to be three essential elements in the idea of a cause, (i) It is the interest, not of an individual only, but of a great organic body, a society, a community, to which the individual belongs or attaches itself. (2) It implies an effort, extending through time, perhaps through an indefinite number of generations, to realize the common ideal in the outside world of fact. There is a fighting quality in it, a determination to overcome obstacles, to remake the world according to the heart's desire. (3) It implies, as a rule, an optimistic hope, a belief that the victory of the cause may really sooner or later be won. We hear, of course, of people who fight heroically for causes which they know to be irretrievably lost ; but it may, I think, be questioned whether anyone fights for a cause for which he has no hope at all ; there is probably in the cases spoken of a kind of wild hope that after all, by some unlooked-for chance, one chance in a hundred, the victory may yet be won, and it is that faint chance which makes it worth while to go on fighting.

The citizens of the old free Greek states, the citizens of the Roman Republic, found their happiness, not in detachment, but in the cause of their civic community, by losing themselves as individuals in the great communal passion for promoting the glory and power of Athens or

Sparta or Rome. And if one described in a single phrase why it is that the Hellenistic and Roman world, after political liberty is gone, seems to us, for all the culture, all the economic activity, all the virtue it still embodies, to be steeped in a

kind of dead atmosphere, an aura morta^ we may say that it is a world without causes. There were no great modifications of terrestrial things which were to be brought about by the corporate effort of some society to which this or that man belonged. All that the virtuous man could do was to do his individual duty, to play his part, in a world which was never going to be any better than it was in his own day, nor indeed ever very different, till it broke up in some cosmic cataclysm. We are often told that the decadent Greco-Roman world shows strange analogies to the world to-day, and so it does — the sophistication of life, the craving for sensation, the credulous attraction to the occult. The inference is sometimes made that our own civilization too must be in its dying phase. But the analogies should not make us overlook the enormous difference between those times and our own. Modern times are times in which there is a notable plenitude of causes. There is hardly any-one who is not attached to some cause in whose advance he believes. There are all the national causes: in England there are still people for whom devo-tion to the old country provides the cause which seems to them to be the one of substantial reality ; they look forward to an increase of England's, or of the British Commonwealth's, power and dignity in the world. There are other people for whom the worthiest cause seems to be to establish inter-

national co-operation in the place of national antagonisms, for whom the League of Nations, or some League of Nations, seems the thing su-premely worth working for. There are others whose cause is the coming of some better political and economic order all over the world — some form of Socialism or Communism. There are others whose cause is more distinctly religious — the coming of the kingdom of God. And we must not forget that notable band of men for whom the increase of scientific knowledge is the great cause, those who watch the gradual victorious advance in different lines of research — one new bit of knowledge to-day, another to-morrow, added to the slowly growing total, and whose lives will seem to them well spent, if one little solid addition is made to that total by their own individual work. The idea of some cause going forward, some cause to which we can contribute, is so bred in the bone of

modern men that we can hardly imagine a world in which the hope of improvement and advance is absent.

It would not be true to say that the ideal of emancipation in the ancient world was entirely individualistic and selfish. No people have laid greater stress than the Stoics did, for instance, upon the individual's solidarity with the Universe, and especiallywith other rational beings. Epictetus, Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, are full of the duty incumbent upon the individual to serve and help his fellow-men ; we are none of us, they continually say, born for ourselves alone. That may seem to come near to what I described as a cause, and it certainly has one element of a cause, the recogni-

tion by the individual of a larger body to which he belongs and whose interests he is bound to make his own. But it seems to me to lack the other elements in a cause — the conception of some particular end to be realized by corporate effort in the actual world and the hope of that end being achieved. According to the Stoic idea, the good man has simply to play his part nobly in a world which is never going to be very different. That is the still, sad note of Marcus Aurelius. The phrase "play his part" gives indeed the figure to which, as we have seen, the practical philosophy of the Hellenistic age habitually recurs — the figure of the actor in a play. And that is significant. The actor, unlike the soldier, is not helping by his effort to decide an issue still undetermined, he is not \engaged in any struggle for a cause, he is just going 'through, well or ill, the fixed part assigned.

Perhaps I should try to explain what I meant just now when I said that devotion to a cause, whilst it directed interest upon outside things, nevertheless made a man independent of Fortune. For it is quite obvious that the advance or setting back of a cause does depend, like the prosperity of an individual, upon many outside accidents ; causes upon which men have set their hearts sometimes come to grief and finally fail. But the point is this: because the interest embodied in the cause is the interest of a community and because the life of a community reaches out into an unknown future beyond the life of the individual, a set-back to the

cause in which a man is interested may leave his hope of its ultimate triumph unshaken. His hope may in the end prove to have been a delusion, but

it can hardly ever be proved to the man himself that it is a delusion. The utmost malice of Fortune may leave him still confident ; he may fall himself in fighting for the cause and die happy, because his interest has ceased, as the psychologists say, to be egocentric and has been transferred to the being of the beloved community. "Who dies, if England lives?" The vitality of some causes in the face of what would seem overwhelming facts is astounding. One would say, for instance, that if any cause definitively and for ever failed, the national cause for which the Mexicans under Montezuma fought against the incoming Spaniards 400 years ago did so. I was told however not long ago by someone who knew intimately the native peoples of New Mexico that they cherished still, by a secret tradition, the unconquerable belief that Montezuma was not really dead, that one day he would come back and drive out the white man and restore the world as it was before. In some villages it was the custom for a man to climb every day before day-break to the top of a neighbouring hill and all alone watch the dawn, because that might be the day when Montezuma would return. A man who has lost himself in a great cause is, if not invulnerable by Fortune, at any rate safe from utter overthrow. Into the dead atmosphere of the Greco-Roman world came Christianity. The question has often been asked what Christianity brought that world which it had not got already. To a large extent the ethics of the Christian Church and the ethics of the Hellenistic moralists ran together. It is claimed sometimes that the theological beliefs and ritual practices of the Church had their close Hellenistic

parallels. What then, it is asked, was there special and distinctive about Christianity ? No doubt many-answers may be properly given to that question, but there is one short answer which I think will serve. It was a cause. That is why it came into the dead atmosphere like a breath of new air. Men drawn into this society felt that they came into a

stream of more than individual life, setting through time towards a great victory. The life of this community was indestructible ; the will embodied in it was a Divine Will by which all outside things were to be ultimately shaped and subdued ; men might be fellow-workers with God towards the great end ; they might give the cause the supreme sacrifice of their lives \

No doubt this distinctive note of Christianity was due to its Hebraic origin, as distinguished from those elements of Hellenism which it absorbed. It carried on the hope of ancient Israel — a com- munal hope, an expectation of the Day of Israel's God^ Christianity has remained always essentially

^ It would be a mistake, I think, not to recognize that the maintenance of the ancient Hellenic religion itself took on the character of a cause in the fourth century, when it made its last forlorn fight against Christianity. It has often been observed that in Julian's revival of paganism there were features borrowed from the organization of the Christian Church. But the assimilation of Hellenism to Christianity in those days was deeper than the mere borrowing of this or that feature. In becoming a cause Hellenism aroused a new kind of feeling in its adherents.

' If one were giving a complete account of the Christian view of the time process one ought also no doubt to recognize, the influence of Zoroastrianism. For the religion founded by Zoroaster in Persia has essentially the marks of a cause, laying stress on the fight for the good in the world against evil with

Hebraic. We hear a great deal to-day about Saint Paul and the Hellenistic mystery-religions. Strik- ing parallels have been pointed out : in the Greek mystic sects too a man received apparently a new supernatural life through some initiation, and there were ceremonial rites of admission and of member- ship, which show analogy to baptism and the eucharist. Some people have been therefore disposed , to regard Christianity, in the form given it by Saint ; Paul, as simply one more mystery-religion added \ to the rest. But this is to overlook the most essential thing in Christianity — that which consti- tuted it a cause. In the Hellenistic mystery- •■ religions the man who received initiation was \ simply lifted out of the lower sphere, individually, i into the higher sphere; there was, so far as we

know, no common purpose which the society was set | to achieve in the real world. The man brought / into the Christian community was brought into a stream of dynamic life going through time towards a definite consummation, a divine event, in the future. That remained essential to Christi- anity, even when it later on borrowed Hellenistic j moulds in which to cast its dogmas : we must not i be misled by the Greek modes of thought and ex- / pression so as to overlook the abiding Hebrew

the assurance of an ultimate cosmic triumph for good. The apocalyptic phase of Judaism probably shows Zoroastrian in- fluence, and Christianity in drawing from Judaism drew thus indirectly from the inspiration of Persia as well as from that of Israel. Just because Mithraism too had one of its roots in Zoroastrianism, this later rival to Christianity may have had a character which would entitle it to be reckoned a cause. Mithraism seems certainly to have been on a higher moral I level than the common run of Hellenistic mystery-religions. '

core — the ruling idea that here was a Divine Society called to work and fight through the ages towards a consummation on beyond, even if delayed, none the less sure. You get it put in the forefront by Saint Augustine in his idea of the Civitas Dei, the Society which he sees running through human history, from the first beginning of man, contending in each age under varying tribulations, for the one great cause,withthe assurance of ultimate triumph.

To-day, as I have said, we have such a plenitude of causes inviting our devotion, that it is difficult perhaps to realize what the teaching of the old philosophies meant for those to whom the movement of the world was an unrest leading nowhere. To- day we may question the belief in progress as an abstract proposition, but it is so inwoven in our thoughts that it is difficult for us to divest ourselves of it. The actual fact of progress in certain lines is too near to us and too obvious — the astonishing advances which science has made in recent times and is still making, the raising of the standard of life, at any rate on the side of material comfort, for those who do the manual work of our civilization, the growing possibilities of human in- tercourse which are unifying the globe to a degree unknown ever before. But supposing we were

ever in our Western world to lose this assurance of progress, recent as it indeed is, supposing we were to become thoroughly disillusioned by future adverse experience, as to any national cause being worth fighting for, as to any international harmony being practicable, as to any new social order removing present evils, as to the advance of science

continuing, or, if it did continue, increasing human happiness, and supposing at the same time men lost the supernatural hope which makes Christianity, as George Tyrrell said in his last pathetic book, if a pessimism so far as this earth goes, yet an optimism with regard to the sum of things — supposing this happened, then, I fancy, the best men would once more feel that in such a world there was nothing for them to do except just to realize in their own individual lives an ideal of dignity — to play their part creditably. To them the allusion with which Teles closes one of his sermons, and which Cicero and Seneca and others repeat after him, would come home : "That was a f fine gesture of the skipper's : * You may sink her, ■ Poseidon, but true to her course it is that she'll go down.' So may a good man say to Fortune : *But it r is a man that you'll find, no shirker, no coward.' " '

KaX(a<i TO Tov Kv^epvrjTOv eKeivov "'AXV ovv <y€, cu t YioaetZov, opdrjv." ovtq) koX dvrjp dyaOb<s etiroL trpo^ ttjp \ Tv^Tjv "'AW' ovv ye avhpa, koI ov ^Xaxa" (p. 48).

The pages given in the references to Teles are those in the edition of the remains of Teles by Otto Hense (ist edition, 1889).

THE SOCIAL QUESTION IN THE THIRD CENTURY^

I AM going to speak this afternoon about one aspect of the social problems of the century after Alexander, the conditions that made for social revolution. I shall start from an extraordinary provision in a mortgage deed, which only seems explicable from the social background of the time ; and we shall have to see what that background was, which means wealth and poverty, and consider the great economic disturbance in the generation after Alexander, and how it affected the working man, which

means prices and wages. Thanks to the temple accounts at Delos, though at present they are only published completely from 314 to 250, we have now something definite to go on ; and we can compare them with various fourth century accounts, especially those of Eleusis in 329. We shall see that the gulf between rich and poor has become wider, and that underneath the brilliant civilization of the third century lies the fear of social revolution. Finally I shall say something, from the social side, about the revolution at Sparta, as it is our best account of a social revolution.

The mortgage in question dates from early in

^ I desire to express my obligations in part of this paper to Professor Glotz' articles on prices and wages at Delos in the Journal des Savants for 1 9 1 3.

the third century, when many of the Islands were borrowing to pay Demetrius' taxes. Praxicles of Naxos lends three talents to the city of Arcesine in Amorgos at io°/^ interest, and the city mortgages to him all its own property, all its citizen's property, and all its metics' property, both in Amorgos or overseas ; and it is provided that the city shall not pass any law or do anything which shall override the mortgage. The other provisions I need not go into now. The usual explanation of this deed has been that the islands were very poor (we shall see that that was not the case) and that Arcesine's credit must have been utterly ruined for the city to consent to such terms. Unfortunately, Arcesine's credit was particularly good, as one can see from the rate of interest on another loan. In the fourth century the usual rate on mortgages and loans other than mercantile loans had been 1 2 "/^j except for the temple at Delos, which lent at 10 7o throughout its history; but 12 7^ could not survive cheap money, and the last cases of it we meet are at Teos about 300 and at Arcesine soon after. Praxicles' mortgage seems to be the first case, outside Delos, of 10 7o> which became the usual rate in the third century, and is found at Ilium, at Oropus, and at Peraea. But Arcesine raised a third loan about this time at 8-J- °/^, the lowest business rate known for nearly a century ; for the 6 °/^ which occurs in a loan to Miletus in 282 seems to be a favour, into which political reasons enter. This loan at 8°/^ shows

that Arcesine was really pretty prosperous; one may also notice that the city had no need to entice anyone to lend it money by promising honours to the lender, as some cities did in the second century.

Yet, in spite of this, does not the city give Praxiclcs an absurd amount of security for the small sum of three talents ? A city generally mortgaged either certain lands or certain revenues, as for instance Delos always mortgaged its 2 °/^ import and export duties ; but extraordinary mortgages do occur, as when Lampsacus in the fourth century mortgaged its Acropolis, and perhaps it does not really mean much for a small city to mortgage all its property, provided it meant to pay. Similarly, a mortgage of the property of all the citizens is only an extension, though a considerable extension, of the usual practice, which was to mortgage the property of certain citizens as sureties ; Miletus in 282 thus mortgages the property of no less than 75 citizens. But what is extraordinary is to mortgage the property of metics ; and the fact that we know of one or two other cases of this in the third century does not make it less so. Metics of course were still looked down upon, as Teles shows, and Heraclides frankly calls their position at Athens one of servitude ; while the wood and charcoal law at Delos was soon going to revive the bad old custom of allowing a creditor to seize the metic's person. Still, even so, as Praxicles' security was ample, why was metics' property inserted.'' The answer is to be found in the inclusion of overseas property, which here means ships and their cargoes, as Arcesine owned no property overseas. For metics were often traders and ship-owners ; and the right given to Praxicles to seize metics' property as well as citizens' property really means the right to seize any ship belonging to any inhabitant of Arcesine without enquiring as to the owner's

Status. If he insisted on this right, he must have thought that his security over property in Arcesine itself might become valueless ; and only one thing could make it valueless, a revolution and cancellation of debts. In that case he could get nothing from the city; but he could still seize a ship, and

there are two cases known where mortgagees did seize ships. That is why he inserted the clause forbidding the city to pass any law overriding the mortgage. Naturally it could not be enforced ; a city could pass any law it pleased, and there had recently been a famous case at Ephesus, where mortgages on land had become so heavy that the government had constituted itself a committee of public safety and compelled all mortgagees to accept what was in effect part payment only. But the clause meant that, if a revolutionary government cancelled Praxicles' mortgage, and he seized a ship, and the matter came to negotiation or arbitration, as it probably would, he could fairly claim that he was within his legal rights. I may add that there was nothing in all this to hurt Arcesine in the least, provided she meant to pay. It used to be suggested that her credit must have been very bad or she could have borrowed from the temple at Delos on simpler terms. But this depended, not on her credit, which was good enough, but on the temple. The temple at this time had only eight or nine talents of liquid funds available for lending; the city of Delos had first call on this, and one fair-sized loan, like the five talents lent to Hermione in 274, would exhaust the balance ; it was just a chance at any moment whether Apollo could lend you three talents. Besides, if you borrowed from a private

person you could, if you chose, procrastinate a good deal over payment — there are some extraordinary cases ; but Apollo could appeal to his suzerain, and you might get a visit from that suzerain's fleet ; that did happen.

Now why was Praxicles, in the prosperous world in which he lived, afraid of revolution ? For the century after Alexander was a prosperous time for the upper classes in most places; Polybius' lamentations about the state of Greece belong to a much later period. I suppose now one need hardly enlarge on this prosperity. One sees it in things like the great number of new festivals which appear and the growth of a class of professional actors and athletes for their service; in the outburst of new associations round about 300, and in particular of social clubs, eranoiy where the subscriptions were of importance ; in the growth of table luxury ; above all, in the expansion of trade, of which I

may give one very simple illustration : about 400 the annual produce of the 2 °/o import and export duties at Athens wasround about 2 00,000 drachmae; at Rhodes, which had taken Athens' place, it had by 170 reached a million. But as at present we are talking about the island world, I will give some definite indications of that prosperity in the islands, taking Rhodes and Delos for granted. The only business rates of interest lower than the standard I o °/o which we meet in the third century are in the islands ; 8–^ °/^ at Arcesine, and at the end of the century 7 °/^ as the normal rate in Thera. That is, capital was cheap. We possess from Mykonos part of a register of dowries, eight entries. The two highest are 14,000 and 10,000

drachmae, that is, they average two talents. I think we only know one certain case of a dowry of as much as two talents in fourth century Athens, and two or three of one talent. On the other hand, a list has been published of Athenian dowries collected from the inscriptions, fourth to second centuries, eleven in all ; the average of these Athenian dowries is 2840 drachmae, that of the Mykonos dowries is 4450. We possess from Tenos part of a register of sales of real property, third century. The entries are very numerous indeed, and bear witness to a flourishing commercial community in which there was a ready market for land. In some cases the vendor allows the whole of the purchase-money to remain on mortgage ; very optimistic, but it does show confidence in the future of real property in the island. About 200 the island of Cos raised a voluntary subscription to equip a fleet. Two hundred and twenty subscriptions are extant; they include one of 7000 dr., one of 4000, seven of 3000, and twenty-two of 1000 and over. I think this is a higher level than we meet anywhere except perhaps in Demosthenes' Athens ; the largest subscription is identical with the largest subscription given toward the new temple at Delphi in the fourth century, and that was given by Sparta, then the richest state in Greece. The prosperity of Cos is confirmed by the great number of religious embassies sent from Cos to Delos in the third century, one of which was conducted by Theocritus' friend, the Aratus of the sixth and seventh idyls, who can now be identified in the inscriptions. There is also the evidence of the

clubs. In Epicteta's association at Thera the fines

for breach of the rules ran from 150 to 500 drachmae, while the highest fine in any association at Athens was 50 drachmae; and it was in the islands, at Cos and Thera, that the third century-clubs started the practice, when they honoured members, of substituting a gold crown for one of green leaves. I may add that two islands, Thera and Siphnos, both honour Egyptian officials with crowns of 2000 drachmae, which is enormous as crowns went ; I think you never get over 1000 drachmae at Athens. These sort of items do indicate a good deal of prosperity among the upper classes. It is no objection to this that various islands borrowed money to pay Demetrius' taxes. For one thing, they had borrowed much more heavily during the second Athenian con-federacy ; and for another, borrowing is no sign of poverty in a city — London, for example. It seems certain that some Greek cities in the third century did understand systematic borrowing; Delos for instance was regularly financed by the temple, as some modern businesses are by their bankers ; the city was constantly borrowing and repaying, and sometimes it repaid very quickly; thus in 282 it bor-rowed 2 5,000 drachmae and repaid nearly 20,000 the same year. A Greek city had no budget and as a rule no reserve ; it merely earmarked certain receipts to certain expenses ; if a new expense arose, like a war contribution, it had to levy a special tax, or raise a subscription, which took time ; it was a convenience to borrow the amount and then pay off the debt at leisure, and that is all that much of the borrowing comes to. To give one simple illustration. In 1 80, Delos had a large sum on deposit in the temple, and

yet borrowed lOO dr. from the temple for a crown for somebody ; the reason was that the money on deposit belonged to an account which was ear-marked for the city's corn supply.

The third century then was a prosperous time for the upper classes, just as one would expect from the brilliant culture of the period. But when we turn to the lower classes, we shall find conditions exactly

reversed ; they were definitely worse off than they had been ; speaking generally, prices were up and wages were down. The first thing to look at is the economic disturbance caused by Alexander's release of the Persian treasure, a disturbance which followed right upon the very considerable rise in prices which had taken place in the two generations before Alexander, caused by the secularization of the temple treasures at Athens, Delphi, and elsewhere. Let me remind you what the Persian treasure meant. Athens began the Peloponnesian War with 6000 talents in hand. Apollo of Delphi, before the Sacred War, was traditionally worth 10,000 talents. Alexander secured 180,000 talents in coined money, and perhaps an equal amount in bullion, plate, and so on. Naturally the economic disturbance in Greece was very great. One ought to be able to show it by price curves. Unfortunately the curve I should like to give, wheat, is not complete enough; and one complete curve, the price of pitch, is useless for my purpose ; for pitch was a monopoly, and political reasons enter into the price. I have however taken out two curves which I think are new and are free from objection ; one is the wages of a hoplite — citizen troops, not mercenaries — and the other is the rent of the farms belonging to

the temple at Delos. In the Peloponnesian War a hoplite got a drachma a day at Athens, but not much over four obols, Athenian currency, in the Peloponnese. (I am including in wages the so-called food allowance, which often is not distinguished.) At the beginning of Alexander's reign the hoplites of the states in the League of Corinth probably all got a drachma a day, as that was what Alexander paid his best heavy infantry, the hypaspists; anyhow, they cannot have got more. But in 303, when Demetrius re-formed the League of Corinth, the hoplites of the League states were getting two drachmae a day, just double. In the treaty between Aetolia andAcarnania of about 272 they still get two drachmae, but they are Corinthian drachmae, say eight obols in Athenian currency ; soon after 229 Antigonus Doson is paying about the same ; and about 200 Rhodes is paying nine Rhodian obols, which is again about eight obols in Athenian currency. That is, between 335 and 303

a hoplite's pay doubled ; in the third century it fell back again, but still remained 33 °/o higher than the old standard. Now the farm rents. I take only the 15 farms which the temple had always possessed, and omit the farms purchased at the beginning of the third century. The total rent of those 15 farms in drachmae, omitting sums under 100, is as follows. In 434 it was from about 7500 to 7600. In the four years 377 to 374 it was 7800. At the letting of 314, the first year of Delos' freedom, it was 11,500, an enormous rise. In 305 it was 14,300; at the letting of 300 it was 16,200, the highest point touched. In 290 it is only 9600, an exaggerated fall which must be due partly to

external reasons, perhaps the threatened descent of Etruscan pirates; for in 280 it recovers to 10,300 and in 270 to 1 1,300, and here I imagine we are on the true curve again. In 260 it has fallen to 8800, and here the real rise in the value of money shows itself. In 250 there is a slight recovery to 9300; but by 220 it is down to 6100, and by 179 to 5900. That is, in 300 the rents are more than double the highest figure of the period before Alexander. Taken together, these two curves justify us in supposing that the lowest value of money, that is, the highest prices, were round about 300, and that the drachma at that time was not worth more than 50°/o> or say three obols. One can confirm this by the fact that at Demetrius' siege of Rhodes in 304 the ransom fixed for a free captive was 1000 drachmae, as against 300 to 500 in the Sacred War. The culminating point cannot have been much earlier than about 300 ; for the law which regulated the letting of the farms at Delos, passed a year or two before 300, provided that a tenant could hold on for a second term, with- out having to bid at the auction, on paying 10 °/^ increase of rent ; that is, money was falling in value. I come now to the main question, how did all this affect the working classes ^ Here we must turn to Delos. First, their expenditure — that is the price of food, clothing, housing, and fuel. I may leave out fuel, for the price of firewood at Delos down to 258, when there was a temporary fall, remained much the same as at Eleusis in 329. Clothes also seem to vary very little, though our information is too meagre to argue from. But the rise in the cost of food and housing was great.

I take food first; and the most important food to the working man was corn. Now at Delos barley was normally about half the price of wheat, and a man when paid in kind was given indifferently either so much wheat or double the amount of barley, so I may calculate in wheat only. Demosthenes says that prior to the famine of 329 the normal or regular price of wheat at Athens was five drachmae the bushel, which may serve as a base-line ; for both Athens and Delos imported wheat by sea. Taking the year's average, in 282 wheat at Delos was 7 dr. 3 obols the bushel (it touched 10 drachmae) ; in 258 it was 6 dr. 4 obols; in 250 it was 5 dr. 4 obols. We have no figures round about 300; but as the farm rents must bear some relation to the price of wheat, then, looking at the money curve, I should expect wheat about 300 to average ten drachmae ; and it was possibly about this time that barley at Lampsacus was 6 drachmae, which would be TO to 12 drachmae for wheat. However, we see that by 250 wheat had not yet got back to the basic figure, any more than farm rents had ; and in fact, more than half a century later the established official price at Samos was still somewhat over the basic figure, 5 dr. 2 obols. But if the working man was badly off with the price of wheat, he was still worse off for oil, one of the few absolute necessities of the very poorest, as Menander says, for they had no other fats. In the early fourth century oil was 12 drachmae the metretes. At Delos, about 305, it averaged ^2 drachmae ; in 302 it was 45. By 281 it had fallen to 36, and from 269 to 250 it fiiuctuates between 20 and 1 6 ; that is, like wheat, it had still not got back to the old price. Common

wine was much the same ; Demosthenes gives 4 dr. the metretes as the normal price, while at Delos it fluctuates between 10 and ii|^. Housing was even worse than food. (After the first quarter of the third century the working population at Delos was fast increasing ; so I assume that, if better houses rise in value, poorer ones rose also.) 1 have taken out the average rent of a house for the houses belonging to the temple (the lettings vary in number, so totals are useless). Early in the fourth

century the average annual rentwas certainly not over 20 dr. and was probably nearer 10. Unfortunately there are no figures about30o;butin282theaverage is 38, at least double. In 279 it is 61, from which it rises steadily to 73 in 250, that is, four or five times the figure before Alexander. The rents are already going against the general price curve, rising while money is rising, because people had already begun to flock into Delos. In 246 there was a house famine, and the figure jumps to 125 ; in 219 it is 73 again, and thence rises again to over 100 in the early second century. The point is, that if working men came to Delos for work with housing in that state, what were the general conditions like in the places they came from.''

We nowcome to the important question of wages. Looking at the great rise in the price of food and housing in the first part of the third century, wages ought to have risen considerably. For in the time before Alexander wages had done so. Wheat had risen fromthreedrachmaeabushel in Socrates' time to five drachmae in Demosthenes'; but wages had risen even more ; at the end of the fifth century a skilled artisan at Athens got a drachma a day, at Delphi

about 339 he was getting, in Athenian currency, about 8 J obols, at Eleusis in 329 he generally got 2-| drachmae — 15 obols. But after Alexander we find that the wages at Delos, instead of rising with rising prices, actually fall. We need a base-line for comparison, the level of bare subsistence, and fortunately this is not in doubt ; two obols a day for one man, or 120 drachmae the year of 360 days. This was the slave rate, the pauper rate — Menander makes a young man call it a starvation rate ; it was what Athens in the late fourth and the third centuries paid to the crippled who could not work, what Delos paid to the temple slaves and the flute-girls, and what Demosthenes had calculated would do for patriotic Athenian troops if they forewent their pay. A man needed one choenix of wheat a day, that is, 7^ bushels (medimnoi) a year : and as we know from the Delos accounts that a working-man's opson — that is, all food except bread — was reckoned at the equivalent in money of his bread, then with wheat at the basic price of five drachmae the man's bare food would cost 75 drachmae a year. We can calculate from the Eleusis and Delos accounts

that 15 drachmae a year would do for clothes, if an outfit lasted three years and he had no change of clothing; that leaves the man, out of his 120 drachmae, 30 for housing, fuel, and everything else ; that is, two obols a day was just bare existence. For a small family, wife and two children, the line of bare subsistence was probably three times this, a drachma a day or 360 drachmae a year; I may quote a law of Ilium of about 280, whereby a slave, if he murders a tyrant of the city, is to get a drachma a day for life, that is, he shall not have

to work for his family. Now to apply these standards — two obols for a man, i drachma for a family — to what we learn about Delos.

First, the daily wage of skilled artisans. At Eleusis in 329 they generally got 2-| drachmae a day. At Delos they practically always get two drachmae. This is a considerable fall ; still, on the face of it, two drachmae looks comfortable. The reality was very different. It was two drachmae a day when employed, and the employment was merely irregular jobs. (It was no doubt the same at Athens; in one of the broken Erechtheum accounts some named workers seem only to work for a few days in the prytany of 30 days.) I have taken out a few figures for Delos. In 302, a worker called Olympos, who gets more jobs than anyone else, makes not much over 200 drachmae in the year, — let us be liberal and call it 240 — that is, four obols a day, not enough for a family with wheat at five drachmae, and wheat was probably nearer 10. In 279 we have complete figures; I take the most prominent workpeople. Theodemos the carpenter makes 106 drachmae in the year, not enough to keep himself. Nicon the mason, who had come from Syros to better himself, makes 187 drachmae ; he might just maintain a wife. Dexios the black-smith only makes 54I drachmae. A blacksmith would get some work on the farms ; but the other two would not get much work apart from the temple. Now this is the real point here — could they get much other work or not } — and so I give the proof that they could not, which is due to Professor Glotz of Paris. In 282 the temple en-gaged two skilled masons, Leptines and Bacchios,

by the year, not by the day, and paid them partly in kind; but by 279, consequent on a temporary famine in 281, when wheat went to 12 drachmae as the year's average, the temple had thrown the risk on the two workmen and had commuted their pay to a money payment totalling altogether 240 drachmae a year each, with an occasional small allowance for clothes — 17 drachmae in 279, nothing in 278. These men would earn two drachmae a day, and 360 days at two drachmae would be 720 drachmae — what the architects got ; but these masons are content, for the sake of a permanent engagement by the year, to take exactly one-third of this, 240 drachmae a year or four obols a day — just about what Olympos did make in 302 ; this shows they could not count on getting outside jobs. The two drachmae a day of the skilled artisan on intermittent jobwork then really means, at best, four obols a day by the year ; and this seems to be what Ptolemy III paid to the masons whom he sent to Rhodes after the great earthquake. How did four obols work out for a married man in 279, with wheat at (say) about 7 drachmae ? His own food would cost 105 drachmae ; his wife's, say two-thirds, 70 drachmae. Suppose he was given his clothes, and his wife's only cost 10 drachmae a year. That leaves §^ drachmae for housing, fuel, and all other expenses, including feeding and clothing his children. That family must have gone very short indeed ; still, they had a certainty ; they could live somehow or other.

But how did it stand with the great majority who were not engaged by the year ? (Remember 1 am taking the best paid cases.) I will give one

illustration, Dexios the blacksmith again. In 281 Dexios and another man undertake to sharpen all the tools of the workmen employed by the temple during the year at one obol apiece. Dexios' half of this is 144 tools at 24 drachmae. In 274 Dexios alone does all the tools at half an obol each ; the number has greatly increased, and he does 636 tools for ^2 drachmae. That is, in the course of seven years Dexios has come down to doing 4.^ times the work for 2^ times the wages. It shows how desperately in need he was of that extra 29

drachmae.

Now to look at the unskilled men. In 329, at Eleusis,theygetnineobolsaday on jobwork. In 279 atDelos the pay ranges from eight to five obols,but a laterfragmentshowsthatonedrachmawas the normal pay on jobwork, even for the semi-skilled, so I take one drachma as the average, a considerable fall from nine obols to six. But, if two drachmae on job-work really meant, as we have seen, only four obols a day by the year, one drachma on the same work was really two obols a day by the year ; that is, the bare subsistence line for a single man, the pauper and slave rate. At Delos then one can speak with some confidence on a much controverted question ; slave labour ha^ dragged unskilled free labour down to its own level. Indeed it sometimes falls lower still, well below the slave rate, though the slave rate it-self had fallen ; the temple slaves at Eleusis got three obols a day against the two obols at Delos ; still even at Delos three obols occurs occasionally, ap-parently after long service. But I can give two instances of free labour at a rate well belowtwo obols a day per year. In 301, Tlesis, a skilled plasterer,

takes on a job for a lump sumof 140 drachmae, which at the usual two drachmae a day means 70 days' work. The temple gives him two labourers to bring sand for him and make and mix his plaster, and pays each of them 30 drachmae for the job, slightly over 2^ obols a day for jobwork instead of a drachma ; and wheat may have been 10 drachmae at the time. Those two labourers lived on barley-bread and water, and not too much bread. In 282 the temple em-ployed a woman called Artemisia, not a slave, to do baking, paying her monthly. Herwages for seven months are less than an obol a day ; one hopes she was only working for pocket-money. It may be worth mentioning here that the only strike I know of prior to the Roman period was an attempted strike of bakers, at Paros.

We see then that in the first half of the third century the daily wage for both skilled and unskilled labour had fallen considerably since Demothenes' time, though the price of necessities had risen. The same seems true, generally speaking, of piecework. The bulk of the work at Delos, as in all the temple accounts we have, was piecework ;

but it is too complicated a problem to discuss now, and I can only say that it is supposed to have aggravated the fall in daily wages ; certainly some piecework wages fall between 300 and 250. I can however give one set of figures which stands by itself, the cost of cutting the accounts on the actual stones ; but I have to omit any Athenian figures, as Athens paid on some totally different system. (For convenience of comparison with Delos I have turned Aeginetan currency into Athenian throughout.) Early in the fourth century, at Epidaurus, the

tariff per loo letters cut was usually nine obols ; 1 1 obols and eight obols do both occur, but seem exceptional prices for small pieces of work. At Delphi in 339 the tariff is 8 J obols the lOO, but in 335 it has fallen to just under six obols. At Delos in 302 it is still six obols,one drachma, per 100 ; but later in the year 130 letters are cut for a drachma. In 301 there is a further heavy fall, that is, far more letters are cut for a drachma; and by 282 we find a well-established tariff of 300 letters for a drachma — two obols the 100 — which continues into the second century, and is found then both at Delos and at Lebadea. In 250 an attempt was even made at Delos to get 350 letters cut for a drachma, but it led to bad work, and was apparently given up. Omitting the exceptional extremes, this means that in the course of the century prior to 282 the tariff fell from nine obols to two obols the 100, while most of the time prices were rising and money falling in value. These startling figures more than bear out the deductions I have drawn from the daily wages.

The position of the working man in the third century at Delos was then a very bad one ; the unskilled easily fall below the bare level of subsistence, and the skiUed are very hard put to it to bring up even one or two children. Yet Delos was a bright spot; by 279 certainly, and probably earlier, workmen were going there from other parts of Greece, especially from the islands, which means that their conditions at home were worse. As we have seen something of the property of the upper class in the islands, the deduction is that, so far as the island world can inform us, the third century on the social

side was getting into a very unhealthy state ; the poor were getting poorer, and the gap between rich and poor was widening. We have seen that from 400 to 329 wages rose with the rise in prices ; after Alexander's time wages seem to lose all relation to prices, and fall while prices still rise. The fact seems certain ; but I have no explanation to offer beyond unrestrained competition, unless the great wars of the Successors had driven men a little mad. It was not I think Asiatic competition ; we do not meet Asiatic workmen at Delos much before 250. But it was competition with little to temper it. There were no workmen's organizations in our sense ; associations of men in particular trades are just beginning to appear, but they were only social and religious bodies, which at best might help an oppressed member or give him a decent funeral. Except I think at Athens and Rhodes, state aid was only given during a siege or a famine ; and even at Athens it was confined to men definitely crippled. Rhodes later on apparently had a wonderful system of food liturgies, under which wealthy individuals undertook to look after a certain number of poor, perhaps the reason why Rhodes never had any trouble ; but it is uncertain when the system started. Philanthropy, in our sense, is a very rare phenomenon ; rich men were often liberal, but only to the State. A feeling of humanity was certainly growing, as exhibited in the increase of arbitration, the movement for making whole cities asylums, the habit of manumitting slaves by will, and the dislike of selling free captives ; but this had nothing specifically to do with the poor. A copy-book maxim of the time says "Pity slaves";

but as to free men, though we often hear in literature that poverty is hateful — an anonymous fragment of verse says "his own mother hates a poor man' ' — there seems to be only one doubtful reference ; to poverty, prior to Cercidas, as a matter for compassion. When the Stoic Cleanthes, in his Hymn to Zeus, says "that which is dear to none other is dear unto thee," he may mean the poor and unfortunate ; but, even if he does, he leaves the matter to Zeus ; he does not suggest that it is any concern of other men.

What we get then is, more visible luxury among I the rich; high prices and falling wages for the ; poor ; and hardly any shock-absorbers in the social j system. These are conditions which lead to trouble ; and in fact if things got too bad there was only one known resource, revolution ; not political revolution, but social revolution ; a rising of the "have-nots" against the "haves, "to the cry of division of the land and cancellation of debts. Debt in fact was often at the bottom of the whole business. Praxicles may well have expressed his fear of revolu- tion in his mortgage deed ; for troubles between creditors and debtors were common enough in the islands. Between about 280 and 250 we know of at least four outbreaks of the kind in the islands, in Naxos, Amorgos, Ceos, and Syros — one at least is expressly called a matter between poor and rich ; and in every case the trouble was bad enough to compel the suzerain power — Egypt or Mace- donia— to intervene in order to settle what was probably incipient revolution. But indeed revolution had long been the general fear of the well-to-do ; at Athens the jurymen had for centuries taken an i

1 oath not to vote for division of land or cancellation I of debts ; the threat colours many passages in 1 Aristotle ; Isocrates had said bluntly that men I feared their fellow-citizens more than a foreign enemy. But with the advent of Macedonia, pre- cautions had been substituted for fears. In the treaties made in 335 between Alexander and the States of the League of Corinth it was provided that the Council of the League and Alexander's representative were to see to it that in no city of the League should there be either confiscation of personal property, or division of land, or cancellation of debt, or liberation of slaves for the purpose of revolution. We have here both the complete pro- gramme of the social revolution under four heads, and an interstate guarantee against it ; if revolution breaks out in any city it is to be repressed by the full force of Macedonia and the Panhellenic League. Demetrius' League of 303, which was a close copy of Alexander's, must have had a similar arrange- ment; for since 335 conditions had become much worse, and it was probably only the enormous de- mand for mercenaries, with opportunities of plunder, which tided the Greek world over the economic crisis round about 300. When the social revolution

broke out in Cassandreia about 279 this opportunity was already becoming limited ; and it was still more limited when in 223 Antigonus Doson of Macedonia formed the third of the Panhellenic Leagues to crush a particular revolution, that at Sparta.

Sparta offers us a picture of the three regular phases of a revolution; drastic reform, moderate or limited revolution, and complete revolution, all within the compass of about one generation. The

Story is of interest from many sides, personal, military, political, and above all philosophical ; but I must confine myself as far as I can to the social aspect. While those writers who were enemies of the movement, Aratus and Polybius, give us much political and military information, it happens that our social information is largely drawn from a convinced friend of the revolution, the contemporary historian Phylarchus, represented for us by Plutarch's Lives of Agis and Cleomenes. Phylarchus was a powerful and dramatic writer, but an out-and-out partisan and untrustworthy over figures ; and people once used to doubt his gloomy picture of Sparta in 244, when the young king Agis IV came to the throne. There can however be little question now that that picture is substantially true. He represents the citizen body as enormously reduced, all the land in the hands of a small class of wealthy men, too much property owned by women, and a large number of poor men who had lost their land and consequently, under the Spartan constitution, their citizenship ; the common meals had become a farce, as the rich would not, and the poor could not, take part in them ; and both landowners ; and poor were weighed down by debts. Now, except for the common meals and the debts, this is exactly the picture Aristotle had drawn nearly a century earlier, only the process had gone a little further. One can trace what had happened. The : Spartans in Plato's time had been enormously rich in gold and silver, the plunder of war. Since then all their wars at home had been unsuccessful, but against that many Spartans in the fourth century had made money by military service in Asia and

Egypt. There was practically no outlet for money at Sparta itself in commerce or manufactures, so those who owned what remained of all this wealth had invested it in buying up land ; this, joined to the loss of Messenia, had rendered a large class landless, and the only wealthy people were the large land-owners, unless a few metics. But whereas in the fourth century Sparta had always recovered from defeat, a new thing had happened ; she had not recovered from her great defeat by Antigonus Gonatas in 265, for soon afterwards Megalopolis could and did defeat her single-handed; so Phylarchus must be quite right about the enormous reduction in citizens. Then as to debts. Some landowners were still rich in gold, but others were not ; there were two classes, as we shall see, and the latter class had heavily mortgaged their lands in order to live up to the prevailing standard of luxury. One recalls here that, even at Athens, Menander had called a man whose land was not mortgaged very lucky, and that at Ephesus after 297 the heavy mortgages had led to a suspension of the ordinary law ; again we have no reason to doubt Phylarchus. As to the poor being burdened with debt, how could anything else possibly happen, looking at the condition of things we saw at Delos .'' Even at Delos the temple throughout the third century keeps on making an increasing number of bad debts for small amounts, and 1 have already mentioned the troubles in the islands over debt; but the best commentary on Phylarchus is Menander's play The Heroy where the supposed son and daughter of a poor man go out voluntarily as slaves to work off a debt which is only 200 drachmae. In

fact, Menander defines a well-to-do man as "one who can live without borrowing." What we see then at Sparta is what we saw in the islands, only more markedly so ; the gulf between rich and poor has widened ; the rich may not be richer, but the poor are much poorer. And as there was practically no middle class at Sparta, the class which Aristotle called the best safeguard against revolution, Sparta was obviously ripe for a change.

But during the fourth and third centuries there had grown up a belief that long ago Sparta had been

a very different place ; that Spartans had once owned no personal property but their weapons, and that their traditional lawgiver Lycurgus had divided the land equally among all Spartan citizens, who held it in equal lots; these lots had not exactly been the private property of their owners, but had been allotted to them by the State in order to enable them (since the lots were cultivated by Helots) to devote their time unhampered to the real business of the State, military training; just as a Spartan's body was not exactly his own, but in a sense belonged to the State, so did his land. The present state of things was regarded as a backsliding from this former ideal state. Of course this ideal state had never existed ; there had always been rich and poor at Sparta, and there had never been, in historical times, an equal division of the land. But the idea was none the less powerful because it was really a product of philosophic speculations about communism. For the Stoics were teaching the equality of all men, and Zeno and lambulus had constructed Utopias in which there were neither rich nor poor ; and lambulus is careful to explain

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that his people, having abolished classes, were dcrracnacrTOL, free from revolutionary troubles.

Now the poor in a Greek state had little chance of making a change constitutionally, and were badly off for weapons; they rather depended on a lead from some individual who was not one of themselves, and possessed some force, for instance mercenaries ; this had been the case for example in the social revolution at Cassandreia, which had ended in a tyranny. By 244 the mixed Spartan constitution had become an oligarchy, and the ephors now ruled in the interest of the rich ; hence the poor naturally looked for help to the kings. It is perfectly possible that Agis was partly a saint, as Phylarchus draws him — Plato's philosopher-king, inspired by Stoic teaching and the third century Utopias to create a new world of equality and brotherhood; and he may have had real sympathy for the poor. Probably he also had military ambition ; for the military allotment, the KXrjpos, might be as potent a source of military strength to Sparta as it had been to the Hellenistic monarchies. But he was above all a Spartan patriot;

he desired, without altering the political constitution, to restore what he believed to have been the golden age of Sparta by dividing the land equally into lots, so that all landless men should again receive allotments, and the common meals could be restored. But as he could not distribute mortgaged land, or usefully give allotments to poor men weighed down with debt, he had at the same time to envisage the cancellation of all debts, the State having no money to pay them ; and so this very conservative reformer in fact adopted two of the main principles of the social revolution, division of

land and cancellation of debt. (The Greeks of course hardly took our view of private debts ; law-courts always favoured the debtor, and it is said that more than once debts had been discharged, even in mercantile Corinth, by the elementary process of killing the creditors.) As to the other two items in the full revolutionary programme, naturally Agis never considered freeing the Helots, who were a necessary part of the Lycurgan institutions — even the Stoics had never advocated abolition; and it is supposed that he did not mean to take personal property for the State. But he gave his own large fortune to the State, and hoped others would follow.

Though Agis thought he was going to restore an old state of things, he was really attempting quite a new one. But in a little country like Sparta, an equal division of the land, with a periodical redistribution, should have been perfectly feasible ; one Greek community, the Liparaeans, did actually carry out such a redistribution every 20 years, treating the occupation of land as usufruct and not ownership. But as land at Sparta had in fact been private property for centuries, one can hardly blame the landowners for not suddenly becoming unselfish altruists merely because of a vague belief that once upon a time the State had had certain rights in the land. Whether Agis was justified in proposing to take their land for the good of the community is a matter on which I express no opinion ; we are doing much the same thing, but more gradually, by means of the death duties. His actual proposal was to divide the land in the inner ring, about Sparta, into 4500 Spartan lots, and

that in the outer ring into 1 5,000 lots for Perioeci ; as there were nothing like 4500 Spartans, he proposed to fill up the number from Perioeci and selected metics in sympathy with Spartan institutions. One can see from the allusion to this in Teles' discourse On Exiky spoken at Megara two years after Agis' death, the great interest these proposals created.

The poor supported Agis heartily, with some of the young men, who caught the inspiration of youth. The only way to interpret what happened is to suppose that the landowners were divided into two parties. The wealthy, led by the other king Leonidas, were uncompromisingly hostile ; many of them would be creditors. But those whose lands were mortgaged, led by Agis' uncle Agesilaus, the villain of the piece, thought they could make use of Agis to free their lands from debt. They first supported him ; then, having captured the ephorate, they were able to prevent him carrying out both his proposals together, as he wished, and got debts abolished first, as they wished. They now had no further use for Agis; they sent him north with the army, and proceeded to undermine his position with the poor, who were disappointed at not getting the promised land; and when Agis returned, he found himself faced by the fact that he must use force or fail. He decided not to use force. Probably he could not trust the army; but it is quite possible that he deliberately preferred to die rather than kill his fellow-citizens. He took sanctuary, was captured by a trick, and murdered; and for a time Leonidas and the reaction triumphed.

Thirteen years later Agis' plans were taken up

afresh by Leonidas' son Cleomenes, who had become king ; he was a pupil of the Stoic Sphairos, and had married Agis' widow, and the two had converted him to Agis' views. He was a stronger and harder character than Agis, and not so single-minded ; and it weighed heavily with him that the reforms would greatly strengthen Sparta for war, for he was extremely ambitious. He saw clearly why Agis

had failed ; and though his aim was exactly the same, the restoration of the supposed Lycurgan institutions, one calls him a revolutionary and not a reformer because he saw that, to succeed, he must first overthow the existing political constitution and overthrow it by force. All the Peloponnese except Elis, Messene and Sparta was now in the Achaean League, whose leading man was Aratus of Sicyon, a very clever, wealthy, and unprincipled statesman. Cleomenes began by picking a quarrel with the League and forcing Aratus to declare war ; Phylarchus says he brought on the war simply to pave the way for his revolution, and the opposition writers, Aratus himself and Polybius, do not deny this. The war enabled Cleomenes to enlist mercenaries. When he was ready, he left the citizen troops in camp at a distance from Sparta, returned to Sparta with the mercenaries alone, turned out the ephors, killing four of them and ten of their supporters, exiled 80 others, and was sole master of Sparta with the loss of 14 lives. He then cancelled all debts, and divided the land very much as Agis had proposed ; he also abolished the ephorate. In dividing the land, he set aside allotments for the 80 exiles, whom he meant to recall later. It shows that there was a touch of Alexander about

Cleomenes ; no one else had thought of recalling his political opponents.

Had Cleomenes stopped there ; had he been content to make peace with Aratus and confine himself to the internal development of Sparta; one does not see what could have prevented his revolution being a permanent success. Sparta, which after Agis' death had been too weak to prevent even an Aetolian raid, had become at one stroke far too strong for any Greek state to attack ; beside mercenaries, Cleomenes could put 14,000 to 15,000 Lacedaemonians into the field, as against the traditional 6000 of the fourth century. Unfortunately for Sparta, his ambition came into play ; he wanted to be head of the Peloponnese, perhaps of Greece, and play Alexander in a new League of Corinth. He began by thoroughly defeating the Achaeans, and might have been elected head of the Achaean League had he not fallen ill just before the Achaean assembly met. Aratus tided over that danger; but what he could not tide over was that in

several cities there had been a rising or revolution of the poorer classes which carried the city over to Cleomenes. The Achaean League was a most respectable institution, but it was based on the power of the well-to-do ; and Aratus, who was terrified of social revolution, began to negotiate with Antigonus Doson of Macedonia for help to repress it. But as soon as this was known, Cleomenes swept the country ; there were risings in many cities, including Argos and Corinth, and soon the Achaean League held nothing but Megalopolis and Sicyon, and even lost part of Achaea itself. It was a wave of revolutionary enthusiasm such as Greece had

never seen ; and Aratus, with his back to the wall, agreed to pay Antigonus' price, the cession of Corinth. Antigonus thereon formed a Greek League whose first object was to suppress the revolution; this follows from the fact that he gave out that he was not at war with Sparta but only with Cleomenes.

Probably we can now give one concrete instance of how Cleomenes' revolution affected other cities ; that is the extraordinary little poem on wealth and poverty written by Cercidas. The writer is certainly the Cercidas who belonged to the governing class at Megalopolis and was a personal friend of Aratus ; and Megalopolis was as hostile to Sparta as one city could be to another. And in face of this, Cercidas writes a poem questioning the justice of the gods in making some worthless men rich and better men poor, and then, turning to his own class in Megalopolis, declares that there is ■ only one way for him and them; they must heal the sick and give to the poor while they have the chance, for, if not, their wealth may be taken away — the social revolution may be upon them. That a Greek politician of the upper classes should be advocating charity and philanthropy, even if only tentatively, even if partly perhaps through fear, is a most amazing phenomenon. Nothing came of it ; for again Cleomenes' ambition drove Cercidas back into Aratus' arms.

And in fact Cleomenes' cause was lost, at the height of its success, before Antigonus intervened. That sweeping success had been largely due to the belief of the common people throughout the

Peloponnese that he had come to give them the

longed-for social revolution — land for everybody and no debts ; what he had done at Sparta he would do elsewhere ; there was going to be a new world. This was the last thing Cleomenes meant to do ; he was a Spartan king, and had no idea of raising a whirlwind which might sweep himself away. It had already become clear, before Antigonus arrived, that Cleomenes was not going to introduce a general revolution; and the lower classes were ready to leave him and return to bearing the ills they knew of. Consequently, when Aratus managed to slip a few troops into Argos behind Cleomenes' back — he was at the Isthmus — Argos changed sides ; and Cleomenes, with his communications threatened, had to quit the Isthmus and retreat to cover Sparta, while city after city fell away. He had suffered the usual fate of the moderate revolutionary, and antagonized both parties, both the well-to-do and the poor, the one because he went too far, the other because he did not go far enough. The rest is only fighting; he had his revenge on Megalopolis, but was defeated by Antigonus at Sellasia and fled to Egypt, perhaps the only king of Sparta who ever survived a great defeat ; and I know nothing in later Greek literature sadder than the speech in which Plutarch makes him justify his choice between his duty to die and his duty to live for Sparta and the revolution.

Antigonus restored the old regime at Sparta, and many of Cleomenes' new citizens lost their land again. But his party was not destroyed; and the city led an unsettled existence for 14 years, with an increasing number of exiles, till in 207 it

was badly defeated by the Achaeans. Thereon the real revolution, which must long have been smouldering, broke out under the lead of a man called Nabis. All we know about Nabis comes from his bitter enemies. He may have been as cruel as Polybius says he was — though Polybius himself could advocate torture with anybody — and his mercenaries may have been the scum of the

earth; but one must look fairly at what he did. He carried out all the four points of the social revolution ; he not only abolished debts and redistributed the land, but he took all the money he could get from the well-to-do, many of whom he exiled, and freed slaves; part of his army was composed of liberated Helots. When Argos was given to him by Philip V, he apparently carried out the social revolution there in much the same way. But he professed that the money which he exacted from the rich was taken "for the common expenses of the State," and it seems possible that the State now paid for the common meals, as was done in Crete ; and Polybius in a later book accidentally shows that he left the wives and daughters of the exiles in undisturbed possession of a certain amount of land. Certainly in getting rid of the class state, as he claimed to have done, and substituting one in which all were equal, he for the last time restored Sparta's strength in an extraordinary manner. In spite of her terrible losses by war and exile, he raised 10,000 citizen troops, partly liberated Helots, and with mercenaries and 2000 Argives — evidently he could trust the lower classes at Argos — he had in Sparta 18,000 men when Rome declared war on him; and when Flamininus,

the conqueror of Macedonia, attacked Sparta with 50,000 men, they beat him off. One can see that they must have fought for some sort of an idea, anyhow. Certainly Nabis lost his nerve and accepted Flamininus' terms next day ; but though he lost Argos and the coast, Flamininus made no attempt to alter anything in Sparta itself, or restore the exiles. When Nabis was assassinated by the Aetolians, the people rose and avenged him; and when the chaos after his death ended in Philopoemen joining Sparta to the Achaean League, recalling the exiles, and brutally abolishing the peculiar Spartan training and institutions, 30ooof Nabis' new citizens refused to go to Achaea with Philopoemen and preferred to take the consequences; Philopoemen sold them as slaves. So the revolution at Sparta finally ended as Polybius says that revolutions in Greece always did end, in the ruin of the community that made them. But that it did so end was due entirely to Cleomenes' ambition and to foreign enemies.

APPENDIX

Notes on the Lewis Collection
Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

The following are the most prominent objects in the Collection :

(i) A collection of 369 engraved gems, cameos and antique rlngs\ The following are of special interest :

A 5, A 6 (Aphrodite), A 10 (Eros), A 16 (Apollo), A 22 (Athene), A 26 (Italic warrior consulting the oracle of the woodpecker god PIcus), A 36 (young athlete ; copy of a Polykleltan statue?), A 48 (the Good Shepherd), B 46 (Nike of Samo-thrace?), B 78 (portrait head of a Lady of the Antonlne period), B 79 (Nero and Poppaea), B 80 (Hadrian), B 107 (chariot race), B 109-10 (Antloch of Eutychldes), C 17 (Gnostic amulet; Abraxas and the Khnoubis serpent), E i (a very early Crucifixion), G i (chalcedony phalera or boss from a Roman officer's breastplate).

(2) A bronze statuette of a girl, found at Grosseto in Etruria, but probably of Ionian Greek workman-ship. This is an archaic original, remarkable alike for excellence of workmanship and preservation, of the same class as the marble korai of the Acropolis of Athens, c. 500 b.c.

^ See J. H. Middleton, The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings ^ with an introductory essay on Ancient Gems (Cambridge University Press, 1892).

(3) A mirror from Praeneste with incised decoration and early Latin inscriptions, the in-terpretation of which is uncertain owing to the abbreviations used.

(4) An archaic bronze figure of a youth originally forming the handle of a libation saucer (phiale).

(5) Bronze figures of Isis and Sarapis as human headed cobras with tails intertwined. Probably from Cyzicus. Formerly in the Nordtmann Col-

lection, Constantinople, and frequently published.

(6) Silver-gilt figure of a goddess combining the attributes of Isis, Tyche ("Good Luck"), Nemesis ("Poetic Justice"), the Sun and Moon, and various other divinities, forming a compendium of popular religion, third century a.d.

(7) Corinthian mirror case with repouss6 relief, Dionysus, Eros and girl playing the lyre, fourth century b.c.

(8) A collection of objects illustrating ancient domestic life, etc.; weights, standard coins, domestic utensils, articles of the toilet, etc., among them a large series of lamps, Greek, Roman and early Christian, showing the evolution of the terracotta lamp from the fifth century b.c. to the fifth century A.D. Note the specimens of early imperial date with representations of gladiators, a chariot race, an animal trainer, "Tityrus" (so inscribed) from Virgil's first Eclogue, with his sheep and goats, and various mythological subjects.

(9) A splendid Attic red-figured kylix of the time of the Persian wars (480 b.c.) with symposium scenes inside and out. Probably by the same

painter as the famous kylix in Berlin, with representations of a bronze statue caster's workshop (foundry). Formerly in the Lecuyer Collection.

(10) A kotyle of the same date with a goddess running off with a youth from a musical party; probably Eos and Tithonus are intended, but elsewhere Eos is nearly always shown as winged. This and the last-mentioned vase are specially remarkable for their perfect preservation.

(11) A late red-figured stemless kylix (late fifth century), with a unique representation of the severed head of Orpheus giving vent to oracular utterances, which are taken down by a youth with stilus and tablets, under the inspiration of Apollo. Formerly in the Barone Collection at Naples and frequently published, e.g. in Miss Harrison's Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion.

(12) A large amphora {c. 450 B.C.); Ajax dragging away Cassandra from the statue of Athene, while Athene herself appears to intervene, a most unusual feature in representations of the subject. Formerly in the Barre Collection, Paris.

(13) A black-figured "Panathenaic Amphora," given to a victorious pankratiast in the games at Athens (early fifth century b.c).

(14) A primitive multiple vase ("kerchnos") from Melos, probably intended for first-fruit offerings, each compartment holding a sample of a different produce.

(15) A blue fafence jug bearing the name of King Ptolemy Philopator (222-205 ^-^0 • this class of ware was made specially for use in temples

dedicated to deified members of the royal family of the Ptolemies.

(i6) A terracotta statuette of Aphrodite holding a bronze mirror, one of the most beautiful ancient terracottas known. From Myrina, Asia Minor.

(17) A type series of 344 Greek coins, selected from the main collection ; note especially the gold stater of King Croesus (i), the electrum tetradrachms of Cyzicus (5-7), the gold staters of Phihp of Macedonia (20-24), and Alexander the Great (25-27), and the fine series of late Attic tetradrachms with magistrates' names (89-94). (The remaining Greek coins can be seen on application to the Curator.)

(18) 296 selected Roman coins; note especially the splendid series of imperial gold and "first bronze," most of them in the most perfect condition. The following reverses are of special interest: 107 (Vespasian: temple of Vesta), 113 (Trajan: arch of Trajan), 224 (Caligula: sacrifice before the temple of "divine Augustus"), 227 (Claudius : "Spes," an archaic figure resembling the Grosseto statuette), 236 (Nero : the harbour at Ostia), 247 (Titus: the Colosseum), 258 (Trajan: the temple in the forum of Trajan), 267 (Hadrian : the earliest representation of Britannia,

cf. 279–80, two medallions of Commodus), 283 (Severus sacrificing to Hercules at the secular games).

Several of the above are of special value as aids to the restoration of the buildings of ancient Rome.

(19) A selection of Jewish coins including the

silver shekels and half-shekels probably struck by the Jews during the great rebellion of 66–70 a.d.; the shekel dated "year 5" (70 a.d.) was the first of its date to be discovered and has been many times published.

(20) A selection of English and French gold coins and English silver from the time of the ancient Gauls and Britons to Queen Victoria.

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SUMERIAN MERCHANTS AND THE PROBLEM OF PROFIT

By MARVIN A. POWELL

The theory that the Sumerian economy was controlled by the state or temple has until recently been a premise generally accepted by those who have attempted to deal with economic activity in the third millennium B.C.[1] This theory has necessarily had a profound effect upon the interpretation of the role of the merchant in this period of Mesopotamian history. Since our evidence is by no means sufficient to reconstruct merchant activity in detail, our view of this aspect of Mesopotamian economic life is decisively conditioned by our theory of the total economy. For this reason, I have sketched out in what follows the theoretical basis which underlies the position taken in the present paper, as well as my understanding of the theoretical position to which it stands opposed.[2]

During the 1920's, Anton Deimel reconstructed, on the basis of surviving tablets available to him, the basic structure of the archive of Bau in Girsu during the administrations of Lugalanda and Uru'inimgina (UruKAgina). Operating with the evidence assembled by Deimel, and taking his rather tentative deductions to what seemed at the time to be the logical conclusion, Anna Schneider and others arrived at a view of Sumerian society in which the temple functioned as the heart and brain of the whole. In the context of such a view, which for many years has affected both Assyriological and popular literature on the subject, the merchant can hardly be interpreted otherwise than as an employee of that central controlling agency. Thus, the economy of the third millennium tended to be categorized under such rubrics as " theocracy " and " statism ". The economy of this era was contrasted with the " capitalism " of the Old Babylonian period, and the differences between the economy reflected in the documents of the two eras were often assigned to the influx of new Semitic peoples, a classic case of explaining unknowns by another unknown or, perhaps, of the uncritical generalization of some specific Semitic stereotype such as the Carthaginian in Plautus' *Poenulus*.

Within a decade of the appearance of Anna Schneider's formulation of Deimel's data, Th. Jacobsen and I. M. Diakonoff independently remarked that this model of

[1] This paper is written as a general formulation of economic facts as they pertain to the motives underlying merchant activity. Documentation has been kept to a minimum, both to save space and because the specialist capable of dealing with the documents will not need it anyway. However, in fairness to my readers and to other scholars whose unpublished manuscripts I have read, I should state that part of the theories offered here owes its stimulus to papers by Tom B. Jones (*Jacobsen Festschrift*), Gordon Young and Richard Nelson (*Jones Festschrift*), Daniel Snell's dissertation " Ledgers and Prices: Ur III Silver Balanced Accounts " (Yale Univ., 1975), and Nels Førde's revised monograph " The Sumerian Merchants of the Ur III Dynasty " (dated 1975). I am indebted to my Northern Illinois University colleagues, Thomas Blomquist and George Spencer, for discussing with me the problems of merchants in medieval Europe and India respectively, and finally, without implying in any way that they agree with my point of view, for discussing these and related matters with me: to I. M. Diakonoff, Claus Wilcke, and Hartmut Waetzoldt.

[2] Full documentation for these theories will be found in my paper " Götter, Könige und ' Kapitalisten ' in Mesopotamien des 3. Jahrtausends v.u.Z." (*Oikumene*, Budapest, *c.* 1977).

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Sumerian state and society did not accord with the evidence from Sumerian and Akkadian literature. Jacobsen's paper, " Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia ", published in 1943, was the first systematic presentation of the literary evidence. Diakonoff, and later on I. J. Gelb, elaborated on these criticisms, drawing on other types of written records. From these criticisms has emerged a school of thought which stands in opposition to the older theory of temple or state economy. Fundamental to this school of thought is the assumption that an economically significant portion of the economy was not under the control of the temple or state. How this portion of the economy is denominated is unimportant. One may assume that it corresponded in a general way to what we call " private property ", subject as always to the social rules governing the use of such property.

This view of Mesopotamian economy in the third millennium requires a reappraisal of the role of the merchant in the economy, as well as of the motives underlying his economic activity. The basic premise underlying the conception of the merchant presented here is that the merchant operated *primarily* on the basis of profit and loss and that the state or temple *never* undertook systematically to underwrite his losses. The evidence for this, like the evidence for everything else in the third millennium is disparate, uneven, and indirect, but, on the whole, it is far more compelling than the evidence which can be brought forward to support the view that profit was not an important motive in merchant activity. At the same time, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that " important motive " does not imply " sole motive ", because we are often unable to determine the motives in contemporary economic activity, not to speak of ancient or medieval times.

What evidence is there, then, that Sumerian moral values fostered or even tolerated merchant activity arising from the profit motive? The evidence from Sumerian literature is ambiguous in the sense that a statement to the effect that " the business of the merchant is to make money " is nowhere to be found. A large portion of Sumerian literature is concerned with cultic affairs, and in literature of this type one will search in vain in most literatures of the world for direct evidence of economic activity. All that can be said is that Sumerian literature of this type is neutral in its implications. However, when one turns to other surviving genres one senses something akin to the economic motive under discussion. The literature of disputation lays great weight on the value of competition itself. Shepherd and Farmer, Summer and Winter, Bird and Fish, Tree and Reed, and others sing their own praises with a zest and confidence born of the love for contending, and this same spirit pervades the legendary-epic literature as well. It is true, of course, that anthropological research has discovered societies in which the spirit of competition exists without the profit motive, but the truth of the matter is that none of these anthropological models is particularly illuminating when applied to our problem, because ancient Mesopotamia constitutes a distinct paradigmatic model whose only close relative is ancient Egypt.

Nevertheless, let it be granted that the existence of a predilection for competition is insufficient to prove the existence of a profit motive. However, if one reads through the Sumerian proverb literature, one is struck by two salient facts: (1) how little it reflects the temple and state bureaucracies known from the ubiquitous administrative documents of the late third millennium; (2) the social values expressed therein clash

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with the assumption of a centrally organized economy in which each member of society, including the merchant, was essentially an employee of the central controlling authority. Even this is indirect evidence, but anyone who would deny to the Sumerians the blessed vice of venality will have to come to grips with the few proverbs that do mention merchants directly and which do seem to imply that the merchant's business was to make money. I am thinking particularly of the following two: dam-gàr-ra kug ta ba-an-ir, ù še ta ba-an-ir (precise meaning unclear) and uru^{ki} nam-bi nu-tar-re šassuk (šağ.TÙN)-bi dam-gàr-ra (a city whose fate is not to be decided: its registrar of deeds is a merchant).[3]

Turning now to the evidence of the archival records, which exceed in quantity all other types of written material deriving from the third millennium, one must bear in mind two fundamental points: (1) The overwhelming majority of all third-millennium records derive from the archives of great estates associated with the temple or central government. (2) Accounting on these estates is done purely from the standpoint of the estate itself. They are internal records which concern themselves with what takes place outside only insofar as it directly concerns the expenditure and income of the estate itself. Thus, the private profit or loss of persons doing business with the estate or even employed by it will be reflected in the archival records only when this profit or loss directly affects the income or expenditures of the accounting unit.

The bulk of documents of this type comes from various archives of the Ur III period. In fact, they are so numerous that one could almost be led to believe that nothing existed beyond the bureaucracy itself, until one reflects that it is the nature of bureaucracies to produce records and that contemporary bureaucracies the world over are still industriously engaged in essentially the same process that occupied Sumero-Akkadian bureaucrats some 4,000 years ago. One must constantly keep in mind that the essential life functions of those societies continue on, sometimes with the help of, not infrequently in spite of, and usually quite peripheral to the bureaucracy itself.

The group of documents which most clearly reflects merchant activity are the Ur III balanced accounts. The characteristic features of these accounts are well-known. They are divided into three basic sections: (1) *assets*, denoted by the phrase sag-NÍG.GA-ra-kam; (2) *expenditures*, which are enclosed by the two expressions šà-bi-ta ... zi-ga-àm, "out of this ... there was expended"; (3) *balance*, denoted by the expression lá-NI. The first and last of these call for brief comment. Without going into the complicated question of the precise reading of NÍG.GA and whether it has an etymological relationship to *makkūru* or *namkūru*, we can say with certainty that it has nothing to do with the verb ğar = *šakānu* and formally analyse the phrase sag-NÍG.GA-ra-kam as sag + NÌG.GA-r + ak + am = *rēš makkūri*, "head of goods" (= liquid capital, approximately) and illustrate the meaning of the phrase by the following diagram derived from the study of metrology.

[3] E. Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs* (1959), 512 f., 1.165 and no. 1.67 (pp. 74, 460, 503).

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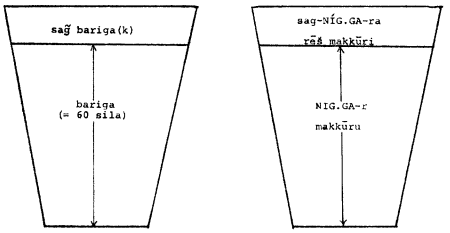

Fig. 1. Origin of the Term sag-NÍG.GA-ra.

Cf., e.g. L. Legrain, *TRU* 374: 12–15: sag ba-rí-ga 2:sila$_3$:ta.

The term lá-NI also derives from metrological usage, just as the term *balance* derives from Latin *bilanx*. The function and reading of NI in lá-NI remains problematic, since the term is attested for Presargonic Girsu in the form lá-a,[4] and the lexical evidence of Proto-Ea and Ea for a reading lá-u$_x$ does not strike me as compelling.[5] This, however, does not affect the interpretation of the term, which can have the meaning of both positive or negative balance. The origin of this usage is illustrated in Fig. 2.

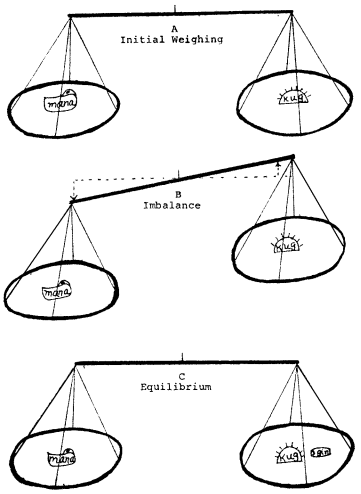

Fig. 2. Origin of the Term lá.

The process shown in A–C is called in Sumerian ki-lá tag. The 3 gin added in C is called lá-a, " that which creates a state of equilibrium ". The actual weight of the silver is called ki-lá and would normally be expressed in writing as 1 ma-na lá 3 gín, an expression also derived from this same process.

[4] References: J. Bauer, *AWL* (1967), 620, s.v. *lal-a*.

[5] I attempted to solve this problem in my dissertation, " Sumerian Numeration and Metrology " (Univ. of Minnesota, 1971; Univ. Microfilms, 1973), 139–149, but the results were inconclusive.

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These two expressions have a bearing on the question of merchant profit. The etymology of sag-NÍG.GA-ra suggested above implies that sag means " that which is over and above the basic *makkūru* ", and a survey of merchant balanced accounts and related documents reveals that there is no ground to suppose that the term denotes anything else but merchant property—whether individually or corporately owned is irrelevant. The balance of these assets after expenditure is termed lá-NI, which is, in almost every case, a positive balance and is carried forward to the next account and entered as *si-ì-tum* (*šītum*) " remainder ". The essential identity of lá-NI and *šītum* is reflected in the following line from NÍG.GA = *makkūru*: nig-kas$_x$ (ŠID)-ka-lá-a = [*ši-it-ta-at*] [*ni-k*]*a-sí*, " the balance of a balanced account (is called) *šittāt nikkassi* ".[6] That this did not belong to the central accounting agency is illustrated by the fact that it could be loaned out as a private loan on interest (*YOS* 4, 37).

There is little, therefore, to suggest that the merchants of the Ur III period were agents of the state. Their precise connection with the state, as well as the benefits they derived from it, are likely to have been of many different kinds and to have varied with circumstance. That merchants appear in texts associated with state messengers or receive food rations is quite insufficient to establish that merchants were individual or corporate dependents of the state. Parallels from medieval Europe and India, as well as the obvious parallels from the present day, suggest that the relationship between merchants and the central government has always been close, but very complicated. For the merchant, the state was an important customer and, at times, a protector. For the state, the merchant was a source of goods which would otherwise be difficult to obtain and sometimes a source of liquid capital.

It is sometimes assumed that the Ur III balanced accounts were composed by the merchants to whom they refer. This, however, is a misconception, for the balanced accounts are purely archival records drawn up by a central accounting agency on the basis of tablets deposited with that agency upon the receipt of goods. These deposited tablets were normally sealed, and to this type of document belong many of the letter-orders of the Ur III period. In the unsealed archival documents, the existence of those orders or sealed receipts is reflected in the phrases dub-bi 1-àm, dub-bi 2-àm, etc., " its (i.e., the account's) tablet is one, its tablets are two, etc." When the archivist balanced the account, the sealed tablets were either destroyed or returned to their depositor. The merchant, no doubt, also kept some kind of private records, but the evidence for private book-keeping is extremely sparse for ancient and medieval times, and Mesopotamia is no exception to that rule. Private records probably had a limited lifetime before they were either destroyed or, in the case of tablets, reused. Thus, our knowledge of the merchant's side of economic activity rests upon what we can read between the lines of documents prepared by the archivists of central accounting agencies and upon the disparate evidence of private documents that have somehow survived and been discovered. A much higher proportion of private documents—but no private records corresponding to the Ur III balanced accounts—has been discovered at Nippur, but whether this is to be

[6] Recension B 32 (*MSL* 13, 115; cf. 113 i 1′ and 97:36 for variants).

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explained as an accident of archaeological discovery or whether one should assume that Nippur was some kind of financial and business emporium remains unclear, and I see no way of resolving the problem at present.

When one turns to the period prior to the Third Dynasty of Ur, the evidence for merchant activity in the documents becomes even more indirect. That there were merchants operating all the way back into the early third millennium is to be inferred from mention of them in archival documents (ŠAB.GAL in Uruk III and dam-gara$_x$ [GÀR] from the Fara period onward). Merchants occur in the Presargonic archive from Girsu, frequently in the capacity of traders with foreign states, but there is little to be learned about their motives from the texts in which they occur. The most suggestive evidence in this respect comes from archival texts relating to animal husbandry [7] and fishing.[8]

The basic economic principle reflected in the cattle and fish texts is the profit motive. This was observed by A. Deimel, although he did not state it in this way.[9] The temple relieved itself of the financial responsibility of maintaining hired or slave labour in these industries by the use of capital loans against a fixed rate of return. In the case of the fisheries, fishing rights seem to have been vested in the temple or state, which let them out against a specific quota of fish. In the case of cattle, the herder was also responsible for returning to the owner a fixed percentage of the herd. He himself was concerned to keep the increase as high as possible, because his profit consisted of those animals that exceeded the fixed percentage owed to the capitalist. This system seems to have been employed wherever feasible, even extending to land in the form of rents, but it is only in the records relating to fishing and cattle raising that the documents clearly reflect the debits and credits of individuals who dealt with the temple and thus allow us to infer the profit motive underlying these relationships. That this was not an exceptional practice in the third millennium is revealed by a group of documents from Umma [10] dating to the Sargonic period which also deal with cattle and which presuppose essentially the same economic structure found at Girsu. A superficial survey of Ur III cattle texts indicates that the same is true of that period also. These documents constitute the third-millennium ancestors of the herding contracts from the Old Babylonian period and provide an important piece of evidence demonstrating the continuity of economic institutions from the third millennium into the Old Babylonian period.

It is this important feature of cultural continuity to which I wish to draw attention in concluding. A. L. Oppenheim remarked [11] that Mesopotamia stands out among the societies of the Ancient Near East in its open acceptance of the economic principle of capital loans for interest. It is now apparent that this type of loan was not an invention of the Old Babylonian period but was already well-known in Presargonic Girsu.[12] This is illustrated not only by documents recording loans with interest but also by the fact that both Enmetena and Uru'inimgina were forced to undertake

[7] Cf. *Orientalia* 20 (1926), 1 ff.; 21 (1926), 1 ff.; 26 (1927), 1 ff.

[8] Cf. *Orientalia* 21 (1926), 40 ff.

[9] *An Or* 2 (1931), 92.

[10] *MAD* 4 (1970), nos. 19 f., 20, 24, 27–30, 34, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 52 f., 55 f., 58 f., 61, 63, 75 f., 79, 82 f. 84, 87–89, 92–96, 98–100, 102, 106 f., 109, 111, 113 f., 116, 118 f., 122 f., 127 f., 133, 135, 137–139, 141, 146–148, 156, 159.

[11] *Ancient Mesopotamia* (1964), 88 f.

[12] Cf. M. A. Powell, *ZA* 63 (1973), 102 f.; and esp. J. Bauer, *JESHO* 18 (1975), 189 ff.

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political measures to rectify social inequities arising from economic processes. These pieces of evidence bear witness to a type of economic structure that corresponds more closely to a model of market economy than to a model which posits some kind of central redistributive agency such as the temple or state. Moreover, the evidence shows third millennium state executives functioning in much the same regulative activities as their Old Babylonian counterparts. This is not to suggest that market economy dominated third or second millennium Mesopotamian economic processes, but there is sufficient reason to believe that it was a significant factor in the total economic picture. Thus, the distinctions between third and second millennium economic activity cannot have been as great as sometimes supposed, and the differences which appear in the Ur III account documents, on the one hand, and in the merchant documents from Karum Kaneš, on the other, do not reflect basically different economic systems but two sides of what is basically the same system.

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Julia Ustinova

THE *Thiasoi* OF THEOS HYPSISTOS IN TANAIS

In 1918 M. I. Rostovtzeff wrote that the main feature which characterized the style of life of Panticapaeum and other Greek cities of the northern Black Sea littoral in the Imperial period was the most potent, hitherto unseen, iranization of political, religious, and cultural life.[1] This idea is unanimously shared by the modern scholars, who prefer however to employ the term "sarmatization" of Bosporus.

Indeed, the religious situation in the Bosporan kingdom may be considered relatively stable up to the beginning of the first century, when it changed radically.[2] This change was due to important ethnic and political movements, which resulted in the Bosporus's dependence on Rome and the growing flow of Sarmatians, along with the natives of neighboring Black Sea regions, to the Bosporan cities.

Sarmatian migration is reflected in the archaeological record.[3] New ethnic elements appeared in the population of Korokondama, Hermonassa, Phanagoria, Kepoi, and other Bosporan cities. But the greatest influx of Sarmatians is obvious in Tanais, evidence being not only archaeological but also onomastic.[4] According to D. B. Shelov, among the names known in Tanais, 55.3 percent are the Greek ones, 4 percent the Roman, and 40.8 percent the barbarian, while among the latter, 80 percent are of Iranian origin.[5]

[1] M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Ellinstvo i iranstvo na juge Rossii* (Petrograd, 1918), p. 168.

[2] All the dates are A.D., unless indicated otherwise.

[3] V. I. Kostenko, *Sarmatskije pamjatniki Dnepro-Donskogo mezhdurech'ja III v. do n.e.-ser. III v. n.e.* (Dnepropetrovsk, 1983), pp. 80–81; D. B. Shelov, *Tanais i Nizhnij Don v pervyje veka nashej ery* (Moscow, 1972), p. 238.

[4] Shelov, pp. 232–40.

[5] Ibid., p. 244.

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With the transition from the second to the third centuries, the relative quantity of the Greek and Roman names decreases and that of the Iranian ones grows.[6] On the whole, Tanais stands by itself even among the Bosporan cities of the beginning of the common era, which are distinguished by the considerable role of non-Greeks in their life. Materials of the Tanais's city site and necropolis show the permanently growing importance of the Sarmatian part of the population, and a number of peculiarities proper only to Tanais and never occurring elsewhere.[7]

As to the religious concepts of the inhabitants of Tanais, evidence of the steadiness of Sarmatian beliefs and traditions is rather rich: weapons stuck into the graves of the necropolis,[8] burial constructions in the shape of circular stone fences,[9] horse harnesses in ground graves and horse burials in barrows,[10] pieces of chalk and paint in graves—the two latter features generally related to solar and fire cults of the Iranians.[11] Fire was the sacred element of the ancient Iranians, abundant finds of portable incense-burners being indicative of the existence of the fire cult.[12]

Not a single temple or shrine of a Greek god or hero has yet been found on a comparatively well-investigated city site. Terracottas are extremely rare;[13] of all the preserved inscriptions only three mention names of Greek gods.[14] There is also no data on penetration of Oriental cults in Tanais from its founding to the beginning of the common era.

Thus, hellenization of Tanais was highly superficial. Besides, its degree diminished with the transition from the first to the second and third centuries. It is only together with the named ethnocultural process in Tanais and in the Bosporan kingdom as a whole that one is to consider the cult of Theos Hypsistos.

[6] Ibid., pp. 247–48.

[7] For example, ibid., p. 249.

[8] T. N. Knipovitch, *Tanais* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1949), p. 112.

[9] Shelov, p. 233.

[10] L. M. Kazakova and I. S. Kamenetzki, "Okhrannyje raskopki nekropolja Tanaisa v 1968 godu," in *Arkheologicheskije pamjatniki Nizhnego Podon'ja* (Moscow, 1974), 2:144.

[11] K. F. Smirnov, *Savromaty* (Moscow, 1964), pp. 94, 251 ff., and "Sarmaty-ognepoklonniki," in *Arkheologija Severnoj i Tzentral'noj Azii* (Novosibirsk, 1975), p. 156. On the connection between the horse and solar beliefs, see, e.g., E. E. Kuz'mina, "Kon' v religii i iskusstve sakov i skifov," in *Skify i sarmaty* (Kiev, 1977).

[12] T. M. Arsen'jeva, "Lepnaja keramika iz Tanaisa," in *Drevnosti Nizhnego Dona* (Moscow, 1965), 1:186–88.

[13] Shelov (n. 3 above), p. 291.

[14] V. V. Struve et al., eds., *Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani* (hereafter CIRB) (Moscow and Leningrad, 1965), nos. 1237, 1238, 1307. Future references to this will appear in the text. Knipovitsh (p. 114) noted that two of these dedications are by royal legates, i.e., non-Tanaits. M. I. Rostovtzeff considered Zeus, Ares, and Aphrodite of CIRB 1237 corresponding to the Iranian divine triad ("Predstavlenija o monarkhicheskoj vlasti v Skifii i na Bospore," *Izvestija Imperatorskoj Arkheologicheskoj Komissii* 49 [1913]: 29).

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Inscriptions of the *thiasoi* of Theos Hypsistos are (with one exception; see below, p. 155) lists of *thiasitai* headed by their officials. All of them are dated, begin with the invocation *Agathe tyche,* and many are decorated with the images of eagles. The majority of documents have βασιλεύοντος βασιλέως τοῦ δεῖνος τοῦ δεῖνος φιλοκαίσαρος καί φιλορωμαίου as a preamble. Rostovtzeff noted that "the *tenor* of all the inscriptions allows one to suppose that the *thiasoi* were official religious associations, or in any case were recognized by the state."[15]

Four forms of designation of the associations may be found in the preserved inscriptions:

1. ἡ σύνοδος ἡ περὶ θεὸν ὕψιστον καὶ ἱερέα . . . καὶ . . . ;
2. ἡ σύνοδος ἡ περὶ ἱερέα . . . καὶ . . . ;
3. εἰσποιητοὶ ἀδελφοὶ σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὕψιστον περὶ πρεσβύτερον; and
4. θίη[σος] ἀδελφ[ῶν τῶν περὶ ἱερέα] (CIRB, no. 1284; θίησος is reconstructed, but the list of officials characteristic of the *thiasoi* of Theos Hypsistos is preserved).

An idea has been put forward that *synodoi* named in the first and the second ways and the ones named in the third way represent different types of associations because they were called differently and had different magistrates.[16] But in CIRB, no. 1284 (form 4), the word ἀδελφοί is combined with the features, which are proper to the inscriptions of the first two groups, and the "brothers" are named [συν]οδεῖται in lines 13–14. The worshiped deity being one and the same in all the associations, it seems reasonable to consider all the corporations belonging to the same institution. S. A. Zhebelev compared the Tanais inscriptions with the Athenian sacred law of *Iobachoi.*[17] In the association of *Iobachoi* members ἀπὸ πατρός and μὴ ἀπὸ πατρός did not enjoy equal rights. Since the word εἰσποιητός has the meaning "foster" (e.g., Is 3:46, 3:50, 6:36, 9:9), Zhebelev suggested considering the εἰσποιητοὶ ἀδελφοί members μὴ ἀπὸ πατρός and not the members recently admitted to the association, as a number of scholars supposed.[18]

[15] M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Antichnaja dekorativnaja zhivopis' na juge Rossii* (St. Petersburg, 1914), 1:432.

[16] Shelov, p. 275.

[17] W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum,* 3d ed. (hereafter Syll[3]), 3 vols. (Lipsiae, 1915–24), 1109. Future references will appear in text. S. A. Zhebelev, "Tanaitskije brat'ja-prijomyshi," *Izvestija Gosudarstvennoj Akademii Istorii Material'noj Kul'tury,* vol. 104 (1940).

[18] V. V. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Orae Sertentrionalis Ponti Euxini* (hereafter IOSPE), 4 vols. (Petropoli, 1890–1916), vol. 2 commentary to no. 247; F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig, 1909), p. 284; E. Schürer, "Die Juden in Bosporanischen Reiche und die Genossenschaften der σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὕψιστον ebendaselbst," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1 (1897): 207.

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The foster brothers were distinguished from the other members of the association; however, the latter also called themselves "brothers."[19] Μὴ ἀπὸ πατρός status was obviously lifelong as persons known as adopted brothers are also found in the *thiasitai* lists.

Εἰσποιητοὶ ἀδελφοί were headed by one or several (CIRB, nos. 1286, 1283) *presbeutai,* whose functions are unclear.

The hierarchy of magistrates in these *collegia* was rather complex. *Hiereus* is always mentioned first; in some inscriptions next goes *pater* (CIRB, nos. 1263, 1277, 1282, 1283).[20] What *pater synodou* was busy with, is not clear.

There was *synagogos* in every association. Hesychios defined *synagogos* as συνέστιος, ὁμοτράπεζος (s.v. "συναγωγός"), so one may suppose that he organized common meals. *Synagogos* could also have been the manager of finances and property of a *thiasos.*

Posts of *philagathos* and *paraphilagathos* aroused a lot of contradictory conjectures. I. V. Pomjalovski thought them to deal with common feasts, but his examples from Asia Minor are hardly convincing.[21] According to N. I. Novosadski, *philagathos* supervised the *thiasitai*'s morals and exercised control over admission of new members. The importance of these functions explains the existence of *philagathos*'s assistant.[22]

A. Salač suggested that conduct of *thiasitai* was under surveillance of *synagogos.* Pointing out the Jewish influence upon the cult of Theos Hypsistos and claiming a noncollective nature of the magistratures of *philagathos* and *paraphilagathos* in the Hellenic world, he wrote: "In the Jewish communities of Palestine and diaspora there were . . . officials called gabbâ'ê ṣ^{e}dâḳâ. The word ṣ^{e}dâḳâ means justice and charity dues. It was established that these dues were to be raised only by two officials. The nature of this post is distinctively collective, as in the

[19] Compare the Panticapaeum tombstone, erected by συνοδεῖται in honor of τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφόν (CIRB, no. 104). The custom of calling members of collegia "brothers" was widely spread in the Imperial period (cf. A. D. Nock, "The Historical Importance of Cult Associations," *Classical Review* 38 [1924]: 105–6).

[20] Examples of the presence of *pater* in cult associations are listed in Nock's article (p. 105). A comparison with *pater* of the Mithraic mysteries inevitably comes to mind, but in this case extreme caution is necessary, for *pater* of the Mithraists held the first and not the second place in the hierarchy. The Tanais associations seem to be related to the Mithraic ones only through their common Iranian precursors. N. I. Novosadski, in terms of his conception, compared *pateres* in Tanais with *pater* of the Christian community ("Bosporskije fiasy," *Trudy Sektzii Arkheologii Rossijskoj Assotziatzii Nauchno-issledovatel'skikh Institutov Obshchestvennykh Nauk* 3 [1928]: 64).

[21] I. V. Pomjalovski, "O tanaitskikh kollegijakh," in *Trudy VI Arkheologicheskogo sjezda* (Odessa, 1888), p. 27.

[22] Novosadski, p. 65; cf. Knipovitch (n. 8 above), p. 112; V. F. Gajdukevitch, *Bosporskoje Tzarstvo* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1949), p. 435.

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case of *philagathos* and *paraphilagathos*."[23]

Thiasoi could have had some philanthropic purposes; in some inscriptions from Gorgippia, where the Jewish influence was appreciable, as manumissions demonstrate, even *orphanophylax* is mentioned (CIRB, nos. 1129, 1130). But *philagathos* appears in a dedication to Zeus and Hera Soteres as well (CIRB, no. 76); this post can be found in gentile associations of Asia Minor.[24] Be it not very often, one may encounter both charity[25] and supervision over the morals of the members[26] in the private cult associations on the eve of the common era.

Posts of *gymnasiarchos* and *neaniskarchos* are unanimously related to the ephebic activities. But both Greek *palestra* and *gymnasium* disappear from the life of the Bosporan kingdom just by the beginning of the common era. In graves, *palestrites*' ware is replaced with weapons.[27] No traces of *gymnasium* have been found in semi-Sarmatic Tanais. Besides, *gymnasiarchoi* are rarely listed among the members of private cult associations. J. Oehler cites only six examples, all but Tanais, and they always belong to associations of noncitizens, who were not admitted to the city *gymnasia*.[28] Arising contradiction may be obviated if one supposes that the terms *gymnasiarchos* and *neaniskarchos* were used to designate some other functions.

Below we return to the structure of the associations. For the present, two features of the Tanais *thiasoi* are to be stressed: first, not a single inscription mentions a female name; second, all or nearly all the free males of Tanais seem to have belonged to the *thiasoi*. Three hundred *thiasitai* who lived between A.D. 225 and 300, that is, in the most completely documented five years, are known by name. The total number of inhabitants of Tanais being then 1,500–2,000 (to judge by the size of the city site), the number of adult males could not exceed 250–300.[29] There is no ground to doubt that the situation was the same before or later.

[23] A. Salač, "Pri ust'je Tikhogo Dona," in *Prazska universita moskovska université: Sbornik k vyroci, 1755–1955* (Praha, 1955), p. 218.

[24] Pomjalovski, p. 27. One may note the adverb φιλαγάθως: τῷ τε Σαρ]άπει λαχῶν ἱερεύς . . . τοῖς δαπ[ανήμασιν ἀνεστράφ]η καλῶς καὶ φιλαγάθως (G. Michailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae,* 2d ed. [hereafter IG Bulg] [Serdicae, 1970], vol. 1, no. 13. Here it may be interpreted as pertinent to fair distribution of money, as well as characterizing piety and generosity of the honored person.

[25] W. S. Ferguson, "The Attic Orgenes," *Harvard Theological Review* 37, no. 2 (1944): 139.

[26] For example, Syll[3], no. 985; cf. S. C. Barton and G. H. R. Horsley, "A Hellenistic Cult Group and the New Testament Churches," *Jahrbüch für Antike und Christentum* 24 (1981): 19–21.

[27] Rostovtzeff, *Ellinstvo i iranstvo na juge Rossii* (n. 1 above), p. 174.

[28] J. Oehler, "Gymnasiarchos," in A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll, *Realencyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (hereafter P.-W. R.E.) (Stuttgart, 1894–), 7:2003–4.

[29] Calculations of Shelov (n. 3 above), pp. 277–78.

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Lists of citizens that were used for examining the ethnic composition of the Tanais population are basically the lists of *thiasitai,* so the drawn conclusions may be applied to these associations.

The *synodoi* of Panticapaeum, which had the same officials as the *thiasoi* of Tanais, used to erect stelae commemorating their deceased members. A lot of stelae are decorated with the images of warriors, be they mounted or not.[30] The composition of *synodoi* is exclusively male. V. V. Shkorpil and Rostovtzeff considered them connected with the military organization of citizens.[31]

One inscription of Tanais *thiasoi* (CIRB, no. 1259) differs substantially from all the rest.[32] It is dated 11 Apelaeus 401 (Bosporan era; A.D. 104) and is dedicated to the celebration of the "Day of Tanais" by a group of ἱερεύς, συναγωγός, φιλαγαθός, παραφιλαγαθός καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν θιασειτῶν. The deity is not named. The slab (fig. 1) is decorated with a relief representing a horseman mounted on a standing horse, which is turned to the right. An altar is blazing before the cavalier, and behind the altar one can see a tree. The cavalier has long hair and a beard; he is dressed in trousers, a coat, and a cloak and holds a rhyton with his right hand. As the god is not named, T. N. Knipovitch was inclined to consider him the river god Tanais and the association *Festverein,* organized for the celebration of one festival.[33]

Shelov, following A. I. Boltunova, points out, that in this inscription the list of officials is followed with the words καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν θιασειτῶν, while normally the formula καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ θιασεῖται is used.[34] It may mean that the Day of Tanais was celebrated not by all the members of *thiasoi* but by some part of them and that the *thiasos* was founded not

[30] The outstanding *thiasitai* could be decorated with a gold crown. A gold plate with an inscription τὸ κοινὸν τῶν θιασωτῶν στεφάνουσι Ἰούλιον Καλλισθένην παραφιλαγαθὸν δὶα βίου τειμῆς χαρίν was found in Panticapaeum (V. V. Shkorpil, "Bosporskije nadpisi, naidennyje v 1907 godu," *Izvestija Imperatorskoj Arkheologicheskoj komissii* 27 [1908]: 43). On this custom in private cult associations, see E. Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen* (Leipzig, 1896), p. 174.

[31] Shkorpil, "Bosporskije nadpisi, naidennyje v 1907 godu," pp. 43–44. M. I. Rostovtzeff, "Gosudarstvo i kul'tura Bosporskogo tzarstva," *Vestnik Brevnej Istorii* 3 (1989): 201.

[32] First published in 1949 by Knipovitch (n. 8 above) and then very much discussed, but still entirely ignored by some scholars, such as B. Nadel ("K voprosu o kul'te bezymjannogo 'vsevyshnego' boga v Tanaise," *Listy filologické,* vol. 89, no. 1 [1966]), E. R. Goodenough ("The Bosporos Inscription to the Most High God," *Jewish Quarterly Review,* vol. 47 [1956/57]); and I. A. Levinskaja ("Epigraficheskije pamjatniki kul'ta Theos Hypsistos kak istochnik po etnokul'turnoi istorii Bospora v I–IV vv. n.e.," abstracts of the dissertation [Leningrad, 1988], and "Kul't θεὸς ὕψιστος na Bospore: K voprosu o vlijanii kul'ta Sabazija," in *Problemy antichnogo istochnikovedenija* [Moscow and Leningrad, 1986]).

[33] Knipovitch, p. 118.

[34] Shelov, p. 274.

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FIG. 1.—From G. A. Kochelenko et al., eds., *Antichnyje gosudarstva Severnogo Prichernomorja* (Moscow, 1984), pl. 121.5.

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exclusively for the celebration but had some other purposes, attendance at the celebration being the affair of only a part of *thiasitai*.

Salač also noted that river deities were never depicted as horsemen, and since the list of officials corresponds to that of the *thiasoi* of Theos Hypsistos, the relief is to be considered the image of this very god.[35]

Indeed, it is inconceivable that in Tanais—where all the numerous inscriptions of private cult associations belonged to the *thiasoi* of worshipers of Theos Hypsistos—an official document commemorating the Day of the city could have been issued without an emphatic calling of the god by his proper name. The absence of the god's name or *epiclesis* indicates that everybody knew him. Besides, his image was also present on the slab.

A diadem from a third century royal burial may serve as indirect evidence that Theos Hypsistos was represented as a cavalier. On the plate of this diadem the same scene as on the Tanais stela is depicted: a horseman holding a rhyton before a blazing altar, a tree behind it (fig. 2). The *thiasoi* of Theos Hypsistos were apparently patronized by the royal family, so it is quite natural to find an image of this god on a royal diadem.[36]

Finally, I. A. Levinskaja argues that there were no anthropomorphic images of Theos Hypsistos in the Greco-Roman world.[37] But the dedication to Theos Hypsistos from Lydia is carved on a stela with a relief of a sitting figure.[38] In Thracia, in a shrine of the local Theos Hypsistos, a number of dedications to that god were found together with a relief representing a bust of the god carried by an eagle.[39]

The anonymous deity was designated in the Bosporan kingdom in seven ways: (1) θεὸς ὕψιστος παντοκράτωρ εὐλογήτος, CIRB, nos. 1123, 1125, 1126 (in the Jewish manumissions from Gorgippia). (2) θεὸς ὕψιστος ἐπήκοος, CIRB, nos. 64 (inscription commemorating the erection of προσευχή by a governor of Theodosia), 1260, 1278–80, 1287, 1289 (inscriptions of Tanais *thiasoi*), 1316 (dedication commemorating a rescue). (3) θεὸς ὕψιστος, CIRB, nos. 1231 (list of *thiasitai* from Gorgippia), 1260a, 1261, 1277–86 (inscriptions of Tanais *thiasoi*). (4) θεὸς δίκαιος, CIRB, no. 1176 (Gorgippia, dedication by a vow). (5) θεὸς ἐπήκοος, CIRB, no. 1288 (Tanais, an inscription of a *thiasos*). (6) θεὸς βροντῶν ἐπήκοος, CIRB, no. 942 (inscription on a cult table from

[35] Salač (n. 23 above), pp. 221–22.

[36] See G. Kochelenko and V. Blawatsky, *Le culte de Mithra sur la côte septentrional de la mer Noire* (Leiden, 1966), pp. 8–9, 12–13.

[37] Levinskaja, "Epigraficheskije pamjatniki kul'ta Theos Hypsistos kak istochnik po etnokul'turnoi istortii Bospora," p. 15.

[38] See below, p. 164.

[39] M. Tacheva-Hitova, *Eastern Cults in Moesia Inferior and Dacia* (Leiden, 1983), p. 192, chap. 4, monument no. 3.

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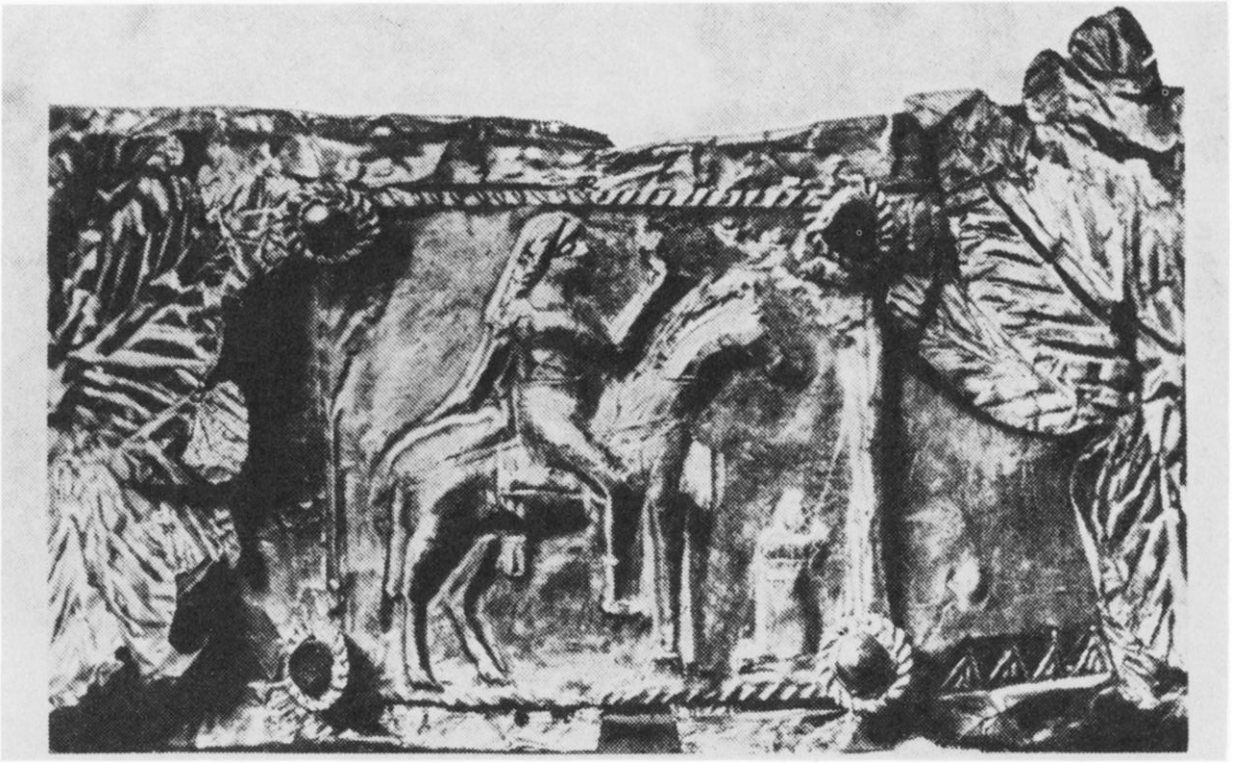

FIG. 2.—From G. A. Kochelenko et al., eds., *Antichnyje gosudarstva Severnogo Prichernomorja* (Moscow, 1984), pl. 115.4.

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Cytaeum). (7) θεός, CIRB, no. 71 (manumission from Panticapaeum, the former slave is liberated under the guardianship of a synagogue).

Who was this anonymous deity, worshiped under similar *epicleseis*? Modern scholars give different answers to that question. The first and the last cases are apparent,[40] but the rest have been discussed for more than a hundred years. Pomjalovski considered the god Zeus (σωτήρ, στράτιος, λαβαδεύς), since the stelae are decorated with the images of eagles.[41] V. V. Latyshev supposed it was Sabazios,[42] basing his opinion on the so-called Pirotos inscription.[43] Later he accepted the opinion of E. Schürer.[44] Rostovtzeff suggested that Theos Hypsistos Sabazios was influenced by the Iranian conception of the solar deity.[45]

In 1897 Schürer tried to ground a hypothesis, according to which the associations of worshipers of Theos Hypsistos in Tanais emerged under the Jewish influence.[46] His arguments may be summed up as follows: the expression σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὕψιστον is nearly *terminus technicus* in the literature of the Imperial period and was used to designate non-Jews who performed some Jewish rites and professed monotheistic religion; there have been Jews in the Bosporan kingdom; and among the names of *thiasitai* the Jewish ones are mentioned seven times: one name two times and another five times. He also compiled a list of applications of the *epiclesis* and demonstrated that, although it was the Judaic god who was named Theos Hypsistos most often, Zeus, Attis, Sabazios, Mithra, and other gods could be called so as well.

According to Schürer, the trend toward monotheism, which was characteristic of the Imperial period, when joined to the Judaic propaganda, led to the emergence of the syncretic cult of Theos Hypsistos. "This cult was neither Judaism nor paganism, but a neutralization of both."[47] This opinion is generally shared.[48]

[40] C. Roberts, T. C. Skeat, and A. D. Nock, "The Gild of Theos Hypsistos," *Harvard Theological Review* 29 (1936): 65; B. Lifchitz, "Le culte du Dieu Très Haut à Gorgippia," *Rivista di Filologia e d'Instruzione classica* 92, no. 2 (1964): 160–61. Only T. V. Blavatskaja ("Gorgippijskaja manumissija," *Sovetskaja Arkheologija* 1 [1958]: 91–96); and M. Tacheva-Hitova ("O kul'te θεὸς ὕψιστος na Bospore," *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 1 [1978]: 136) deny that he is the Judaic god, but their arguments cannot be recognized as valid.

[41] Pomjalovski (n. 21 above).

[42] IOSPE (n. 18 above), vol. 2, no. 246, commentary.

[43] See below, p. 165.

[44] IOSPE, vol. 4, no. 238.

[45] Rostovtzeff, *Antichnaja dekorativnaja zhivopis' na juge Rossii* (n. 15 above), pp. 429–32.

[46] Schürer, "Die Juden in Bosporanischen Reiche" (n. 18 above).

[47] Ibid., p. 225.

[48] F. Cumont, "Ὕψιστος," in P.-W. R.E. (n. 28 above), vol. 9, pt. 1; J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'empire romaine* (Paris, 1914), 1:274; Poland (n. 18 above), p. 179; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* (Cambridge, 1925), 1:888; Lifchitz. In most peremptory form it was recently expressed in the works of Goodenough (n. 32 above); Nadel (n. 32 above); Levinskaja,

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N. I. Novosadski thought Theos Hypsistos to be Greek Zeus approximating the universal omnipotent deity and stressed the common features in the organization of the Bosporan *thiasoi* and the early Christian communities.[49] Knipovitch refused to advance any opinion on this problem, only supposing a possibility of relation between Theos Hypsistos and the local tradition. Her publication of the stela with relief in 1949 had an important impact on the solution of the problem. Salač connected the relief with the image of the Thracian horseman, his representations widely spread in the beginning of the common era, and claimed some traces of influence of the Dionysus-Sabazios cult.[50] A similar point of view was expressed by M. Tacheva-Hitova.[51] Recently it has been proposed that the roots of the Theos Hypsistos cult be sought in the religious concepts of the Iranians, but the authors of this suggestion did not support it with detailed arguments.[52]

At present the idea that Theos Hypsistos was Zeus has already been rejected. Thus, there are three rival tendencies in the modern literature. The adherents of the most widely spread trend consider Theos Hypsistos of the Bosporan inscriptions to be the Judaic god. The second group of scholars recognize the Thracian influence as decisive. Finally, the third direction is to search for the Iranian background in the worship of Theos Hypsistos.

After Schürer, the advocates of his conception have not supported it with new arguments of substantial importance. This conception is based upon the thesis that σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν is *terminus technicus* meaning Judaic *semi-proselytoi* (B. Lifchitz and J. Juster) or *quasi-proselytoi* (I. A. Levinskaja). It has already been noted that, from the point of view of the law, the word *semi-proselytos* is senseless, so L. H. Feldman preferred the term "sympathizer."[53]

This word may be a conventional nomination—but nomination of what? The studies of Feldman and A. T. Kraabel demonstrated that in this case we deal with a steady scientific prejudice, wandering over handbooks, monographs, and articles as a reference to something proved long ago.[54] For decades *semi-proselytoi* were considered to be

"Epigraficheskije pamjatnik; kul'ta Theos Hypsistos kak istochnik po etnokul'turnoi istorii Bospora," and "Kul't θεὸς ὕψιστος na Bospore," p. 67

[49] Novosadski (n. 20 above), p. 63.

[50] Salač (n. 23 above).

[51] Tacheva-Hitova, "O kul'te θεὸς ὕψιστος na Bospore" (n. 40 above).

[52] Shelov (n. 3 above), p. 280; Kochelenko and Blawatsky (n. 36 above), pp. 12–13.

[53] G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), 1:326–27; L. H. Feldman, "Jewish 'Sympathizers' in Classical Literature and Inscriptions," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 81 (1950): 200.

[54] Feldman; A. T. Kraabel, "The Disappearance of 'God-fearers,'" *Numen,* vol. 28, no. 1 (1981).

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pagans uniting in their beliefs some elements of Judaism and Greco-Roman religion, and called σεβόμενοι (φοβούμενοι) τὸν θεόν, θεοσεβεῖς, or *metuentes* in Latin. They attended synagogue, professed monotheism in the biblical sense, observed some requirements of the law, and formed a considerable social group. Hellenistic Judaism could well have succeeded in becoming a world religion if it were not for its nationalistic roots, which were, however, rejected by the Jews of diaspora without pain. A long list of scholars, whose point of view may be summed up as above, is cited in the article by Kraabel.[55]

Feldman and Kraabel doubted the firmness of this theory, verified its basis—and found out that it has been built on sand. The entire construction rests upon ten passages from Acts: 10:2, 10:22, 10:35, 13:16, 13:26, 13:43, 13:50, 16:14, 17:4, and 18:7. θεοσεβεῖς is mentioned only once: Jn 9:31. Other rare occurrences of these expressions in literature and epigraphy are interpreted, proceeding from Acts. But the careful examination of the text by K. Lake revealed that in all the cases (except two) the question is only of "pious" and "revering," without indication whether they are Jews or sympathizers.[56] An important expression, which presents an almost insuperable obstacle for the advocates of the strictly technical sense of the word, is σεβομένων προσηλύτων (Acts 13:43), which certainly cannot mean *semi-proselytoi.*

Metuentes, the supposed equivalent of σεβόμενοι in Latin, is mentioned only once: *metuentes sabbata* (Juvenal, *Satirae* 14:96–99). But this case alone was sufficient for J. Bernays to claim that Greek σεβόμενοι, φοβουμενα, and Latin *metuentes* find corresponding expressions in Hebrew, in the Old Testament, and especially in Psalms.[57] Feldman demonstrated that in Psalms this word is applied to all the worshipers of the God, and apparently to Jews in Ps 135:19–20.[58] Indeed, as Feldman puts it, "fear of God" is sine qua non for either Jews or newcomers, according to the Bible.

As to the epigraphical data, it is evident that both in Latin and Greek inscriptions these expressions were used to designate Jews (a well-known inscription from the Miletus theater)[59] as well as pagans (CIL

[55] To cite only the recent works: M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews of Palestine* (Oxford, 1976), p. 37; M. Hangel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (Philadelphia, 1975), 1:313; K. G. Kuhn and H. Stegemann, "Proselyten," in P.-W. R.E. (Stuttgart, 1962), suppl. 9.

[56] In F. J. Foakes and K. Lake, *The Beginning of Christianity,* pt. 1 (London, 1933), pp. 85–88.

[57] J. Bernays, "Die Gottesfürchtigen bei Juvenal," in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen,* ed. H. Usener (Berlin, 1885), pp. 71–80.

[58] Feldman, p. 202.

[59] Ἰουδαίων τῶν καὶ θεοσεβίων (A. Diessmann, *Licht vom Osten* [Tübingen, 1923], p. 391). Diessmann noted that θεοσεβίων is certainly an epitheton to Jews. Since it is impossible to claim that θεοσέβιοι are non-Jews, as they are called Jews, E. Schürer conjectures καὶ τῶν instead of τῶν καὶ (*Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter*

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6.390—the worshiped deity is Jupiter Optimus Maximus; Syll[3], no. 557—Apollo). One can find in Greek literature τοῖς σεβομένοις τὸν Ἄνουβιν (Plutarchus, *Moralia* 368 F), εἰπέ μοι σεβόμενος Μίθρου φῶς μέγα (Plutarchus, *Vita Alexandri* 30), and μόνον Ἄρη σεβόμενος (Pseudo-Plutarchus, *De fluviis* 14) and in Latin, Pyrrha *metuentior ulla deorum* (Ovidius, *Metamorphosae* 1.323).

One more reason may be added to these arguments. In the preserved works of Philo and Josephus, persons inclined to Judaism are never called σεβόμενοι or φοβούμενοι. Philo calls them *proselytoi* or ὁσίων ἀνθρώπων (*De Specialibus Legibus* 2.12.42), while for Josephus it was οἱ τὰ ἡμέτερα τιμῶντες ἔθη (*Antiquitates Judaicae* 3.8.9.217). It means that neither of them knew the term σεβόμενος. The same applies to the Romans. Tacitus says: "transgressi in morum eorum" (Historiae 5.5). To Roman lawyers the term was also unfamiliar: it is absent in the Roman law.[60]

Feldman concludes that "Bernay's attempt to equate *metuentes, sebomenoi, phoboumenoi* and *Yire'e Adonai* with the sympathizers and thus bring order out of chaos . . . must be therefore abandoned. . . . The resulting chaos would seem to be preferable to an order that is not in accordance with the facts."[61]

But was the Judaic proselytism really as widespread as it is usually considered to be? Recent archaeological investigations have supplied abundant information on the life of the Jewish diaspora, which demanded a reconsideration of many long-standing conceptions based on the Greco-Roman or Christian written sources. Kraabel surveyed materials of excavations of a number of synagogues with the purpose of establishing whether *sebomenoi* constituted a considerable social group and if they were connected with synagogues. He points out that neither σεβόμενοι nor φοβούμενοι are mentioned in synagogue inscriptions, about a hundred of them having been studied, and that in ten of them θεοσεβεῖς appear, but they are indisputable Jews; in these inscriptions there is nothing to suggest a Gentile "penumbria" around the diaspora synagogue communities; and symbolism used in the buildings is directed toward the Jewish community, with no apparent attempt to communicate with persons from outside.[62]

Thus, nothing reveals the presence of Gentiles having joined the Jewish diaspora communities, and there is no hint that these Jews tried to reach their Gentile neighbors with any sort of religious message. It

Jesu Christi, 4th ed. [Leipzig, 1909], 3:174, n. 9), but, as Feldman noted (p. 204, n. 20), this conjecture stays ungrounded. CIL is the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*

[60] Juster, p. 254.

[61] Feldman, p. 208.

[62] Kraabel, p. 117.

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means that it is necessary to reconsider the ancient tradition, Acts first of all. The historicity of some large group of *semi-proselytoi,* which has not been even mentioned in Paul's letters and which is absent from the archaeological data, is questionable in the extreme.[63] The aim of Kraabel was not to prove that Gentiles inclining to Judaism have never existed. He only demonstrated that neither written sources nor the archaeological record support the existing notion of *sebomenoi* as a considerable social group.

Two principal theses are thus of particular importance for the purposes of the present paper: σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὕψιστον is not a strict term and may describe both pagans and Jews, as well as *proselytoi;* and the missionary activity of Jews has been overestimated. The Jews of diaspora lived in the pagan environment for generations, with no attempts being undertaken to find a religious compromise with Gentiles.

We have come to the second link in the chain of arguments of Schürer: Jews lived in the Bosporan kingdom, and there were synagogues in Panticapaeum and Gorgippia.[64] The fact of the Jewish presence by itself does not mean that a lot of inhabitants of Panticapaeum itself and of Tanais were even interested in the new religion, to say nothing of proselytism.[65]

But Panticapaeum and Gorgippia were large ports, centers of cultural interaction. And it is from there that Jewish manumissions come (only Jews had to set their coreligionists free once every seven years). Then why are these manumissions absent from Tanais, where numerous inscriptions of *thiasoi* come from, if these *thiasoi* were virtually formed by Jewish *proselytoi,* as Schürer and the adherents of his theory claim? Why does not even a single hint point to the existence of a synagogue in Tanais? Why has the Jewish community left absolutely no traces? Among the Jewish *proselytoi* in the Roman Empire there were many women; women set their slaves free in Gorgippia (CIRB 1125) and Panticapaeum (CIRB 70), but why is not a single female

[63] Ibid., p. 120.

[64] In the manumission CIRB, no. 1123 the slave is set free ὑπὸ Δία, Γῆ, Ἥλιον, but it does not mean that the religion of these Jews was not orthodox (Juster [n. 48 above], p. 288; Cumont "Ὕψιστος" [n. 48 above], col. 448). A number of scholars (Lifchitz [n. 40 above], p. 159; J. B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum,* 1:690) are convinced that the use of such clauses was a necessary formality that was not considered important by the Jews themselves. Thus, the opinion of Blavatskaja ([n. 40 above], pp. 91–96), who believed the named reason sufficient to claim θεὸς ὕψιστος παντοκράτωρ εὐλογήτος a pagan deity, is absolutely unacceptable.

[65] Inscription CIRB, no. 64 about the construction of προσευχή θεῷ ὑψίστῳ ἐπηκόῳ by Aurelius Valerius Sogos, the governor of Theodosia, is not typical, for in this very inscription it is indicated that the dedicant "has long been absent, has stayed in foreign countries for 16 years and suffered a lot of disasters." The mere originality of this fate may serve as an argument against the idea of mass enthusiasm for Judaism among rank-and-file Bosporans.

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name mentioned among the Tanais *thiasitai*? Scyto-Sarmatic or Greco-Roman traditions do not explain this phenomenon: women played an important role in Sarmatian and Scythian society,[66] and a lot of women belonged to Greco-Roman private cult associations.

Schürer noted that two names of Jewish origin are mentioned in the *thiasoi*-inscriptions: Σαμβατίων (CIRB, nos. 1250, 1278, 1279, 1282, 1179) and Ἀζαρίων (CIRB, nos. 11278, 1287). He believed that they belonged to Jews living in Tanais.[67] As to Azarion, experts in Iranian languages trace its Iranian roots.[68] The name Sambation, according to L. Zgusta, penetrated the northern Black Sea littoral from the common Greco-barbarian onomasticon, which had been formed by that time.[69] It is significant that in all the cases fathers of *thiasitai* with Jewish names bear Greek and Roman names.

The last argument of Schürer and those who follow him is that the anonymous god was called Theos Hypsistos. But the list of Schürer himself, as well as the catalogs of F. Cumont, A. B. Cook, and C. Roberts, T. C. Skeat, and A. D. Nock show that many pagan gods could be named in this way.[70]

The point is that the epiclesis ὕψιστος was widespread in the Imperial period and is not evidence of direct Jewish influence.[71] It could only reflect some refined religious conception and a general tendency toward the anonymous character of the deity.

It must be emphasized that in one and the same region different deities could have been called Theos Hypsistos. For example, in Asia Minor, where the Judaic god was called thus, a dedication θεῷ ὑψίστῳ καὶ ἁγαίᾳ καταφυγῇ was found (Pisidia).[72] Ἁγαία Καταφυγή, mentioned next to Θεὸς Ὕψιστος, is surely the Roman *Sancta Tutela*. Baal in Syria[73] and Baalshamin in Palmyra[74] were also called θεὸς ὕψιστος in Greek transcriptions. A dedication of Imperial period from Lydia reads: Θεῷ ὑψίστῳ καὶ μεγάλῳ Θείῳ Ἐπιφανεῖ Δημὼ θυγάτηρ Τυράννου θεὰν

[66] Rostovtzeff, *Ellinstvo i iranstvo na juge Rossii* (n. 1 above), pp. 29, 123, 127–28; Smirnov, *Savromaty* (n. 11 above), pp. 200–205.

[67] Schürer, "Die Juden in Bosporanischen Reiche" (n. 18 above), p. 218.

[68] L. Zgusta, *Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nordlichen Schwarzmeerküste* (Praha, 1955), p. 62.

[69] Ibid., p. 322.

[70] Cumont, "Ὕψιστος"; Cook (n. 48 above), 2:889; Roberts, Skeat, and Nock (n. 40 above).

[71] Lifchitz, p. 160; Cook, 2:889.

[72] G. E. Bean, "Notes on Inscriptions from Pisidia," *Anatolian Studies* 20 (1960), no. 122; cf. Jeanne Robert and Louis Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique," *Revue des Études Grecques* 74 (1961), no. 750.

[73] P. Merlat, *Jupiter Dolichenus* (Paris, 1960), p. 114; Cumont, "Ὕψιστος," col. 446.

[74] Merlat, p. 114.

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Λαρμηνὴν ἀνέστησεν.[75] Presence of the goddess excludes the possibility of Jewish influence. The same situation is characteristic of Phrygia. Examples may be multiplied. So, in the countries where under the name Theos Hypsistos the Jewish god was worshiped and where a considerable Jewish influence is doubtless, a number of other gods were also called "the most high."

One essential inference follows: in the emergence of the Hypsistos cult the decisive role was played in different regions by different gods. It is utterly impossible to accept the opinion of Levinskaja that "the cult of Theos Hypsistos, spread in Egypt, Greece, Asia Minor, Thracia, Northern Black Sea Littoral, is to be considered a single cult, having however local peculiarities. The cult of Theos Hypsistos was generally linked with Judaism."[76]

As the examples above demonstrate, a single cult has never existed. Given the general tendency of the epoch toward monotheism and the anonymous character of the deity,[77] in every particular case the image of Theos Hypsistos emerged on a definite, usually local basis, with or without Jewish influence or participation of some other gods. Consequently, extreme caution is necessary when one studies the religion of Theos Hypsistos in a given country, drawing on data from the other regions.[78]

Some scholars draw Theos Hypsistos close to Sabazios. Their argumentation is based on the so-called Pirotos inscription.[79] It is a dedication of a *koinon* θεῷ ἐπηκόῳ ὑψίστῳ. The end of the inscription is not

[75] L. Robert, "Reliefs votifs et cultes d'Anatolie," *Anatolia* 3 (1958): 117–19.

[76] I. A. Levinskaja, "K voprosu o frakijskom proiskhozhdenii kul'ta θεὸς ὕψιστος," in *Antichnaja balkanistika* (Moscow, 1984), p. 27.

[77] Robert, "Reliefs votifs et cultes d'Anatolie," p. 118.

[78] In order to find an answer to the question why semi-barbaric Tanaits adopted Judaism, the adherents of this theory cite the example of the Khazars. But for the Khazars, first, adoption of Judaism as state religion was a political demonstration of independence and equality with the Arab caliphate and the Byzantine empire and served as a response to the attempts of both Arabian and Byzantine rulers to bend the Khazars to their will (M. I. Artamonov, *Istorija Khazar* [Moscow, 1962], p. 264), while apparently there were no reasons for the adoption of Judaism in the Bosporan kingdom. Second, the new religion was adopted only by the Khazar nobility, the majority of the population remaining Gentiles, Muslims, or Christians (D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* [Princeton, N.J., 1954], pp. 92–115). In the Bosporan kingdom, and particularly in Tanais, the majority of the male population, if not all the male citizens, belonged to the *thiasoi* of Theos Hypsistos. And, third, the Judaism of the Khazars is reported in a great number of written sources—and the entire ancient tradition does not contain a hint to such an important event as adoption of Judaism by the Bosporan kingdom. (Phanagoria was called "a Jewish town" only in the ninth century by Ibn-Khordadbeg [see Nadel (n. 32 above), p. 24], and this epitheton is apparently connected with the Khazar presence.

[79] First published by A. von Domaszewski, "Griechische Inschriften aus Moesien und Thrakien," *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn* 10 (1886): 238. This inscription is reported to originate from Tourres by Tacheva-Hitova (*Eastern Cults in Moesia Inferior and Dacia* [n. 39 above], p. 197).

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preserved, and its last lines are badly damaged. The list of the members of the *koinon* ends with θια[. . .] Σεβαζιανος, which A. von Domaszewski reads as θία[σος] Σεβαζιανός. This reading is accepted by a number of scholars.[80]

Yet D. Decev supposed that Sebazianos is a proper name. His opinion is accepted by B. Gerov, Tacheva-Hitova, and Levinskaja.[81] The association is then considered a group of worshipers of Theos Hypsistos and not a *thiasos* of Sabazios.

But even if the Pirotos inscription has nothing to do with Sabazios, numerous monuments of the Theos Hypsistos cult found on the western Black Sea littoral in recent decades show the important influence of the Sabazios cult.[82] However, Dionysus-Sabazios was the most popular local deity,[83] and so his dominant role in the emergence of the Theos Hypsistos cult in the Roman epoch is quite natural.

The Thracian royal family, related to the Bosporan Dynasty, was obviously devoted to the Theos Hypsistos cult. One may cite dedications of Pythodoris and Rhoimetalkos to Theos Hypsistos[84] and a dedication ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Ῥοιμετάλκα Κότυος.[85] This devotion could have influenced the emergence of the Hypsistos religion in the Bosporan kingdom, but the evidence of the possible Thracian impact is limited to only one piece, namely, a third-century inscription on a cult table from Cytaeum (CIRB, no. 942) about the erection of a temple θεῷ βροντόντι ἐπηκόῳ by the community of Cytaeum with the sponsorship of a former royal official. An eagle clutching a snake is depicted in the lower right corner of the slab; this symbol is connected with the Sabazios cult.[86]

Dedications Διὶ βρονταίῳ ὑψίστῳ[87] and Διὶ βρονταίῳ ἐπηκόῳ[88] originate from Phrygia, and the cult of Zeus Brontaios there may also have been connected with Dionysus-Sabazios.[89]

[80] See the list in Tacheva-Hitova, *Eastern Cults in Moesia Inferior and Dacia,* p. 197, n. 16.

[81] B. Gerov, "Prouchvanija v'erchu zapadnotrakijskite zemi prez rimsko vreme," *Annuaire de Université de Sofia* 12, no. 2 (1968): 158–59; Tacheva-Hitova, *Eastern Cults in Moesia Inferior and Dacia,* p. 197; Levinskaja, "Kul't θεὸς ὕψιστος na Bospore" (n. 32 above), pp. 67–73.

[82] Tacheva-Hitova, *Eastern Cults in Moesia Inferior and Dacia,* chap. 4.

[83] H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos: Histoire du culte de Bacchus* (Paris, 1951), pp. 412–31.

[84] *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanes pertinentes,* 4 vols. (Paris, 1901–8), 1:777; and in Tacheva-Hitova, *Eastern Cults in Moesia Inferior and Dacia,* chap. 4, no. 18.

[85] Tacheva-Hitova, *Eastern Cults in Moesia Inferior and Dacia,* chap. 4, no. 21. Compare Rostovtzeff, *Antichnaja dekorativnaja zhivopis' na juge Rossii* (n. 15 above), p. 433.

[86] V. I. Tzekhmistrenko, "Glinjanyj shtamp iz Pantikapeja," *Sovetskaja Arkheologija* 1 (1962): 280.

[87] Cook (n. 48 above), 2:833.

[88] C. W. Cox and A. Cameron, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua,* vol. 5: *Monuments from Dorylaeum and Nacolea* (Manchester, 1937), p. xv.

[89] Cook, 2:28 ff.

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Thus, there are three arguments in favor of the bringing together of Theos Hypsistos and Sabazios:

1. In Thracia, Sabazios played an important role in the emergence of the cult of Theos Hypsistos.

2. The Bosporan royal family was related to the Thracian dynasty, which was devoted to the cult of Theos Hypsistos; Thracians lived in the Bosporan kingdom.

3. The Cytaeum community, headed by a former courtier, dedicated an inscription to some deity having common features with Sabazios. This inscription contains neither the expression "Theos Hypsistos" nor a list of magistrates characteristic of the *thiasoi* of this god.[90]

These reasons seem sufficient to assume the possibility of some influence of the Thracian Theos Hypsistos upon the appearance of the most high god in the Bosporan kingdom, but they are inadequate to recognize this influence as decisive.

Meanwhile, the roots of the cult of Theos Hypsistos are to be searched for not in some distant land but in the Bosporan kingdom itself, in the religious concepts of the Sarmatians, or broader, of the Iranians. This approach became more promising after the publication of the stela with relief by Knipovitch.

As a parallel to the image of a horseman before a blazing altar with a tree behind it the third-century royal diadem may be cited (see fig. 2 above). A similar scene decorates a silver rhyton from the Karagodeuashkh tumulus (fourth century B.C. [fig. 3]), and Rostovtzeff proved it to be an image of the supreme god of the Iranian pantheon, a warrior and a power-giver, who had been worshiped by the Scythians and Sarmatians of old.[91] V. D. Blavatski was also inclined to draw together the Karagodeuashkh god and the image on the Tanais relief.[92]

For deeper insight into the semantics of this scene one may remember that in the Indo-European religions the tree was a symbol of the universe and an attribute of the fertility goddess, who often merged with it and whose image was sometimes substituted for the image of a tree.[93]

[90] A. Salač ([n. 23 above], p. 222) supposed that the Thracian cavalier participated in the emergence of Theos Hypsistos in the Bosporan kingdom. He considered the rhyton in the hand of the horseman on the Tanais stela to point to the links with Sabazios. But, as Rostovtzeff has convincingly demonstrated ("Predstavlenija o monharkhicheskoj vlasti v Skifii i na Bospore" [n. 14 above], p. 6), the rhyton was a sacred object of the Iranians. It appeared on the Scytho-Sarmatian monuments as well.

[91] Rostovtzeff, "Predstavlenija o monarkhicheskoj vlasti v Skifii i na Bospore."

[92] V. D. Blavatski, "Stzena investitury na karagodeuashkhskom ritone," *Sovetskaja Arkheologija* 1 (1974): 43.

[93] V. V. Ivanov, "Opyt istolkovanija drevneindijskikh ritual'nykh i mifologicheskikh terminov, obrazovannykh ot asya—'kon,'" in *Problemy istorii jazykov i kul'tury Indii* (Moscow, 1974), pp. 75–90; Kuz'mina (n. 11 above), p. 102; V. I. Toporov, "Drevo mirovoje," in *Mify narodov mira* (Moscow, 1980), pp. 398–406.

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FIG. 3.—From G. A. Kochelenko et al., eds., *Antichnyje gosudarstva Severnogo Prichernomorja* (Moscow, 1984), pl. 115.1.

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The problem of isofunctionality of the great goddess and the tree of the universe is treated in detail in the dissertation of I. J. Shaub.[94] Two examples, which are simultaneous with the Tanais stela, are to be cited. On a stamp from the Roman fortress of Iluraton a goddess in a bell-shaped dress with griffins by her sides is represented with her head as a top of a tree and her hands as branches.[95] A female torso is depicted on a second-century marmoreal fronton from Panticapaeum; the hands of the goddess are interpreted as branches.[96]

Thus, the picture of a horseman with rhyton before the tree, which is equivalent to the great fertility goddess, may be ranged together with such a monument as, for example, the plate of a rhyton from Merdjany (fig. 4). It represents a horseman with a rhyton before a goddess who is sitting in an armchair and holding a round vessel. On her sides there are a tree and a pole with a horsehead on it. This scene must be a representation of the sacred marriage, a stable Iranian cult image,[97] which is depicted on a carpet from the V Pazyryk tumulus,[98] on a relief from the Trekhbratni tumulus (fig. 5).[99] The relief from a late Scythian site of Chajka[100] (fig. 6) may be cited as a later example. A bearded horseman with a rhyton[101] is depicted before an altar, and near the altar stands a woman in a bell-shaped dress with some round object. D. S. Rajevski noted that the incised geometric figures—a circle above the man and a rectangle above the woman—are, respectively, symbols of the heaven and the earth fire,[102] used still by the ancient Iranians,[103] a fact that reveals once again the link between the cult of the supreme Iranian deities and the fire cult in south Russia.

A stela with a similar relief originates from the village of Kozyrka.[104] It represents a horseman and a standing figure in a long dress of the same

[94] I. J. Shaub, "Kul'ty i religioznyje predstavlenija naselenija Bospora v VI–IV vv. do n.e." (Ph.D. diss., Institute of Archaeology, Leningrad, 1987), pp. 150–69.

[95] V. F. Gaidukevitch, "Ilurat: Itogi arkheologicheskikh issledovanij 1948–53 gg.," *Materialy i issledovanija po arkheologii SSSR* 85 (1958): 83, fig. 76.

[96] V. V. Shkorpil, "Bosporskije nadpisi, najdennyje v 1910 godu," *Izvestija Imperatorskoj Arkheologicheskoj Komissii* 40 (1911): 19; cf. A. P. Ivanova, "Mestnyje motivy v dekorativnoj skul'pture Bospora," *Sovetskaja Arkheologija* 15 (1951): 203.

[97] S. S. Bessonova, *Religioznyje predstavlenija skifov* (Kiev, 1983), p. 111.

[98] M. I. Artamonov, "Antropomorfnyje bozhestva v religii skifov," *Arkheologicheskij Sbornik Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* 2 (1961): 63.

[99] S. S. Bessonova and D. S. Kirilin, "Nadgrobnyj rel'jef iz Trekhbratnego kurgana," in *Skify i sarmaty* (Kiev, 1977), p. 135.

[100] E. A. Popova, "Rel'jef s gorodishcha Chajka," *Sovetskaja Arkheologija* 4 (1974): 222–30.

[101] As D. S. Rajevski (*Ocherki ideologii skifo-sakskikh plemen* [Moscow, 1977], p. 105, n. 25) noted, and not a bow, as Popova thought.

[102] Rajevski, p. 105.

[103] J. Dumezil, *La religion romaine archaique* (Paris, 1966), pp. 310–11.

[104] *Otchety Imperatorskoj Arkheolgicheskoj Komissii* (1909–10), p. 100, fig. 146.

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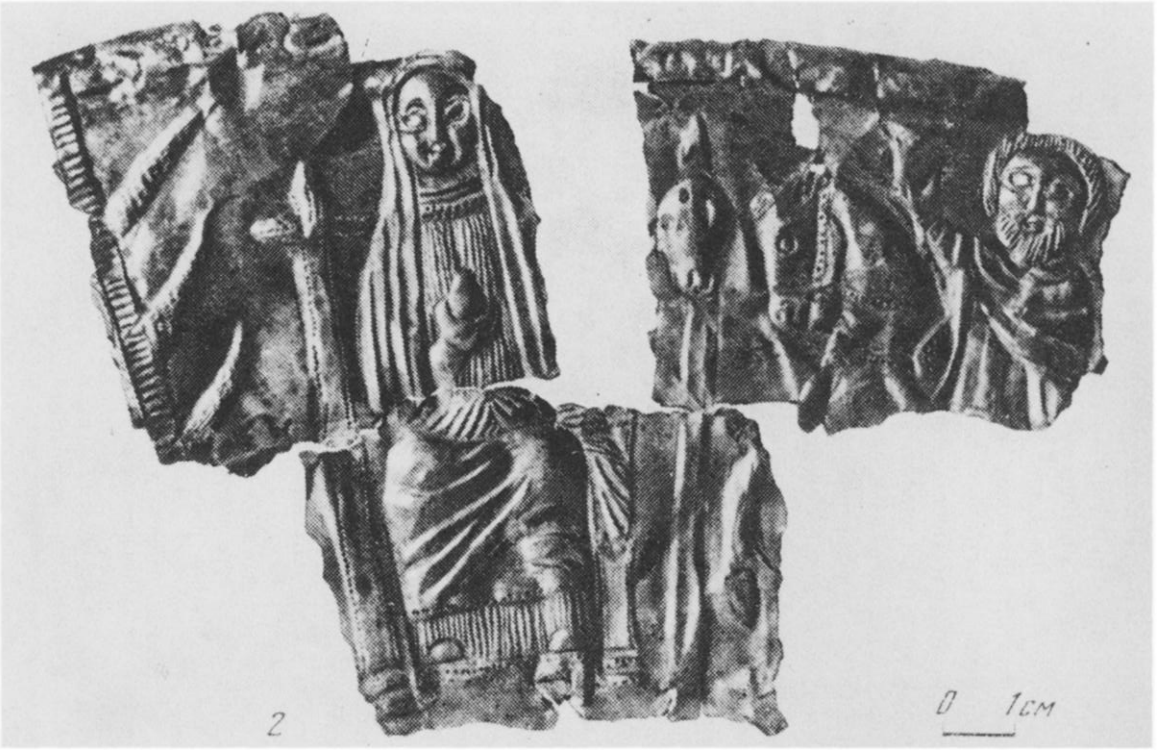

FIG. 4.—From G. A. Kochelenko et al., eds., *Antichnyje gosudarstva Severnogo Prichernomorja* (Moscow, 1984), pl. 115.2.

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FIG. 5.—From A. I. Meljukova, ed., *Stepi evropejskoy chasti SSSR v skifo-sarmatskoje vremja* (Moscow, 1989), pl. 37.20.

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FIG. 6.—From A. I. Meljukova, ed., *Stepi evropejskoy chasti SSSR v skifo-sarmatskoje vremja* (Moscow, 1989), pl. 53.6.

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form, as on the Iluraton stamp and Chaika relief; beside them are two dogs attacking a boar.

The advanced suggestion on the semantics of the Tanais stela may find indirect confirmation in a slab with the image of a goddess in the fronton, used for the second time for a building inscription.[105] Shelov brings this relief together with the representation of a branch-handed goddess in the fronton of the Panticapaeum stela.[106] Terra-cottas are extremely rare in Tanais, but among them is a figurine of Kybela[107] and several pieces are specific Bosporan statuettes with suspended limbs, which are connected with the Kybela cult by a number of scholars.[108]

So, in the course of the second to third centuries the great goddess and the cavalier god advance to the foreground in the religious beliefs of the rural population of the Bosporan kingdom. The images of the sitting woman with a high headdress, grotesque figurines with suspended limbs, and images of mounted warriors dominate among the terracottas, while idol-like figurines of the goddess are the most numerous of handmade clay statuettes. Handmade figurines of horsemen were also found on some sites.[109]

The cult of the supreme cavalier god, companion of the great goddess, which existed in the south Russian steppes as early as the Scythian period, by the beginning of the common era must have advanced to the foreground, and the male deity began to dominate in the pair.

It must be noted that the spread of the images of the horse and the horseman and their supplanting of the images of other deities at the end of the first millennium B.C. and in the first centuries A.D. was going on not only on the northern Black Sea littoral but also in Central Asia and in Transcaucasia as a result of the growing popularity of the cults of the solar god, deified ancestor, and the horse brought by the Iranian nomads.[110] The same phenomenon may be observed in India after the appearance of the Saka there.[111] The worship of the solar cavalier god was obviously one of the basic religious traditions of the Iranians.

[105] A. I. Boltunova, "Novaja stroitel'naja nadpis' iz Tanaisa," in *Antichnaja istorijra i kul'tura Sredizemnomor'ja i Prichernomor'ja* (Leningrad, 1968), pp. 46–47.

[106] Shelov (n. 3 above), p. 272.

[107] Ibid., p. 291.

[108] M. M. Kobylina, *Terrakotovyje statuetki Pantikapeja i Fanagorii* (Moscow, 1961), p. 163; I. T. Kruglikova, "O kul'te verkhovnogo zhenskogo bozhestva na Bospore," in *Kul'tura antichnogo mira* (Moscow, 1966), p. 113.

[109] Kobylina, pp. 163–69, table 37.4.

[110] B. J. Staviski, "Svjashchennyj kon' i bozhestvennyj vsadnik no monetakh Irana i sopredel'nykh stran," in *Iskusstvo i arkheologija Irana i ego svjaz' s iskusstvom narodov SSSR s drevnejshikh vremen* (Moscow, 1979), p. 79; cf. M. I. Rostovtzeff, "Bog-vsadnik na juge Rossii, v Indo-Skifii i v Kitaje," *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 1 (1927): 141–46.

[111] B. A. Litvinski, *Kangjujsko-sarmatskij farn* (Dushanbe, 1968), pp. 41–43.

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G. Widengren has emphasized the links between the Iranian ideas of the sun, Ahura-Mazda, and the horse;[112] these links corroborated both linguistic and archaeological materials.[113] The explanation lies in the Prezoroastrian beliefs of the ancient Iranians, the religious traditions of the Sarmatians and the Iranian tribes of Central Asia being very close.[114] Long before the appearance of the prophet, the Iranian cult of various "ahura" showed a tendency toward "merging into a monotheistic cult of the Supreme Ahura with the epitheton 'Mazda'—'wise.'"[115] Some scholars believe that Ahura-Mazda himself was worshiped at that time.[116] Traces of the merging of Ahura-Mazda with the sun are found in "Avesta."[117]

Nevertheless, it is too dangerous to claim that the solar god of the Massagetes is Ahura-Mazda.[118] He could have been Mithra or some other complex deity, as Mithra was also closely connected with the sun and later became a solar deity.[119] The pair deity Mithra-Ahura, equivalent to the Vedic pair Mitra-Varuna, was worshiped by the Iranians since ancient times.[120] Numerous manifestations of the fire cult were also connected with this deity.

The ancient Iranians conceived their supreme solar god as a horseman.[121] But the cult of the cavalier god was widespread in Eurasia from Germany to China,[122] and different gods and heroes were represented as horsemen.[123] Having studied the typology of the Roman cavalier

[112] G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans* (Stuttgart, 1965), pp. 127–30.

[113] Litvinski, pp. 28–36.

[114] On the problem of the presence of Zoroastrian elements in the reliefs of the Saka and Sarmatians, see V. I. Abajev, "Skifskij byt i reforma Zoroastra," *Archiv orientalni,* vol. 24, no. 1 (1956).

[115] B. G. Gafurov and B. A. Litvinski, *Istorija tadjiksklogo naroda* (Moscow, 1963), 1:169.

[116] J. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 47–58.

[117] R. C. Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism* (New York, 1961), p. 75.

[118] Litvinski, p. 40.

[119] Gershevitch, pp. 31–42.

[120] Litvinski (n. 111 above), p. 41. J. Scheftolowitz ("Die Mithra-Religion der Indo-Skythen und ihre Beziehung zum Saura und Mithra-Kult," *Acta orientalia* 11 [1933]: 295–97) has put forward the following hypothesis: having adopted Zoroastrianism in the Achaemenid epoch, the Saka began to worship Ahura-Mazda as the supreme deity, but in the image of Mithra, who had been known to them long before. It resulted in an amalgamation of the images of the two gods.

[121] Representation and cult of the horseman cannot be interpreted on the basis of the most ancient Indo-Iranian mythology. Both "Rig-veda" and "Avesta" usually mention carriages (Kuz'mina [n. 11 above], p. 107). The appearance of horsemen is connected with the spread of cavalry tactics in battle in Eurasia by the beginning of the first millennium B.C. Only then could the anthropomorphic images of cavalier gods and heroes appear in the ideology.

[122] Rostovtzeff, "Bog-vsadnik na juge Rossii, v Indo-Skifii i v Kitaje" (n. 110 above); E. Will, *Le relief cultuel greco-romain* (Paris, 1955), pp. 56–125.

[123] Will, p. 104; L. Robert, *Hellenica* (Paris, 1946), 3:56, and 7:57.

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reliefs, E. Will inferred that the deities appear as cavaliers not because they are such by their nature or because their worshipers are always mounted but because they perform an action that demands a horse: fighting evil or hunting, that is, chasing evil forces. The cavalier god struggles against world evil; he is defender and savior, the supreme guardian of justice.[124] But the functions of the Iranian supreme solar god were exactly the same.

Thus, the monotheistic tendency has evidently been present in the development of the Sarmatian religious concepts, and it is the Iranian tradition that explains the monotheistic trend in the cult of Theos Hypsistos. The image of the Most High God may have been related to the idea of the pair deity Mithra-Ahura, some hints to duality being traced in the Bosporan deity.[125] This supreme solar god, defender and fighter against evil, was represented as a horseman in the Iranian world. Bosporus was no exception.

The Greco-Roman element must have played some role in the emergence of Theos Hypsistos, but "hellenization" of the deity has not been deep. Indeed, the formal organization in Greek *thiasoi* seems to have covered traditional Iranian associations.[126]

What was the name of the god whose image has developed into that of Theos Hypsistos? A story told by Iamblichos may be conducive to the solving of the problem (Ἰαμβλίγου Δραματικόν 9, second century). He narrates in detail about Pharnouchos, Pharsiris, and Tanais, who gave name to the river Tanais, and tells that the mysteries of Aphrodite in this country and in the area of Tanais are the mysteries of Tanais and Pharsiris. The root "pharn" is evident in the name "Pharnouchsos," and "Pharsiris" means "with shining face."[127] Pharsiris must have been the solar deity, and Pharnouchos was related to "pharn," one of the basic concepts in the Iranian ideology, comprehending grace, power, happiness, and good luck.[128] Aphrodite was the local incarnation of the great goddess. So the Iranian divine triad appears,[129] which was sometimes conceived as a pair consisting of a male and a female deity.

[124] Will, p. 124. We are thus forced to infer that it is impossible to connect automatically the genesis of one cavalier god with another, i.e., the Bosporan horseman with his Thracian and Danubian counterparts. The concepts of cavalier gods may have emerged independently or in parallel under the influence of the same concepts—in our case, the Iranian concept of divine horseman.

[125] Compare Rostovtzeff, "Predstavlenija o monarkhicheskoj vlasti v Skifii i na Bospore" (n. 14 above), pp. 11–13; above, p. 174.

[126] See below, p. 176.

[127] Smirnov, *Savromaty* (n. 11 above), p. 250.

[128] V. I. Toporov, "Pharn," in *Mify narodov mira* (Moscow, 1980), 2:557–58.

[129] S. Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran,* Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis (Lund, 1946), 40:212.

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Iamblichos calls the local festival in honor of Tanais, Aphrodite, and Pharsiris "mysteries." One may suppose that the pair Pharsiris-Aphrodite is equivalent to Theos Hypsistos–great goddess, whose worship is documented with a great number of monuments from Tanais and other sites on the northern Black Sea littoral.

The role of Tanais, who was worshiped by the Sarmatians, according to Iamblichos and other ancient writers (Pseudo-Plutarchus, *De fluviis* 14; Maximus Tyrius, *Oratio* 8.8), is rather curious. Salač thought the Day of Tanais to be an anniversary of the reconstruction of the town after the Polemon's crushing,[130] but this idea seems less probable than a suggestion that the Day of Tanais was the day of the god Tanais, since in ancient times the day of any town could be celebrated only as a day dedicated to the divine patron of this town. Participation of a special "committee" of *thiasitai* in the organization of such a festival may be explained by the fact that some relations may have existed between Tanais and the precursor of Theos Hypsistos, if it was Pharsiris.

As Theos Hypsistos was primarily the Iranian solar god and there were so many Sarmatians among his worshipers, one may envisage the structure of *thiasoi* in quite a different way. As already noted above, the exclusively male composition of the Tanais *thiasoi* and a number of magistratures distinguishes them from the "normal" Greek or Roman private cult associations.

Rostovtzeff regarded the Bosporan *thiasoi* as military organizations and sacral and political citizen associations.[131]

Meanwhile, a hypothesis that the Iranian tradition of *Männerbünde* underlies the structure of the Bosporan *synodoi* explains all these peculiarities.[132] S. Wikander demonstrated that the written sources, and "Avesta" first of all, contain evidence of these ancient Iranian societies.[133] He has paid special attention to the connection of men's societies to the cult of Mithra.[134] According to Wikander, men's societies were ecstatic cults, the drinking of Haoma being one of their major rituals (cf. the rhyton held by the god on the Tanais stela and the evidence on mysteries celebrated in the town); the cult of the deceased was an important

[130] Salač (n. 23 above), pp. 216–17; asserted by A. I. Boltunova, "K istorii Tanaisa," *Klio* 42 (1965): 204.

[131] Rostovtzeff, *Ellinstvo i iranstvo na juge Rossii* (n. 1 above), pp. 184–85, and "Gosudarstvo i kul'tura Bosporskogo tzarstva" (n. 31 above), pp. 199–200.

[132] Compare P. Beskow, "The Routes of Early Mithraism," in *Études Mithraiques* (Leiden, 1978), p. 16.

[133] S. Wikander, *Der arische Männerbünd* (Lund, 1938). Compare G. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran* (Uppsala, 1938), pp. 311–51.

[134] Wikander, *Der arische Männerbünd*, pp. 58, 86; cf. G. Widengren, "The Mithraic Mysteries of the Greco-Roman World with Special Regard to Their Iranian Background," *Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura: Accademia nazaionale dei Lincei* 76 (1966): 434, *Die Religionen Irans* (n. 112 above), p. 317, and *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran*, pp. 319–20.

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sphere of their activity (cf. erection of tombstones by the Bosporan *synodoi*); the cult in the men's societies was linked to the fire cult (the role of the fire cult in Tanais has already been emphasized); men's societies guarded the general maintenance of justice and punishment of infringers and were extremely meticulous in moral issues (cf. the offices of *philagathos* and *paraphilagathos*); a classical feature of the men's societies were initiations that allowed the men to become members of the ideal community of deceased and living warriors.[135]

Unquestionable vestiges of men's societies were preserved up to recent days by the modern peoples of Soviet Central Asia.[136] According to K. V. Trever, age classes, which were closely related to the men's societies, existed in Achaemenid Persia.[137] The Parthian warrior societies are studied in detail by Widengren.[138]

So, both literary sources and modern ethnographic data prove the existence of Iranian *Männerbünde*. But there is evidence directly concerning the ancient Iranian nomads. Herodotus (4.26) tells about the custom of Massagetes to eat their old men, which certainly reflects the existence of age classes.[139] The Hippocratic corpus contains an indication that "there are a lot of eunuchs, who are occupied with women's work and speak women's language" (*De aeris* 29). The languages that were kept secret from the opposite sex and the strict division of occupations into those proper for men and women is indicative of the existence of *Männerbünde*.

Activity of the men's societies covered exactly those spheres that are supposed by the titles of *thiasoi* officials: military and athletic training (*gymnasiarchos*), supervising of boys and teenagers (*neaniskarchos*), strict control over the members' morals (*philagathos* and *paraphilagathos*), common cult (*hiereus*), and general guidance (*presbuteros, pater*). As these titles are Greek equivalents of corresponding Iranian notions, they could not have been absolutely accurate.

Incorporation of an ancient Iranian institution into the social structure of the Bosporan kingdom demanded its reorganization and hellenization.[140] Indeed, the amazing terminological uniformity is certainly

[135] Wikander, *Der arische Männerbünd,* pp. 64–65, 69–74, 76, 78, 79, and 94.

[136] S. P. Tolstov, *Drevnij Khorezm* (Moscow, 1948), pp. 311–12, 314–17; G. P. Snesarev, "Traditztja muzhskikh sojuzov v ejo pozdnejshikh variantakh u narodov Srednej Azii," *Materialy Khorezmskoj Expeditzii,* vol. 7 (1963).

[137] K. V. Trever, "Drevneiranskij termin parna (k voprosu o sotzial'no-vozrastnykh gruppakh)," *Izvestija AN SSSR: Serija istorii i filosofii,* vol. 4, no. 1 (1947).

[138] Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans,* pp. 13 ff.

[139] Compare Trever, p. 74.

[140] M. I. Rostovtzeff ("Gosudarstvo i kul'tura Bosporskogo tzarstva" [n. 31 above], p. 202) mentioned the possibility of the Bosporan *synodoi* being related to the organizations of *neoi* in Asia Minor, Sauromates I called *ktistes* in an inscription of *neoi* from Bythinian Nikaea.

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a result of a well-considered action directed by the government, maybe by Sauromates I;[141] otherwise the terminological diversity characteristic of the private cult associations of the Greco-Roman world would be inevitable. The use of the Greek terms and some organizational principles made the Iranian institution acceptable to the Greeks.

The nearly universal belonging of Tanais men to *thiasoi* is also explained: *Männerbünde* had to embrace all the men who enjoyed full rights.

Thus, by the beginning of the common era the cult associations appeared to be the most effective form of military training and ideological organization of citizens in the Bosporan kingdom. Preservation of these societies, however modified, in the Bosporan kingdom is not surprising: this form of social organization demonstrated its astonishing steadiness, having outlasted the epoch of its appearance by millennia. One may remember the conservation of numerous features of *Männerbünde* in the everyday life of the Central Asian Tadjiks and Uzbeks in the second half of the twentieth century, to say nothing of the evident system of age classes in Achaemenid Persia. Some scholars cite the Mithraic associations of the Imperial period as another example of modification of the Iranian men's societies.[142]

There is nearly nothing definite to be said about the performance of the Theos Hypsistos cult in Tanais. But the only complex that is to be interpreted as pertinent to the cults may be related to the cult of Theos Hypsistos. In a cellar of an exedra-type chamber of a second–third century house in the northeastern corner of the site, among the other objects, a limestone altar, seven clay stamps, five portable incense burners, six lamps, and a small hearth were found,[143] the altar, stamps, and incense burners having been in the cellar at the moment of the destruction of the building. As a parallel, one may cite two Chersonesos cult cellars, where altars and lamps have also been found.[144]

Since, first, images of eagles decorate a number of stelae of the Tanais *thiasitai,* and eagles clutching snakes are on the Panticapaeum clay stamps[145] and on the cult table from Cytaeum, and second, Theos Hypsistos and Theos Bronton Epekoos are identical in his opinion, Shelov suggested that stamps were also used in the cult of Theos Hypsistos and that this cult convened in the cellar.[146] The only obstacle to

[141] Ibid.
[142] Widengren, "The Mithraic Mysteries of the Greco-Roman World," pp. 434, 446–52; Beskow (n. 132 above), p. 19.
[143] Shelov (n. 3 above), pp. 285–86.
[144] Ibid., p. 288.
[145] Tzekhmistrenko (n. 86 above), pp. 279–82.
[146] Shelov, p. 288.

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this theory was the presence of chthonic features in this cult (they are supposed by the use of the underground sanctuary), but Shelov connected them with the chthonic features in the Zeus Bronton cult.

It has been mentioned above that the identification of the Cytaeum god and Theos Hypsistos does not seem doubtless. Clay stamps were widely used throughout the ancient world and in the Bosporan kingdom in particular, for example, in the great goddess cult. Thus, Tanais stamps may have belonged to the cult of this goddess. As to the use of this cellar and maybe some others, cellars could well be used in the Theos Hypsistos cult. As already noted, chthonic features are evident in the cult of Iranian *Männerbünde*. Then, Mithra was worshiped in a cave in Persia (Firmicus' Maternus, De errore profanarum religionum 5), as well as in the Roman mystery religion, and Mithreum itself was conceived as a cave by Mithraists.[147] The presence of caves in the cult of the Iranian solar god appears to be an ancient Iranian element and not a Roman innovation. There are no caves in the neighborhood of Tanais, and it would have been quite natural if the inhabitants of the town exchanged cellars for caves. The Mithraists acted so as well, constructing some special dark chambers if there were no natural caves at hand.

Another cellar in the southwestern part of the site is also very curious. The cellar was used in the second century, earlier than the building itself. It was filled up with fragments of raw brick and pottery, and in this debris a terracotta figurine of an eagle was discovered.[148] Similar terracotta was found in a second–third century cellar in Olbia.

[147] F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra,* 2 vols. (Brussels, 1896–99); M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithraicae,* 2 vols. (The Hague, 1956–60).

[148] Compare the eagle carrying the image of Theos Hypsistos from the Serdica shrine (see above, p. 156). Most interesting is the ritual burial of eighteen rams in the filling of this cellar (Shelov, p. 289). One more burial of a ram in a pit of a Tanais cellar also seems to be ritual (T. M. Arsen'jeva, "Raboty v Tanaise," in *Arkheologicheskije otkrytija* [Moscow, 1972], pp. 110–12). Similar ritual ram burials have been known in Neapolis Scythica (T. N. Vysotskaja, "Kul'ty i obrjady pozdnikh skifov," *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 3 [1976]: 60) and on the Kozyrka site (A. V. Burakov, "Gorodishche bilja s. Kozyrki poblizu Ol'vii," in *Arkheologichni pam"jatki URSR* [Kiev, 1962], 11:73–74). Both in Kozyrka and in Tanais lamps were found in these burials. Indeed, lamps must have played some role in the Tanais cults. In Neapolis bones of five rams were found together with fragments of cult vessels and statuettes in the building "E," which is related to cult purposes (Vysotskaja). It is worth noting that it was in Kozyrka that the relief of a horseman before a standing woman was found (above, p. 167). The ram played an important role in Iranian beliefs. Rams are predominant on zoomorphic handles of Sarmatian vessels (Litvinski [n. 111 above], pp. 6–7, 92). Litvinski traced the relations between the concept of "pharn," which was extremely important for the Iranians, and the image of the ram, considered an incarnation of the pharn, in the culture of the Central Asian peoples, the Ossetians and, finally, the Sarmatians (pp. 59–74). Thus, ritual burials of rams appear to be linked with Iranian beliefs, although it is impossible to claim their direct relation to the cult of Theos Hypsistos.

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R. I. Vetstein related it to the Jupiter-worship of Roman legionnaires.[149] Two statuettes of the same type, made of Panticapaeum clay, were found on the territory of the Bosporan kingdom.

It is highly tempting to connect the Tanais figurine with the images of eagles on the *thiasitai* stelae. Well known is the role of the eagle as a companion of the supreme Indo-European deity, his symbol and often his personification.[150] However, the eagle was an attribute of the majority of solar and supreme deities,[151] and one cannot claim the Tanais terracotta to be pertinent to the cult of Theos Hypsistos without any doubt.

The conception set forth in the present article is certainly far from being grounded exhaustively. New archaeological finds or new approaches to the existing data may change the situation substantially. But the present state of the problem forces one to admit the decisive role of the Iranian background in the emergence of the cult of Theos Hypsistos in the Bosporan kingdom, its ideology and organization being, of course, hellenized and transformed under the influence of both general cultural and religious tendencies of the Imperial period and the specific Bosporan conditions.

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[149] R. I. Vetstein, "Raskopki na Rimskoj tzitideli Ol'vii," *Kratkije soobshchenija Instituta arkheologii AN USSR* 7 (1957): 78–79.

[150] Kuz'mina (n. 11 above), p. 101; Bessonova (n. 97 above), p. 42. On top of a shaman's staff from Lysaja Gora a supreme deity, master of the universe, who is generally considered the Scythian Papay (Artamonov, "Antropomorfnyje bozhestva v religii skifov" [n. 98 above], p. 75; Bessonova, p. 41; cf., however, Rajevski [n. 101 above], p. 44) is surrounded with the images of eagles or hooks.

[151] Merlat (n. 73 above), pp. 108–10.

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1

Mesopotamian Elements and the Watchers Traditions

Ida Fröhlich

Introduction

By the time of the exile, early Watchers traditions were written in Aramaic, the vernacular in Mesopotamia. Besides many writings associated with Enoch, several works composed in Aramaic came to light from the Qumran library. They manifest several specific common characteristics concerning their literary genres and content. These are worthy of further examination.[1] Several Qumran Aramaic works are well acquainted with historical, literary, and other traditions of the Eastern diaspora, and they contain Mesopotamian and Persian elements.[2] Early Enoch writings reflect a solid awareness of certain Mesopotamian traditions.[3] Revelations on the secrets of the cosmos given to Enoch during his heavenly voyage reflect the influence of Mesopotamian

1. Characteristics of Aramean literary texts were examined by B.Z. Wacholder, "The Ancient Judeo-Aramaic Literature 500–164 BCE: A Classification of Pre-Qumranic Texts," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, JSOTSup8, ed. L.H. Schiffman (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 257–81.

2. The most outstanding example is 4Q242, the Prayer of Nabonidus that suggests knowledge of historical legends on the last Neo-Babylonian king Nabunaid (555–539 BCE). On the historical background of the legend see R. Meyer, *Das Gebet des Nabonid*, SSAW.PH 107, no. 3 (Berlin: Akademie, 1962). 4Q550 uses Persian names and the story reflects the influence of the pattern of the Ahiqar novel; see I. Fröhlich, "Stories from the Persian King's Court. 4Q550 (4QprESTHAR^{a-f})," *Acta Ant. Hung*. 38 (1998): 103–14.

3. H. L. Jansen, *Die Henochgestalt: eine vergleichende religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Skrifter utgitt av det Norske videnskaps-akademi i Oslo. II. Hist.-filos. klasse no. 1 (Oslo: I kommisjon hos J. Dybwad, 1939) examined the figure of Enoch in the light of the Mesopotamian tradition years before the finding of the Qumran manuscripts. On the figures of the Watchers in the background of Mesopotamian tradition, see Amar Annus, "On the Origin of Watchers: A Comparative Study of the Antediluvian Wisdom in Mesopotamian and Jewish Traditions," *JSP 19* (2010): 277–320.

cosmological lore.[4] The figure of Enoch, and the elements of the revelation tradition associated with him, originates in the figures of the Mesopotamian *apkallū-s* (wise ones), more exactly in the figure of the Mesopotamian diviner-king Enmeduranki, and in the tradition about divine revelation given to him.[5] Thus it can be assumed that the kernel of the Enochic tradition, the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 Enoch* 1–36), was shaped either in a Babylonian Jewish diaspora community or perhaps in a community of returnees that maintained traditions from the Babylonian exile. This group of writings might have been expanded by later additions to the text.[6]

The narrative of the Watchers (*1 En.* 6–11) belongs to the earliest textual layer of *1 Enoch* and represents one of the earliest traditions of the collection. In chapters 6–11 two distinct narratives exist: the narrative on Shemihazah and that on Asael.[7] The bulk of this early tradition is contained in the Shemihazah story (*1 En.* 6:1–7:62). According to the Shemihazah story, a group of the sons of heaven (6:2), whom the text refers to as the Watchers (*ʿîrîn* as in Dan. 4:10), glimpses the daughters of men, desires them, and decides to descend to them. Their leader Shemihazah (*šmyḥzh*) considers the plan to be sinful, and he does not want to bear the responsibility alone (6:3). Therefore, the Watchers, in order to fulfill their plan, swear to unite on Mount Hermon (*1 En.* 6:6). Then the Watchers ". . . began [to go in to them, and to defile themselves with them and (they began) to teach them] sorcery and spellbinding

4. P. Grelot, "La Géographie mythique d'Hénoch et ses sources," *RB* 65 (1958): 33–69; Grelot, "La Légende d'Hénoch dans les Apocryphes et dans la Bible," *RSR* 46 (1958): 5–26, 181–210; Grelot, "L'Eschatologie des Esséniens et le livre d'Hénoch," *RevQ* 1 (1958–59): 113–31; Grelot, "Hénoch et ses écritures," *RB* 82 (1975): 481–500, written before the publication of the Aramaic fragments.

5. James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, CBQMS 16 (Washington DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 116. On the Mesopotamian background of the Enoch figure and of the Son of Man figure, see H.S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man*, WMANT 61 (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988). See also S. Bhayro, "Noah's Library: Sources for 1 Enoch 6–11," *JSP* 15 (2006): 163–77. It is again the group of the Mesopotamian *apkallu-s* (sometimes viewed negatively and counted as demonic and evil beings in Mesopotamian tradition itself) that A. Annus understands to be the origins of the Watchers. See Annus, "On the Origins of Watchers," 282.

6. A similar case is the Danielic collection, the earliest pieces of which demonstrate a good knowledge of Mesopotamian lore.

7. Early scholars dealing with this work have already noted this fact. R.H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1893), 13–14, differentiated between two narratives in the text of *1 En.* 6–11. More recently Paul D. Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6–11," *JBL* 96 (1977): 197–233 and G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6–11," *JBL* 96 (1977): 383–405 have analysed the constituents of the text and they too differentiated between two sources.

[and the cutting of roots; and to show them plants" (7:1). The women became pregnant from them and bore children, who became Giants. The Giants "were devouring [the labour of all the children of men and men were unable to supply] them." (7:4). After this, the Giants begin to devour men, and then ". . . they began to sin against all birds and beasts of the earth] and reptiles . . . and the fish of the sea, and to devour the flesh of one another; and they were] drinking blood. [Then the earth made the accusation against the wicked concerning everything] which was done upon it" (7:5-6).[8] These then are the transgressions, which finally bring about the punishment of the flood (*1 En.* 9:1ff). Thus the story serves as a justification for the catastrophic punishment wreaked upon humanity.

The Asael story (*1 En.* 8:1-2) is not a retelling of the story of the Watchers; it is rather a commentary on certain elements of the narrative. It mentions Asael who taught metalworking, making weapons and jewels for men, and the knowledge of eyeshadows, of precious gems and dyes of mineral origins for women.[9] The section on Asael's teaching is followed by a report on the teachings of Shemihazah and his companions; they taught the interpretations of heavenly *omina*, each Watcher teaching the signs of the natural phenomenon that was included in his name (*1 En.* 8:3-4).

The whole section ends with a report of the punishment of Asael and the Watchers. Asael was punished by the angel Raphael for the sin Asael perpetrated; he was bound and cast into darkness, where the Watchers will stay until "the great day of judgment" (*1 En.* 10:4-7). On the other hand, the punishment mentioned in the Shemihazah story is the binding of Shemihazah and his companions by Michael "for seventy generations" after they were forced to witness their children, the Giants, perish (*1 En.* 10:11-12). The devastation of the flood following these events signifies the purification of the earth (*1 En.* 10:1-3, 20-22).[10] The narratives on Shemihazah, Asael, and the flood revolve around the problem of the origin of evil. The Shemihazah narrative is similar to Gen. 6:1-4, which is also connected with the flood. The relation of the two stories is complicated. The story of Shemihazah and his companions is a

8. Translated by J.T. Milik, based on the Aramaic text reconstructed by him; see Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (London: Clarendon, 1976), 166–67.

9. *1 En.* 65:6 supplements the list of the teachings of Asael by adding that the Watchers also taught people to cast metal and to make cast metal statues. According to *1 En.* 69, a Watcher named Penemue taught people writing and the use of ink and papyrus, practices that later could be the source of several misunderstandings. For further discussion of these traditions associated with the angel Penemue, see the essay by Leslie Baynes in this collection.

10. Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth."

logical and continuous narrative, whereas Gen. 6:1–4 seems to be a series of theological reflections on the story narrated in *1 Enoch*.[11] As to the background and meaning of the story of the Watchers, earlier theories saw historical and mythological motifs behind the narrative. The motif of the integration of heavenly and earthly beings would have referred to and negatively judged the mixed marriages of the priests in the postexilic era, objected to by Ezra. The motif of the bloodshed would have mirrored the wars of the Diadochi.[12] Other theories look for mythological models, seeing the motif of the teachings of the Watchers as modeled after the myth of Prometheus, Asael being a *protos heuretes*. Of course, neither historical-sociological nor mythological models, including Greek images, can be ruled out. However, observation of only one or two motifs of the narrative does not illuminate the background and meaning of the whole story. Many elements of the story, such as cannibalism and consuming blood, the basically negative nature of the teachings of the Watchers, magic and interpretation of *omina*, are left unexplained. In order to ascertain the background and the exact meaning and message of the narrative, all major elements of the narrative must be considered. This can be followed by a discussion of the issue of foreign literary influences. The traditions associated with the Watchers were relevant themes in Qumran literature. They were often cited and referred to in other works, certainly because the meanings were considered relevant for the spiritual world of the community.[13] The Watchers supposedly held significance for them, and motifs associated with them embodied basic ideas of the Essene tradition.[14] Notions that are related to each of the motifs of the story are those of *sin and impurity* and *magic and the demonic*.

11. Scholars generally consider the Shemihazah story as an expansion and explication of Gen. 6:1–4. There is no room here to discuss the relation of the two texts; this will be the aim of a further study.

12. D. Suter, "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6–16," *HUCA* 50 (1979): 115–35; R. Rubinkiewicz, "The Book of Noah and Ezra's Reform," *FO* 25 (1988): 151–55; Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6–11," 383–405.

13. The *Nachleben* and infuence of the Watchers' story in the literature of Qumran requires a separate study. See the essay by Samuel Thomas in this collection.

14. According to P. Sacchi, the peculiar conception of evil based on *1 En.* 6–11 was a distinct ideological tradition that was the catalyst of the schism between the group and Judaism in the fourth century BCE. Michael Stone and David Suter date the schism to the third century. See G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of Ways Between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 76–77.

Sin and Impurity, and the Story of the Watchers

The purity system of ancient Israel is acquainted not only with physical impurities, but also ethical ones.[15] Ethical impurity grows out of situations that are controllable and are not natural or necessary, such as delaying purification from physical impurity, polluting specific *sancta*, sexual transgressions, idolatry, and murder. The locus of uncleanness may be the person, but proscriptions refer more to the pollution of the sanctuary or land.[16] Punishments of these sins are more severe than the consequences of physical impurities. Punishment of the sinner is usually the banishing/driving away (*kārēt*) from the land or the extinguishing of one's family.[17] The main list of ethical impurities is in the Holiness Code (Lev. 17–26). Sins are related to four categories: sexuality, violence, death, and magic.

1. Sins related to sexual relations are cases of the *zenūt,* usually translated as fornication, which includes all kinds of illicit sex: sex among blood relatives, with another's wife, homosexual relations, sex with a menstruating woman, and prostitution (see Lev. 18:1-30; 19:29). A special case in the list is *kilayim*, the prohibition of mixing together different kinds of animals, plants and materials in human clothing (Lev. 19:19, Deut. 22:9-11). A special case of *zenūt* not listed in Lev. 17–26 is remarriage with one's divorced wife with her, in the meantime, having been remarried and then divorced or widowed (Deut. 24:1-4; cf. Jer. 3:1).

2. Sins related to blood: bloodshed (Deut. 21:1-9; cf. Gen. 4:10, Ps. 106:38-39)

3. Sins related to the dead: a corpse left on the tree for the night (Deut. 21:22-23; cf. 11QT 64:11-12).

4. Sins related to magic: "Do not resort to ghosts and spirits or make yourselves unclean by seeking them out. I am the LORD your God" (Lev. 19:31). Magical practice is sometimes conceived as *zenūt* (Lev. 20:6), and those who practice it are to be killed (Exod. 22:17).

15. On the distinction between types of purity based on nonbiblical anthropological evidence, see L.N. Rosen, "Contagion and Cataclysm: A Theoretical Approach to the Study of Ritual Pollution Beliefs," *African Studies* 32 (1973): 229–46.

16. W.D. Davies, *The Territorial Dimension of Judaism* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991); D.P. Wright, "Unclean and Clean, Old Testament," *ABD* 6:729–41, esp. 738–39.

17. For example, the Assyrian exile of Israel is explained in 2 Kgs. 17:5–23 as a punishment resulting from "the sin of Jeroboam," the improper cultic practice of the northern kingdom.

Results of ethical impurities are summarized in Lev. 18:27-30: "The people who were there before you did those abominable things and the land became unclean. So do not let the land spew you out for making it unclean as it spewed them out. Observe my charge, therefore."[18] Qumran texts enrich the biblical theory of impurities.[19]

The sins of the Watchers are their transgression of the cosmic order and mixing with earthly women, and their teaching of magic. They became impure by this process (*1 En.* 7:1; cf. 4Q531 1, 1). The *Book of Giants* qualifies their relation as a case of *zenūt* (4Q203 8, 9), one of the main categories of ethical impurities. On an analogical basis the mixing of heavenly and earthly beings can also be a violation of the *kilayim*, prohibition of the mixing of categories. The practice of magic is again an ethical impurity according to the biblical system.

The sins of the Giants, sons of the Watchers are violence, bloodshed (cannibalism), sins against the animals, birds, and fishes, and drinking of blood (*1 En.* 7:4-5). Homicide is among the sins that make the land impure (Deut. 21:9). Cannibalism is not known from the biblical system. The meaning of the sins committed against the animals is not clear; it can be a violation of the prohibitions concerning food. This presupposition is confirmed by the report on their consuming of blood, which is a violation of the biblical prohibition (Gen. 9:3-4). These are the sins of the Watchers and their offspring that made the earth impure. The resultant flood is not only a punishment of these sins but also, at the same time, a purification of the earth.

The Giants in the Enochic Tradition

1 En. 15:8 refers to the offspring of the Giants as demons (Ethiopic *nafsat*, Aramaic רוחא).[20] These beings are spiritual in nature, following their fathers' nature; they do not eat, they are not thirsty, and they know no obstacles. Their

18. The citation is a summary of the Holiness Code in Lev. 17–26. The land is the Land of Canaan into which the people were about to enter.

19. The Temple Scroll (11QT) considers as impure the non-observance of the dietary laws (11QT 48:6–7), the bodily signs of mourning (tattooing) (11QT 48:10), covenant and marriage with the "inhabitants of the land," which constituted idolatry (11QT 2:1–15, cf. Exod. 34:10–16), burial grounds not separated from surroundings (11QT 48:11–17), the non-separation of sufferers from bodily impurities (flux, leprosy, plague, scab, menstruating women, women after childbirth), and idolatry repeatedly mentioned as *zenūt* defiling the land. 4QMMT (4Q394–399) adds to the list of impurities the offering taken from the pagan corn, and highlights cases of forbidden marriages (priests' marriage with commoners' daughters) as cases of *kilayim*.

destructiveness first and foremost affects children and women, as they were born of women.[21] The Giants are also the protagonists of the *Book of Giants*. The Aramaic fragments belonging to these manuscripts from Qumran are not contained in the Greek and Ethiopic translations. According to the narrative of a Qumran fragment, one of the Giants took to the air "as whirlwinds, and he flew with his hands/wings as [an] eagle."[22] According to this, Giants were shaped like human figures that could fly like the wind.

Although the story of the Watchers in the *Book of the Giants* does not mention any demons,[23] the motifs of the story are related to the realm of the demonic. The characteristics of the Giants evoke the Mesopotamian tradition about the *utukku-s*, a term generally used for demonic beings. The Enochic Giants have the same characteristics as the Mesopotamian demons; they are tall and obtrusive beings, roaming in bands, attacking their victims indiscriminately. They ravage the work of humans,[24] devour the flesh of animals and humans, and consume their blood. They are born from a sexual union of heavenly and earthly beings, considered in the Enochic story to be impure.

The punishment for the sins of the Watchers is binding them and casting them into darkness. Asael is bound by the angel Raphael and Shemihazah is bound by Michael. Demonological texts regularly mention that the demon is binding his victim. The witch, a constant figure of the Mesopotamian incantation series, *Maqlû*, binds her victim by her practices. The binding effect of the witchcraft is mentioned in the title of a series of incantations entitled "The pregnant woman who was bound."[25] The bonds made by witches can be solved by another kind of magic—healing incantations.

"Binding" is a constant motif in the Mesopotamian creation myth *Enūma elīš,* in which the triumph of the gods over their demonic enemies is marked by binding the enemies. Triumphant Ea binds Apsu, the primeval ocean, and

20. For a discussion of the Watchers traditions and later demonology, see the essays by Kevin Sullivan and Silviu Bunta in this collection.

21. This part of the tradition is known only from the Greek and the Ethiopic translations. 4Q204, the fragment that supposedly contains this part of the text, is not legible at this place. It is to be supposed that this part was also contained in the Aramaic text tradition of the Enochic collection.

22. 4Q530 7ii4, see L.T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 128–34.

23. See, though, *1 En.* 19:1, and the essay by Randall Chesnutt in this volume.

24. 4Q531 2+3, 1–10 speaks in more concrete terms than the Shemihazah story, and mentions that the Giants were devastating fruit, wheat, trees, sheep, and cattle.

25. V. Haas, *Magie und Mythen in Babylonien: von Dämonen, Hexen und Beschwörungspriestern*, Merlins Bibliothek der geheimen Wissenschaften und magische Künste 8, (Gifkendorf: Merlin, 1986), 170.

builds his house over his breast. He also binds Apsu's helper, Mummu. Marduk binds Tiamat; after splitting Tiamat in two, he forms the netherworld from the monster's inner parts.[26]

Magical Arts

In the Shemihazah story, the Watchers teach humans magical practices: "sorcery (*ḥršh*) and spellbinding (*ksph*) [and the cutting of roots (Gr. *ridzotomia*); and to show them plants . . ." (*1 En.* 7:1). The first two nouns are general terms for magical practices. The "cutting of roots" means, in all probability, the making of herbal ingredients for magic and making amulets containing herbs and roots.[27]

Asael and his companions teach men metallurgy, the making of weapons and jewels. To the women they teach the art of makeup and cosmetics, the most precious and choice stones, and all kinds of coloured dyes (*1 En.* 8:1). Metallurgy and smithing are very closely related to the notion of magic. Ironsmiths were considered sorcerers in the belief system of the ancient and modern Near East.[28] Weapons made by forgers were attributed to magical power. Jewels served originally as amulets with apotropaic function.[29]

The ancient magical origin of makeup, especially the painting of eyes and lips, is well known, and similarly the magic of jewels.[30] In *Enūma elīš*, the Mesopotamian creation myth, all the gods at war wear amulets, using their magic power against their enemies. According to the myth of *Inanna's (Ištar) Descent into the Netherworld,* the fertility goddess going to the netherworld must

26. Ibid., 92.

27. The Talmud is acquainted with two sorts of *kemi'ot* (amulets): a written one (a parchment with quotations from various sources, including the Scriptures), and the *kame'a šel iqrin*, an amulet made from roots of a certain plant (*Shab.* 61b).

28. On the general idea see M. Eliade, *Forgerons et alchimistes*, Homo Sapiens (Paris: Flammarion, 1956). In Ethiopic, ironsmith and magician are denoted by the same word (*duban-ansa*); see W. Leslau, *Concise Dictionary of Geʿez (Classical Ethiopic)* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1989), 181; similarly the descendants of Cain, who are ironsmiths in the Bible (Gen. 4:16-24), in the later tradition related to them are associated with magical motifs (Syriac "Cave of Treasures," folia 12a, col. 2; for an edition, see C. Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle* [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1883; reprint Amsterdam: APA-Philo Press, 1981]). In the Ethiopian tradition the belief that ironsmiths have magic capabilities and knowledge is alive to this day; they are considered sorcerers and therefore members of other groups do not marry their daughters to them. In an incantation of the series *Maqlû* (II.128) the witch (*kaššaptu*) is called "silversmith," whose spells could be undone or removed by the incantation. See G. Meier, *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû neu bearbeitet* (Osnabrück: Biblio-Verlag, 1967)

29. Haas, *Magie*, 197–98.

30. Ibid.

part with one of her seven magical powers, represented by an item of her garments and jewels, at each gate of the netherworld. At the end of her journey she arrives naked and powerless before Ereškigal, the lady of the netherworld. In the Sumerian variant of the myth, two pieces of Ishtar's cosmetics and jewels are specified as having the power of sexual attraction: her eye-mascara is called "Let a man come, let him come," and her pectoral is called "come, man, come."[31]

The holistic worldview of the Mesopotamians considered everything an omen for future events, and the interpretation of *omina* was generally practiced. Such traditions were collected and systematized in a series of interpretations. A collection of interpretations on heavenly phenomena and meteorological *omina* can be found in the series *Enūma Anu Enlil* (When Anu and Enlil) from the Neo-Babylonian era.[32] Its content is similar to the teachings of Shemiḥazah and his companions that are referred to in the Enochic story.

The Story of the Watchers as a Myth of the Origin of Evil

The story of the Watchers is a myth that speaks to the origin of evil in the world.[33] According to the narrative of the Enochic collection this is the first event following creation (the material of Gen. 2–5 [with the exception of the reference to the patriarch] is not included in the Enochic collection). The first stage of the birth of evil is dysfunction in the cosmic order, a result of the mixing of heavenly and earthly beings, a deed considered as a sin related to sexual relations (*zenut*), and a case of ethical impurity (sin resulting in the impurity of the committer and the land). Sins of heavenly beings (bloodshed, consuming blood) are again considered sins that make impure the sinner and the land he or she lives in; therefore evil in the world originates from sins resulting in impurity (ethical impurities). Initiators of the sins are the heavenly beings who descend to the earthly women, driven by their desire. The Watchers are conscious of the nature of their deeds. They even agree together to commit the sin collectively. The narrative does not mention human responsibility. The authors and agents of the deeds are the Watchers. The Giants, the beings born from the cosmic dysfunction, initiate further anomalies

31. Innana's descent to the nether world, lines 22-23. For the text and translation, see *ETCSL (The Electronic Text Corpus of the Sumerian Literature* [Oxford], http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=t.1.4.1#).

32. W.H. van Soldt, *Solar omens of Enuma Anu Enlil: Tablets 23 (24)-29 (30)*, Uitgaven van het Nederlands historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 73 (Istanbul: Nederlands historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1995).

33. On the problem, see G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 72–73.

in the world. These anomalies are ethical sins resulting in the defilement of the earth. Impurity of the earth results in the punishment of the flood.

The story of the Watchers is an independent story that is parallel to the narrative of Gen. 6:1-4 about the angels and the daughters of men, and not an interpretation of Gen. 6:1-4.[34] The story of the Watchers contains a message that cannot be found in Gen. 6:1-4. It is a determinist myth and an alternative tradition to the message of the primeval history of Genesis. In the Enochic tradition evil originates from the deeds of the Watchers, after creation. According to Genesis, the origin of evil is due to human disobedience (Gen. 2–3). The tradition of the Watchers is often referred to in Qumran texts, with the implication that this is the origin of evil. On the other hand, the biblical story of Gen. 2–3 is almost never mentioned at Qumran.

The author(s) of the Enochic story in the *Book of the Watchers* consciously use Mesopotamian lore to theorize about the origins of evil. The bearers of evil and impurity are demonic beings, the offspring of the Watchers. For the author and audience, demons are working in world history. The story of the Watchers (*1 En.* 6–11) was written following the Babylonian exile. The *terminus ad quem* is the end of the third century BCE. Its language is Aramean, the vernacular of Mesopotamia and the *lingua franca* of the exiled Judaeans from the sixth century BCE.

The attitude of the Enochic collection toward the Mesopotamian world and tradition is manifold. The figure of Enoch and the revelations given to him reflect a working knowledge of the Mesopotamian traditions about the *apkallū*, the antediluvian sages, a priestly tradition from the city of Eridu.[35] In

34. There is no room here to go into the problems of the relation of the two texts. Although Wellhausenian text criticism assigned Gen. 6:1-4 to the Yahwistic source, there is no evidence for an early provenence of this short and disjointed text that may even be a series of reflections of a Priestly redactor (fourth century c. BCE). The Enochic story of the Watchers is backgrounded by a tradition not dependent upon Gen. 6:1-4, which was formed prior to the end of the third century date of the manuscripts of the *Book of the Watchers* as they are known to us. The Enochic story is thought by some scholars to be an interpretation of Gen. 6:1-4. See D. Dimant, "1 Enoch 6–11: A Fragment of a Parabiblical Work," *JJS* (2002): 223–37. Similarly S. Bhayro, "Daniel's 'Watchers' in Enochic Exegesis of Genesis 6:1-4," in *Jewish Ways of Reading the Bible*, JSSSup 11, ed. G.J. Brooke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 58–66, and Archie T. Wright, *The Origin of Evil Spirits: The Reception of Genesis 6.1-4 in Early Jewish Literature* WUNT 2.198 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005). For a different view see Philip R. Davies, "And Enoch Was Not, For Genesis Took Him," in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb*, JSOTSup 111, ed. Charlotte Hempel and Judith M. Lieu (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 97–107. See, too, the essay by Chris Seeman in this volume.

35. See James C. VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man For All Generations*, Studies on Personalities of the Old Testament (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995).

fact, several elements of the story of the Watchers are shaped by the effect of a gentile Mesopotamian background of the work. Genealogical impurity (the Giants born from the relations of the Watchers and the earthly women) is the first level of the systematic spread of the evil in the world. Elements related to impurity, sin, and intermarriage were those necessary for the self-determination of a group, the keeping of shabbat and special purity rules being the qualities that distinguished the exiles from their native gentile neighbours. The meaning of the Watchers' story is that impurities and sins lead to the defilement of the earth and a catastrophic punishment.

Traditions related to magic and connected with the origin of the evil in the story are a reaction against magic, widely practiced in Mesopotamia. The Mesopotamian elements in the Watchers' story are not simply borrowed; they are recontextualized and appropriated in many ways. Mesopotamian *utukku-s*, the evil spirits, may have served as models to the figures of the Giants. Mesopotamian lists of interpretations of *omina* were referred to in the names of the Watchers who were told to transmit forbidden knowledge.[36] Elements related to magic in the *Book of the Watchers* may be backgrounded by Mesopotamian magical practices that were well known among people living in the Babylonian diaspora.

The fragments of the *Book of Giants* found in Qumran represent a literary tradition related to the core of the Enochic collection, the account of the Watchers contained in *1 En.* 6–11.[37] Due to the fragmentary nature of the text, its plot cannot be reconstructed fully and only some details can be recognized. Events of the antediluvian period are referred to several times. Such are the deeds of the Watchers, their defilements, the begetting of "Giants and monsters," as well as to the devastation and bloodshed of the Giants (4Q531 frag. 1,2 and lines 4-6, 8); and the "great corruption in the [earth]" that they caused (4Q532 frag. 2, 9). The Giants, sons of the heavenly Watchers, are victims of the devastation; they must perish in the Flood, together with humans.[38] Their doom is presaged in several dream-visions related in the *Book*

36. On the scribal series and related literature, see Annus, "On the Origins of Watchers," 287–292.

37. This tradition is not contained in the Greek or in the Ethiopic tradition of *1 Enoch*. Among Qumran texts it is represented by 4Q203, 4Q530, 4Q531, 4Q532, 4Q533. The fragments were edited first by J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (London: Clarendon, 1976). A further publication of the text (adding to the list 1Q23, 1Q24, 2Q26, 4Q206 2-3, 4Q556, 6Q8, and not including 4Q533), with a commentary is Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran*. The definitive publication, with further additions and joins is from É. Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4. XXII: Textes araméens. Première partie, 4Q529-549*, DJD 31 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 17–116.

38. The Watchers do not perish in the Flood; their punishment is binding; cf. *1 En.* 10:4-7, 11-12.

of Giants. The interpreter of their dreams is Gilgamesh who probably is an independent figure in the text, and not one of the Giants.[39] His name appears in the company of Giants whose names (Ohyah, Hahyah, and Mahawai) are of unknown origin, and with Watchers, part of those names are unknown from other lists.

The *Book of Giants* makes frequent references to dreams, and sections of dream-visions are found in it. The dreams are oracles on the future destruction of the Giants. Gilgamesh is mentioned twice in the fragments. The first mention is a message of Gilgamesh on the doom of the Giants, in Ohya's words (4Q530 frag. 2ii+6+7i+8+9+10+11+12[?], 1-2). The second time Gilgamesh is the interpreter of a dream, the interpretation being transmitted to the giant Ohya. It cannot be established from the fragments if Gilgamesh belongs to the Giants or not—only his function as a dream-interpreter is certain. It is to be noted that the same fragments mention also Enoch, "the noted scribe" as an interpreter of dreams who is told to be able to "interpret for us" (i.e. for the Giants) a dream (4Q530 frag. 2ii+6+7i+8+9+10+11+12[?], 14). Enoch is an authority in revelation: Mahawai is sent to him in order to learn their fate (4Q530 frag. 2ii+6+7i+8+9+10+11+12[?], 21).

Previous research associated the figure of Gilgamesh in the Enochic collection with the epic hero.[40] However, no episode known from the epic can be connected with the Gilgamesh of the *Book of Giants*. On the other hand, in Mesopotamian texts beyond the Gilgamesh epic, Gilgamesh is clearly pictured as a netherworld ruler.[41] Described sometimes as "Nergal's little brother" he was a figure with special relation to Nergal, ruler of the netherworld.[42] He appears in the company of chtonic deities as one who sits in judgment in the netherworld.[43] His name is very rarely found in Old Babylonian documents,

39. Gilgamesh is mentioned twice, in 4Q530 frag. 2ii+6+7i+8+9+10+11+12[?], 2) and 4Q531 frag. 22:12; 4Q203 frag. 3:3.

40. D.R. Jackson, "Demonizing Gilgames," in *Gilgames and the World of Assyria*, ed. Joseph Azize (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 107–114; John C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Traditions*, MHUC 14 (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992); Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "Giant Mythology and Demonology: From the Ancient Near East to the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Die Dämonen—Demons: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt—The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of Their Environment*, ed. A. Lange and H. Lichtenberger (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 318–38; Matthew Goff, "Gilgamesh the Giant: the Qumran Book of Giants' appropriation of Gilgamesh motifs," *DSD* 16 (2009): 221–53.

41. It is worth noting that Gilgamesh is never mentioned in the epic as one who becomes a netherworld god.

42. See A.R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 107.

apart from the several copies of the epics.[44] In turn, religious texts from the late libraries mention him frequently as the sovereign of the underworld who, after his life on earth, became king of the underworld—a Babylonian Osiris, identified with Nergal.[45] Gilgamesh as judge and ruler of the shades in the netherworld had a specific role in ancestor cult and magical healing (incantations).[46] Netherworld connections and mantic functions are regularly interrelated in religious beliefs. Gilgamesh as king of the netherworld interprets *omina* pertaining to kings. "The omen of Gilgameš the mighty king (*amūt gilgameš šarru dannu*), who had no rival" and variations are frequent in the omen tradition of the late period.

Thus, Gilgamesh, as a ruler of the shades in the netherworld, had three primary functions. As a judge, he judged the case of the sufferer (the prayers use legal terminology to speak of the sufferer). As an omen-interpreter he was able to foretell future events and to prognosticate the sufferer's fortune if he dies or remains alive. Finally, as one who had authority over troublesome ghosts he was believed to be an effective healer. The three roles were interrelated, and each of them was related to the healing of a sickness (believed to be caused by harmful magic).[47]

The Gilgamesh motif in the *Book of Giants* reflects a good awareness of the Mesopotamian scholarly tradition of the interpretation of *omina*, taught in the higher-level schools (it is here to be noted that first-millennium scholarship focused more on magic and divination).[48] Several Qumran Aramaic texts witness that Jewish authors were well acquainted not only with literary texts but also with astronomy, calendar, and the tradition of the interpretation of *omina*. The figure of Gilgamesh in the *Book of Giants* reflects knowledge where Mesopotamian elements are used and transmitted with the same meaning as they were applied in the Mesopotamian culture. This figure matched perfectly with the demonic images of the Watchers and the Giants, shaped with the help of characteristic elements from Mesopotamian culture.

43. Ibid., 127.

44. W.G. Lambert, "*Gilgameš in* Literature and Art: The Second and First Millennia," in *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, ed. Ann E. Farkas (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern,1987), 37–52, esp. 46.

45. Ibid., 40.

46. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic,* 127–35.

47. Lambert, *Gilgameš*, 45; see George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic,* 113–14.

48. Petra D. Gesche, *Schulunterricht in Babylonien im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr. Alter Orient und Altes Testament* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2001), 81–152; David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 25–27.

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The Fifteenth-Century Ruthenian Translations from Hebrew and the Heresy of the Judaizers: Is There a Connection?

Moshe Taube

To dramatize things a little, let me start with the declaration that not only do I strongly believe that the Ruthenian translations from Hebrew made in Kiev by Jews in the second half of the fifteenth century are linked to the Novgorod-Moscow heretics, but I also believe that the Muscovite Principality in the second half of the fifteenth century may well have been on the brink of succumbing to a Jewish conspiracy to proselytize Muscovy from the top, a plan orchestrated by learned Jews from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with mystic inclinations, with the perhaps unsuspecting collaboration of highly placed officials in the court of Ivan III, and with the sovereign himself hesitant for a while and playing his cards both ways.

The Judaizers

The series of events that led to the uncovering and eventually to the eradication of the heresy of the Judaizers in Novgorod and later in Moscow can be resumed as follows (a lucid account can be found in, e.g., Fennell 1962:324ff.):

According to church sources, namely Archbishop Gennadii of Novgorod and Iosif Sanin, abbot of Volokolamsk, the two main persecutors of the heretics, the movement started in Novgorod in 1470, shortly before the annexation of Novgorod the Great by Muscovy. In that year prince Mikhailo Olel'kovich of Kiev visited Novgorod on the invitation of the pro-Lithuanian party, in company of several nobles and merchants, among them the learned Jew Zacharia or Skhariia, knowledgeable in matters of astrology, astronomy, necromancy, and magic. This Zacharia succeeded in derailing several priests of the lower white clergy, some of whom were later invited (surprisingly enough, by Ivan III himself)[1] to come to

[1] Ivan III himself apparently was sympathetic, for some time at least, to the heretical circle. Thus Zimin (1982:218) says: Но особую опасность для ревнителей православия представляло то обстоятельство, что покровительствовал московским вольнодумцам сам государь всея Руси, а наследником престола был сын Елены Стефановны – Дмитрий). The indications

Moscow, where two of them were appointed to churches in the Kremlin. There they went on with their efforts to expand the movement, obtaining protection from Fedor Kuritsyn, chief diplomat of Ivan III (heading the *posol'skii prikaz*), as well as from the Moldavian princess Elena, wife of Ivan Ivanovich the Younger. Elena (nicknamed Moldovanka or Voloshanka), Ivan III's daughter-in-law, daughter of Stefan the Great of Moldavia [1457–1504] and of Evdokiia, the daughter of Prince Olel'ko Vladimirovich of Kiev, was the mother of Dmitrii, the young prince who in 1498, after his father's death in 1490, was crowned with Monomakh's cap and pronounced in the presence of his grandfather Ivan III as the designated heir to the throne of Russia. Thus his mother Elena also happens to be the direct cousin of the aforementioned Mikhailo Olel'kovich of Kiev, as well as a cousin of the sovereign.

So this looks like a family affair, only it so happens that the family involved is the first family of Muscovy, which is certainly no accident, since the conspirators must have been aware of the example of the Christianization of Rus' by St. Vladimir, suggesting that in Russia there was no room for grass-roots revolutions, and that religious changes had to come from the top. They may also have been aware of the fact that not long before the conversion of Vladimir to Christianity, the conversion of the Khazar ruler to Judaism resulted in the Judaization of his kingdom.

In 1487 Gennadii discovered the heresy in Novgorod and began persecuting the heretics, though without strong backing from either the secular power, namely Ivan III who had appointed him archbishop, or from the ecclesiastical authorities in Moscow, certainly not from Metropolitan Zosima, appointed in 1490, who was himself accused of secretly endorsing the heretics. In this period many pamphlets and polemic letters were written by Gennadii, especially regarding the eagerly awaited end of the world in the year 7000 from the Creation, which according to the Orthodox calendar corresponds to 1492 AD. When the end did not occur, the heretics mocked their opponents by showing their calculations to have been wrong, whereas the calendar used by the heretics, based on Jewish calculations, was right. After several delays the heretics were finally brought to trial and punished severely. In 1502 Elena and her son Dmitrii were imprisoned, and by 1504 the heresy had been definitively crushed.

This chain of events relating to the years 1487–1504, repeated in practically all the history books, does not entail agreement on the interpretation of the nature of

of this patronage are: 1. It was Ivan himself who invited the two heretical Novgorod priests, Aleksei and Denis, to Moscow, and had them appointed there to the Kremlin churches; 2. His protégé Fedor Kuritsyn, head of the Moscow heretics, was never brought to trial; 3. The unusually formulated oath of Ivan given in 1488 to his brother Andrei: Князь же великии клятся ему землеи и небом и богом силным, творцом всея твари. Even Luria had to admit (1960:143) that this is an all but heretical formula (клятвой странной, не находящей соответствия в других памятниках и едва ли не еретической), especially if we compare it to the usual verbal formulations accompanying the kissing of the cross: one renounces, in case of perjury, 'God's Grace, that of His most holy Mother, and that of the great miracle workers': нє будєт ми милости божиєи и пречистои его матери и великих чюдотворцевъ.). For possible motives for this support see Döpmann 1967: 77–80.

the heresy, of its ideology, and especially regarding its affinity to Judaism, but, on the contrary, an ongoing controversy surrounding these questions. The present author by and large accepts the overall interpretation of the heresy given by Thomas M. Seebohm in his masterly 1977 book *Ratio und Charisma*, a book ignored for obvious reasons by Soviet historiography, but for less obvious reasons by Western scholarship also.[2] His interpretation is based on an extensive study of all the published texts relevant to the heresy, and may be summed up as follows:

The heresy is an original Russian phenomenon, or a phenomenon *sui generis*, for which only very partial analogies, and certainly no affiliatory influence, can be traced in the West. It started in Novgorod as a reformatory movement within the White Clergy, whose aim was to reform the Church from within. After its transfer to Moscow, however, it became a *Bildungsbewegung* borne mainly by the newly emerging class of the *d'iachestvo* (*дьячество*), the educated lay functionaries serving in the administration of the Muscovite state, whose interests were less toward religious questions than to worldly-scientific literature. Their interest in religious problems is, rather, of a political nature. However, the underlying ontological concepts of the translated literature, echoed in the original literature of the heretics, reflect a strict prophetic Monotheism incompatible with central concepts of Christian dogma, such as Trinity, Incarnation and Resurrection. The sovereignty assigned to reason, its being posited as the foundation for any religion, and the legitimacy claimed for the search of truth at every available source, including the pagan Hellene Aristotle, who is compared in this literature to a prophet, were justifiably seen by the Church as a threat to its monopoly on fixing a binding canon of literature. Since the translated texts were of Jewish origin (and, we may add, even the Moslem ones were disguised as Jewish) and displayed a pronounced **mono**theistic conception (a conception, we may add, even more accentuated by

[2] I know of only one review of the book, written by M. Cazacu in the *Revue des Études Slaves* (1979), which briefly describes but does not really discuss its contents and conclusions. In a few papers, which I was able to trace after a prolonged effort following my own very belated discovery of the book in 1999, the book is simply referred to in a footnote as a bibliographical item, without details. 1) Frank Kämpfer 1995, reviewing Cesare de Michelis 1993b, when criticizing the author for ignoring the German language literature on the subject; 2) M.V. Dmitriev, in a 1997 paper on the scholarly legacy of A. I. Klibanov; 3) N. P. Franz, in a 1996 paper on Kliment Smoliatich. 4) F. von Lilienfeld, whose 1963 book on Nil Sorskii had been critically reviewed by Seebohm (1965), mentions Seebohm's 1977 book in her 1978 paper as 'forthcoming', but *does* not refer to it in any of her subsequent writings. The only author who does discuss and quote Seebohm's book was the German philosopher Wilhelm Goerdt (1984:159, 161, 330–334). Nevertheless the book remained unknown to most Slavists, and is not discussed or even mentioned where it should have been, e.g. in general reviews of translated literature in Rus', e.g. I. Ševčenko 1981, F. J. Thomson 1999, or in studies devoted to specific texts discussed by Seebohm in his book, e.g. studies, on the *Laodicean Epistle* by Ja. S. Lur'e 1982, Rainer Stichel 1991, Cesare de Michelis 1993a and b, Moshe Taube 1995b and 1998. The most recent work mentioning Seebohm that came to my attention after this paper was complete is the essay by Joel Raba in *Russia Mediaevalis* X, 1 (2000), 126–149: «Жидовствующие» ли? История задушевной мысли.

editorial modifications in the Slavic) which can easily and with good cause be interpreted as antitrinitarian, the Russian Church had every reason to suspect the heretics in "Judaizing". The Church lacked the conceptual and institutional tools to carry on a serious, matter-of-fact discussion with the heretics in order to eliminate or assimilate their ideas. It chose therefore the juridical way, accusing them of being "Judaizing apostates," in order to eradicate the heretics and with them the heresy. This was done in two phases. At the 1490 Council the Novgorodian reformatory clerics were decimated. It was only in 1503, after Ivan III was forced to make a shift in his church policy, that the Muscovite *d'iaks* were in their turn tried, although some of the "mighty," in first place their leader Fedor Kuritsyn, escaped persecution.

Why then has this reasonable account not found its way into mainstream Russian historiography? The reason is that in recent decades the thorniest questions of the cultural history of medieval Russia had been dominated by the late Iakov Solomonovich Luria, the most prominent authority on the subject of the Novgorod-Moscow heresy. Starting with his first publication on the subject in 1955 (AFED, with N. Kazakova) and until his last paper in 1996, Luria grew more and more skeptical about the Jewish nature of the heresy (see my criticism of his position in Taube 1995a, 1995b, 1997, and 1998).

One of the consequences of Luria's dominance of the field was the discouragement of scholars from investigating the "Literature of the Judaizers," the corpus of literature translated at precisely that time from the Hebrew into Ruthenian in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The Literature of the Judaizers

Translations from Hebrew in the East Slavic area began about 1400.[3] The translations present two chronological groups:

I. The first group belongs to the first half of the fifteenth century, where we encounter Hebrew works, mainly historical accounts, integrated into Russian compilations such as the *Explanatory Paleia* and the East Slavic Chronicles called "Chronographs." These translations include:

1. The "Life of Moses" integrated into the *Explanatory Paleia* (see Taube 1993), including interpolations from midrashic sources on Joseph's coffin, the golden calf, and more.

2. Excerpts from the *Josippon* in the *Academy Chronograph* (see Taube 1992) on Antioch IV Epiphanes and the Hasmonean revolt, on Zorovavel and King Darius, and on Alexander the Great in Jerusalem.

3. We also have a complete reworking of the last part of the *Josippon*, dealing with the destruction of the temple, entitled *Plenenie Ierusalima tretee Titovo*

[3] For the controversy on this point see Lunt and Taube 1988, Alekseev 1993.

(Плененіе Иерусалима третее Титово), integrated into the second redaction of the Hellenic and Roman Chronicler (text published by Tvorogov 1999, see also Taube 1989).

This first group, belonging to the very beginning of the fifteenth and possibly even to the end of the fourteenth century consists of texts that show traces of Ruthenian, as well as Novgorodian dialectal features which the translations presumably acquired as they underwent editorial treatment when integrated into Russian compilations. In all probability the *Book of Esther*, a Jewish translation, but one made from (Judeo-)Greek, not from Hebrew (see Altbauer and Taube 1984, Lunt and Taube 1994, 1998), belongs too to the first group, for it shares with it some linguistic traits, especially in the lexicon. The circumstances that gave rise to the translations of this first group, which precedes the emergence of the heresy, are still not clear. There is evidence, however, that some known Muscovite Judaizers showed interest in them, e.g., the scribe, annotator and editor Ivan (Ivashko) Chernyi, who extensively glossed a 1489 copy of the *Hellenic and Roman Chronicler* (AFED: 277–278).

II. The second group is traditionally called the "Literature of the Judaizers," following Sobolevskii's 1903 appellation, and it belongs to the second half of the fifteenth century. It includes:

1. Al-Ghazālī's *Intentions of the Philosophers*, namely the two first sections: Logic (published by Neverov 1909) and Theology (excerpts published in Sobolevskii 1903: 407–408);

2. Moses Maimonides' *Logical Vocabulary* (excerpts published in Sobolevskii 1903:402–403). Items 1 and 2 combined constitute in Slavic the *Logika*;

3. Johannes de Sacrobosco's *Book of the Sphere* (Sobolevskii's "Cosmography," 1903:409–413, see Taube 1995a);

4. Emmanuel Bar Yaakov Bonfils' *Six Wings* (Sobolevskii 1903: 413–419, Taube 1995a);

5. Pseudo-Aristotle's *Secret of Secrets* (Sobolevskii 1903: 419–423, edited by Speranskii 1908), in Slavic including the following interpolations:
   Maimonides' *Treatise on Sexual Intercourse*,
   Maimonides' *On Poisons and their Antidotes* (excerpt),
   Maimonides' *Book of Asthma* (chapter 13),
   Rhazes' chapter on "Physiognomy" from the second part of his book *Al-Manṣuri*;

6. The *Laodicean Epistle*, and specifically its first part, the *sorites*, or cyclical maxim on the soul in eight lines (AFED: 256–276) – a most influential text circulating in Muscovy and related to Fedor Kuritsyn (see Taube 1995b, Taube 1998 [1994]);

7. The collection of nine Old Testament Hagiographa in the single sixteenth-century Vilnius Codex (f.19 RKF 262 of the Academy Library, see Altbauer 1992), which is clearly a copy of an earlier manuscript. The precise dating of the collection, however, is unclear.

This second group[4] consists of Ruthenian translations, most of which underwent some degree of russification when copied and glossed in Muscovy.

Who were the translators?

There can be no doubt that the translators were Ruthenian Jews. There are numerous indications in the philosophical and astronomical texts that demonstrate knowledge of Jewish tradition, of Jewish interpretation of Scripture, etc. We will, however, content ourselves here with one direct example from Chapter 13 of Maimonides' "Logical Vocabulary":

The Hebrew, like the Arabic original, has:

(LM13.6.4) And a name said **of a particular and of a universal**, is when a species is referred to by (the name of) the genus, e.g., 'Kokhab' is the name of any star in the heaven, as well as of a particular Planet (i.e. Mercury), or the name Hashish in Arabic referring to any plant as well as to the yellow flower used for painting.

The Slavic, however, has a different example:

(LM13.6.4) а има рєчєноє во всє^{м} и єдинє то ижє нарєчєсѧ сѣщєство всѧчєство^{м}. ꙗко рєчє^{м} Ізраиль **всѣмъ намъ** има. и одномѣ мєжи нами.

(LM13.6.4) And a name said **of a particular and of a universal**, is when a species is referred to by (the name of) the genus, e.g., **'Israel'** is the name of **us** all, as well as of an individual among **us**.

This choice of example, which refers to 'Israel' in the first person plural, leaves no doubt about who was dictating the text.

How were the translations carried out?

The texts were translated by learned Ruthenian Jews with an adequate knowledge of Medieval Jewish philosophy, but with a less than adequate knowledge of the literal, massively calquing Hebrew language of the translations from Arabic. Since they presumedly did not know Arabic (although there is no indication of their being Ashkenazi), their only recourse in case of difficulty was to commentaries to the works translated, or to other works dealing with similar subjects. Traces of these channels of recourse can be found in the Slavic. The circumstances of the actual work of translation as I imagine it are as follows: the Jewish translator has in front of him a Hebrew version, or several Hebrew versions of the text to be translated, and he dictates it to his Slavic collaborator, who puts it down in writing, occasionally "correcting" it according to the scribal conventions he is accustomed to. The

[4] A separate place should be assigned to the "Psalter of Fedor," a collection of Jewish prayers for various occasions, camouflaged as an orthodox Psalter with 20 Kathismas and 8 odes, translated from memory (See Zuckerman 1987) by a converted Jew sometime between 1464 and 1473. There seems to be no connection between this translation and the heresy. The Psalms which Gennadii was given by the repentant heretic Naum (AFED 316) and which he finds "distorted" (AFED 319) will have to be sought elsewhere.

Jews dictated their literal translation into a vernacular, heavily polonized Ruthenian, presumably the only variety of Slavic they were familiar with. The dictating was done by the learned Jew, versed in Hebrew medieval philosophy, but not in the Slavic literary or scientific tradition, to a Christian proficient in the writing traditions of Ruthenian, perhaps belonging to the circle of people interested in this literature. Unmistakable marks of such a method of translation are doublets, not just of single words but of **clauses**, reflecting self-correction by the translator noted down by the scribe in both wordings. This second variety of doublets is found only in the logical section of Al-Ghazālī's *Intentions*, which did not undergo any further edition and consequently any linguistic or textual corruption or correction. These are markedly different from doublets consisting of single words, which usually result from glosses that found their way from the margin into the text. In the text below, these doublets of phrases are marked by square brackets around the repeated phrase.

A probative illustration for this method of translation comes from the explanation of the difference between common name and proper name, with the example being '*eḇed ha'el* – the Hebrew equivalent of Arabic *Abdullah*, both as a proper name and as designing 'God's servant'.

(LA1.2.4) וכאשר אמרת עבד האל והיה שם כנוי, היה נפרד, לפי שאתה לא תכוין בו אלא מה שתכוין באמרך דיד.

(LA1.2.4) а коли рє$^{\bar{ѵ}}$ємъ богорабъ, а было бы то прозвищо, было бы особ^{ѣ}ное. ҙанже ты нє мыслишь тымъ. алѣ ш^{і}то мыслишь ꙗко рє$^{\bar{ѵ}}$ешь, [ҙовомо самостїю, ино бѫдє$^{\bar{т}}$ ҙа єжє ты нє мыслишь, ни$^{\bar{ж}}$ли ꙗко бы єси рє$^{\bar{к}}$лъ], исаи дв^{і}дъ.

(LA1.2.4) And when we say 'God's servant' as a surname (that is *Abdullah*), then it would be (considered) simple, since you do not intend by it but what you intend by saying [properly speaking, it would be: since you do not intend but what you would have, by saying] 'Jesse,' 'David.'

This example is particularly revealing, since the Slavic scribe wrote down not only the reformulation of the clause, but even the words 'properly speaking,' clearly a sign that the scribe was unable to distinguish between the dictated text and the translator's aside, or metatext.

What can we learn from the translated texts about the ideology of the translators?

We can of course make deductions from the choice of texts considered worthy of translating, as well as from details in the translations themselves, especially from passages that do not derive from the Hebrew version. We notice first that the corpus is made up, beside the books of Scripture, of texts that can be characterized as scientific or scholarly, but which are completely devoid of any specific theological doctrine favoring any known religion. They display the tendency, common to medieval rationalists of all religions, to mobilize the tools of rationalism, in particular logic, and especially syllogisms, for proving in terms common to all the existence of a cre-

ator. We also notice the absence of any catechistic or moralizing elements, apart from the praise of basic moral values common to all humans. These can best be seen in the conclusion of one of the central texts of our corpus, the *Logika*.

The centrality of the *Logika* stems from the fact that, from among the texts specifically mentioned by Gennadii as writings being in the possession of the heretics, it is one of two treatises (the other being the *Six Wings*) that can be identified with a Slavic text translated from Hebrew bearing that same name.

In the Slavic version of Chapter 14 of Maimonides' *Logic* we find the following text, the main part of which, *marked in the translation by italics*, is unattested in either Arabic or Hebrew:

14.2.1 А мѫдрость сїю исполнилъ Аристотєль голова всѣмъ философомъ первымъ и послѣднимъ, подлѫгъ смыслу мудрєцовъ Израилевыхъ, ажє по плѣнєнїи нє нашли своихъ книгъ, а спѫстилисѧ на єго разѫмъ иже ровєнъ во пророчєскїихъ фундамєнтєхъ. 14.2.2 занєжє нєвозможно єсть абы пророкъ нєполонъ былъ в сєдми мѫдростєхъ. а овсѣмъ в логицѣ ‹и въ› пѫт{ны}хъ. А исполнилъ єѧ осмыми книгами прєжєрєчєнными. иже она направитъ каждого в тыхъ мѫдростєхъ. 14.2.3 а она подобна єсть вазѣ и мѣрє и ослѣ златои.

14.2.1 And this Wisdom was perfected by Aristotle, *chief of all Philosophers, both ancient and recent in accord with the view of the wise men of Israel, as after the exile they did not find their books, so they relied on his wisdom, which is equal in its foundations to that of the prophets.* 14.2.2 *For it is inconceivable that a prophet be unaccomplished in the seven wisdoms, and in particular in Logic <and in> the Mathematical sciences. And he completed it in the aforementioned eight books. For it guides everyone in those wisdoms,* 14.2.3 *and it is like a weight and a measure and like a Touchstone for Gold.*

The Slavic then resumes with several verses from Chapter 14 on the division of the sciences. But, starting with the seventh science, that of Theology, the Slavic text once more departs from the Hebrew (the departure is marked by italics):

14.5.1 сєдмаѧ мѫдрость бжєтвєнная. она єсть глава всѣмъ сєдмимъ. и ѧдро иˣ статоүноє. 14.5.2 занєжє єю оживѣтъ во вѣки дїа үлїүєскаѧ. 14.5.3 а то познаєт кождое вѣры үлїкъ. иже жадныи глѫпыи ѳ бїа нє можєт быти. 14.5.4 а то подобно какъ бы нѣкто рєклъ иже ѣазъ кнѧзю слѫжѳ а кнѧзѧ нє вѣдаю. или хожу в цр҃ковь. а гдѣ цр҃ковь нє вѣдаю. 14.5.5 а сїа сєдмь мѫдростєи нє подлѫгъ жаднаго законѳ. нєжєли подлѫгъ үлїүєства. 14.5.6 а можєѧ каждыє вѣры үлїкъ кохати в ниˣ. какїже видимъ иже во всѣхъ вѣрахъ сѣть прото иже законникъ подобєнъ скарбникѳ. а мѫдрєцъ томѳ, үто дабываєт. 14.5.7 а на каторѫю рѣчь нє прикладаю т подлѫгъ оноє. а таѧ гинєтъ. 14.6.1 Рєчє Алеѯандръ: приводы нєзнатїѧ правды үєтыре. ā. сє глѳбина єѧ краткимъ разѫмомъ .b̃. нєпорѣднєю разѫма .g̃. ищѳүи пєрємоганїѧ и паньства .d̃. любѧ то в үємъ привыкъ. 14.6.2 а то наиболшаѧ завада ниже котораѧ инаѧ. 14.7.1 а сїи исполнєнїа нє могѳтъ быти, нєжєли

и с съвѣтскою мⁿростїю, а оставлѧа всѧ лишнєѧ. 14.7.2 ꙗкѡже рєчє дв҃дъ цр҃ь. блиᶻ гд҃ь ко всѣмъ призывающимъ єго. всѣмъ єжє призываєтъ єго по правдѣ.

14.5.1 The seventh wisdom is Theology, *which is the crowning of all seven as well as their core in importance.* 14.5.2 *For through it will the human soul survive in eternity.* 14.5.3 *And this will admit a man of any creed, that he who is ignorant, cannot be with the Lord.* 14.5.4 *And this is as if one said: I serve the prince, but who that prince is I do not know; or: I go to church, but where that church is I do not know.* 14.5.5 *And these seven wisdoms are not in accordance with any religion, but rather in accordance with humanity.* 14.5.6 *And a man of any creed can embrace them. As we see that in all creeds the jurist resembles the keeper of the treasury, whereas the thinker resembles him who adds to it.* 14.5.7 *And to whichever thing one does not add according to it(s nature), that thing perishes.* 14.6.1 *Said Alexander (Aphrodisiensis): The reasons for the ignorance of truth are four. 1. Its depth for the short mind, 2. the helplessness of the intellect, 3. striving to overpower and dominate, 4. cherishing that to which one is accustomed.* 14.6.2 *And this is a greater obstacle than any other.* 14.7.1 *And these accomplishments cannot come about but in combination with the Worldly Science by shedding all mean (traits).* 14.7.2 *As King David said* (Psalms 145:8): *The Lord is near unto all who call upon him, to all who call upon him in truth.*

The passages in italics, which, as said, do not come from Maimonides' *Logic*, could be most revealing about the ideology and perspective of the person or persons, assumedly Jewish, who produced the Slavic translation. The ideas expounded in these passages are typical of the Jewish rationalists, disciples and followers of Maimonides, who for three centuries had been fighting a hopeless retreating battle against fundamentalist and mysticist tendencies which were gaining ground in mainstream Judaism, while marginalizing and delegitimizing rationalism as alien to orthodox Jewish thought.[5] Essentially, they draw upon the traditional sources of reference, ultimately the Bible and the Talmud, skillfully using citations that had served in the past in discussions over Wisdom and Faith (see the detailed analysis in Taube 1997).

It is obvious, then, that in this afterword the translator of the *Logic* added into the text an ideological *credo* of a progressive and universalist, indeed cosmopolitan nature, which he thought would please his audience. But who was his audience?

The Addressees of the Translations

Speculations were advanced by several Russian and Ukrainian scholars that the translations were carried out for internal Jewish or "Synagogal" purposes (e.g. Florovskii 1981:13). These speculations are absurd, though Luria (1995a: 218) seems to accept them without his usual skepticism. His statement that Altbauer

5 For a recent survey of the final stages of this battle, culminating in sixteenth-century Poland in the polemic between the rationalist Moses Isserles and his opponent Solomon Luria, a polemic that ended with the victory of the anti-rationalist Luria, see D. B. Ruderman 1995, ch. 1–2.

has convincingly corroborated this hypothesis by citing "direct contemporary testimonies" to the effect that in Lithuania "it is the habit of our coreligionists to speak mostly Russian" is unfounded.

Indeed, Jews in all their places of dispersion acquired the local tongue and spoke it. There is a great distance, however, between speaking and writing. Altbauer himself (1992: 20) states: "it is highly unlikely that Jews in Belorussia in that period generally were able to read texts not in Hebrew characters." Our texts – whether on Astronomy, Logic, Theology, Sex or Medicine – do not belong to the kind of literature likely to be translated for under-educated Jewish men or women. This type of literature was only known to, and read by, a few highly cultivated Jewish scholars who were *ipso facto* fluent in Hebrew, and consequently did not need a translation. In short, this is not the nineteenth, but the fifteenth century, and Slavic, any kind of Slavic, cannot be considered a *Kultursprache* for Jews at this time.

Indications that the translations were intended for a non-Jewish audience interested in Jewish writings can be derived from a detailed analysis of passages in the translations where the Slavic is deliberately modified or censored, in order to remove or to rectify statements which might not be fit for a Christian audience. Thus, in the Logical section of Al-Ghazālī's *Intentions*, in the discussion of the difference between true negation (i.e. negation of the nexus) and privation (i.e. negation of the subject), the Hebrew text, following the Arabic original, explains that one cannot assign positive attributes to a non-specific or fictitious subject, for example "God's Associate." Now the notion of "God's Associate" presents no difficulty for a Jewish or Moslem reader, for it is immediately grasped as absurd or fictitious, due to the deeply established notion of God's unity in these two monotheistic religions. It appears however, that this notion was considered by the translator unfit for a Christian reader who might be confused by the familiar dogma of hypostasis which taught him that one deity could actually contain three.

(3.2.10 לא) ויקרא זה משפט מוסר, ר"ל הוא חיוב באמת, סר בו אל דרך השלילה, ואות זה שהשלילה תהיה אמיתית על הנעדר, ואפשר שיסולק, (3.2.10 לא) בשיאמר עושתף האל יתʿ אינו ראוי, והבטל אינו יודעת, ואי אפשר שיאמר עושתף האל יתʿ בלתי ראוי, כמו שלא יאמר עור, והוא בלשון ההמון יותר נראה.

Ultimately what we read in the Slavic version is:

(LA3.2.10) и нарєᵛтсѧ ѡсѳ᷒ї сїи ѿстѫпᵢныи понє᷎ ѿстѫпиї въимѡᴹ оу прилогъ. ‹lacuna› (ЛА3.2.11) а могомъ рєүи, бг҃ъ нє видитєль, и празднословїє нє моудрость, а нє могоᴹ рєүи бг҃ъ нє види᷎т.‹lacuna›

(LA3.2.10) and this type of proposition is called digressive, for it has digressed, being negative, into affirmation, ‹lacuna: the demonstration thereof is that the negation is true when applied to the non-existent› (LA3.2.11) and we may say *God‹'s associate›*[6] *is un-sighted*, and idle talk is not wisdom,[7] but we cannot say

6 So Heb. עושתף האל יתʿ.

7 Hebrew 'and the void is not knowledge'. Latin omits phrase.

God‹'s associate› does not see[8] ‹just as we cannot say (that he is) blind, and this is even more manifest in the vulgar tongue (i.e. Persian)›.

The translator into Slavic consequently twice dropped the fictitious Associate and left God to reign alone, thus distorting the whole sense of the passage.

A second example is from the Theological section of Al-Ghazālī's *Intentions*. Here too the issue is unity.

(3.1.1 תא) והאחד באמת הוא החלק המעריך, ואבל הוא על שלוש מדרגות: (3.1.2 תא) הדרגה הראשונה, והיא האמתית באמת, הוא החלק האחד אשר אין רבוי בו לא בכח ולא בפעל, (3.1.3 תא) וזה כנקודה ועצמות הבורא, כי הוא אינו מתחלק בפעל.

(TA3.1.1) единыи бо по истинѣ сє єсть ѵасть тождєствєна ино на трєхъ стєпєнєхъ. (TA3.1.2) ā. оноже по истинѣ в нєᴹже нѣсть множєство ни в силѣ ни в дѣлѣ. (TA3.1.3) и сє ꙗко самость сотворитєлєва нєраздѣлима ни в силѣ ни в дѣлѣ. (TA3.1.4) такоже ‹нє пр҃иимаєтъ› множества возможєнствомъ и прємѣнєнїа и в силѣ и в дѣлѣ, (TA3.1.5) онже єсть єдиныи по истинѣ.

(TA3.1.1) 'One' in the proper sense is (that which is) part(icular and) concrete, and this (occurs) in three degrees: (TA3.1.2) First, which is truly (one), is that in which there is no plurality neither potentially nor actually. (TA3.1.3) And this is, e.g. ‹the point and› the essence of the Creator which is not divisible, neither in potential nor *in actu*.

The Hebrew here, like the Arabic original, brings as examples of "true unity," divisible neither in reality nor in thought, the point and the essence of the creator. This equation apparently seemed to the translator to be unfit for the Christian reader, and he consequently dropped the point from the example and left only God.

Further corroborating evidence for the claim that the translation was intended for a non-Jewish audience, and that the translator had a particular tendency in mind, is the fact that in the Slavic version of *Logika* the translator tried to dissimulate the Moslem origin of Al-Ghazālī's *Intentions* by erasing any trace of Arabic. This was done either by simple deletion, or by replacing names of places and persons, including the name of the author, by Jewish names, so that by reading the Slavic text alone one might have the impression of reading a Jewish work. Thus the name of Al-Ghazālī, which appears in the Arabic and Hebrew versions as "Abū-Ḥāmid," is Judaized in the Slavic version into 'Aviasaf,' while Zayd and 'Umar, which remained Zayd and 'Umar in Hebrew, were converted in Slavic into Abraham and Isaac. This deliberate dissimulation leaves no doubt about the tendentiousness of the translation. The Jewish translator desired to present to the non-Jewish readership an attractive picture of Judaism, as a culture which combines faith with rationality, openness and progress. This desire was so strong that he did not abstain from annexing a Moslem thinker *par excellence* like Al-Ghazālī to the Jewish heritage.

8 Arab and Hebrew have it the other way around: 'we may say *God's associate does not see*... but we cannot say *God's associate is un-sighted*'.

Yet this picture of Judaism which the translator wishes to present certainly does not correspond to reality. In the fifteenth century, after three hundred years of controversy over the rationalist heritage of Maimonides, its proponents are fighting a rearguard battle. Jewry in Ashkenaz and in its eastern extension (Poland-Lithuania) was being overwhelmed by tendencies of fundamentalism and mysticism which marginalized the rationalist tradition and tried to de-legitimize it. The tendentiousness of the translation may thus reflect internal struggles within Judaism itself.

The link between the Ruthenian translations and the Muscovite heresy

The fact that some of the texts belonging to the "Literature of the Judaizers," such as Sacrobosco's *Book of the Sphere*, were only preserved in Ruthenian is no indicator of their being excluded from the list of texts related to the Judaizers. As pointed out by Seebohm 1977: 200, such a fact is also true for the *Six Wings*, which we know to have been in the possession of the heretics. Luria (1960: 84ff.), in his effort to dissociate the corpus of translation from the Muscovite heretical movement, points out *inter alia* that the translations were carried out in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, whereas the heresy thrived in Novgorod and later in Muscovy. This, however, is but a natural result of the fact that Muscovy did not have a Jewish population at that time, while Lithuania did. Translators with knowledge of both Hebrew and Slavic would thus naturally come from the Ruthenian lands. The texts, as a matter of fact, ended up being copied in Muscovy, where copyists tried to russify the text. One of them added glosses,[9] trying to explain unfamiliar Ruthenian forms or unfamiliar philosophical terms rendered literally, by equivalent Russian terms taken from the philosophical works of John of Damascus. Mostly, however, these guesses were wrong.

As for Slavic sources indicating such linkage, there is the 1489 letter from Archbishop Gennadii of Novgorod to Ioasaf, ex-Archbishop of Rostov, in which he mentions the books in the possession of the heretics, among them the *Six Wings* and the *Logika*.

A more specific linkage is established through the person of Zacharia or Skhariia, the learned Jew fluent in astrology and magic, named by Iosif Volotskii as the instigator of the heresy in Novgorod. The name of Zacharia, whom I, following Bruckus (1930), identify with Zacharia Ben Aharon ha-Kohen, emerges as the copyist and glossator of several Hebrew scientific texts, the earliest of which is a Hebrew manuscript of the *Book of the Sphere* made in Kiev in 1454. This copy is the only one, to my knowledge, where the seventh "clime," of the northern hemisphere, is defined as "the clime of Russia" in accordance with the Ruthenian version published by

[9] Luria (in AFED: 145) seems to be giving the impression that there were many such assiduous readers who put glosses with equivalent terms from John Damascene's *Dialectic* in the margins. It has to be emphasized that the glosses belong to a single seventeenth-century reader, and were copied along with the text from manuscript to manuscript.

Sobolevskii (1903): клима сѣдмая и Русская (и Немецкаа) whereas all other Hebrew manuscripts have ריפיוס or ריפומש for *clima diaripheos*, usually explained as referring to the Ural Mountains. So far, I have unearthed (see Taube 1995a) five Hebrew manuscripts with texts of philosophical and astronomical content copied by this very Zacharia between 1454 and 1485, two of which carry an explicit indication of their being copied in Kiev, whereas the latest was copied in Damascus.

An almost contemporary independent testimony linking Zacharia not only to the project of translation from Hebrew, but explicitly to the *Logika*, comes from a preface to a sixteenth-century Ruthenian Psalter from the *Dukhovnaia Akademiia* in Kiev. Although the text was published by Peretts in 1906, it has so far gone unnoticed and was never brought up in the discussion about the Judaizers. Even Peretts himself, who had written extensively on the Judaizers, nevertheless failed to notice the implications of the excerpt he had published. It is manuscript # 117, Aa, 1287 (described by Petrov 1897: 213), where we find, on folia 415v–416, a list (cf. Peretts 1906: 63) of authors (or translators) and the terminology they use for the different sciences. Peretts (1906: 60) describes the list as follows: "Вслѣдъ за "предисловіемъ над псалтирь" идетъ списокъ авторовъ и, кажется, принадлежащихъ имъ сочиненій, поскольку они были извѣстны писцу; статья, содержаніе и смыслъ которой намъ пока неясенъ." ("Following the "Preface to the Psalter" comes a list of authors and, apparently, works ascribed to them, insofar as they were known to the scribe; an item, the content and intent of which is still unclear to us.") It is quite surprising that not even a single scholar has noticed that the terms ascribed here to Zacharia correspond to the ones found in the translation of the *Logika*.

The terms ascribed to Zacharia correspond to the ones found in the translation of the *Logika*. Thus, the list quoted by Peretts (1906:63) has:

	схаріа	**θома грєкь**	
	ѵислєннаа	грамотика	а
	мѣрнаа	риторика.	в
ã	спѣвалнаа	и диѡмитріа	г
ṽ	нєбєснаа	философикы	д
г	‹с›вѣтскаа	θєѡлогіа	є
в	приложєнаа	астрономіа	s
ĩ	бж^{є}твєнаа	орθографіа	ʒ́

сіѫ книгы Кири^{ĩ} философь оумѣ^{ĩ}. словѣно^{ы} слѡживыи грамотѫ: –

ã.	грамотикоу	риторикѫ	ṽ
г̃	ѡмира	арифмитикь	д̃
є̃	гиѡмєтріѫ	мѫсикіѫ	s̃
ʒ́-ѧ	астрономіѫ	и ѡсмь книгь	

лоиѵны^{х} єврєискы^{м} ѧʒыко^{м}, єжє є^{с} бєсѣдоѫ оу Лва и θотѣ.

The list in the column ascribed to Zacharia in this sixteenth-century testimony is practically identical with the one found in the afterword to the *Logika* LM14.3.1–14.5.1:

14.3.1 а пєрвал о^{т} сєдми м^{л}ростєи ѵислєнал. вторал мѣрилнал. трєтіѧ спѣвалнаѧ.[10] ѵєтвєртал нб^{с}нал 14.3.2 пѧтаѧ свѣ^{т}скаѧ. а та на ѵєтвєро пєрвоє водити дш̃ѣ свою. ѣ.-є до^{м} сво^{и}. ĩ.-є вєстиса гд^{и}рю вєликомѣ. ѯ̃.-є водити зємлю и сѣды єѧ. 14.4.1 шєстал о прирожєнїи сего[11] свѣта. а ты^{х} кни$^{г̃}$ дєсать. и мѣдрость лѣкарскаѧ по^{ц} нєю жє 14.5.1 сєдмаѧ м^{л}рость бж^{с}твєннаѧ. она єсть глава всѣ^{м} сєдми^{м}. и цадро и^{х} статоѵное.

14.3.1 The first among the seven wisdoms is **Arithmetic**, the second **Geometry**, the third **Music**, the fourth Astronomy. 14.3.2 The fifth is **Politics**, which divides into four: 1. self-governance (ethics), 2. household-governance (economics), 3. the conduct of a great lord, 4. governance of a country and its rules. <lacuna> 14.4.1 The sixth is **Physics** (literally: the nature of this world), *which has ten branches, under which is also Medicine*. 14.5.1 The seventh is **Theology**, *which is the crowning of all seven as well as the core of their purpose*.

Peretts himself, although he himself wrote several papers on the Judaizers, did not notice the significance of the passage and never commented on it. It is of the utmost significance that this sixteenth-century testimony, which does not contain anything defamatory or polemical, and which does not even mention any heresy or heretics, nevertheless attributes to Zacharia (of the heresiarch named in Iosif Volotskii's *Enlightener*) the terms we find in the *Logika*, thus explicitly ascribing to him the translation of the *Logika* and substantially corroborating the link between the Judaizers and the translations.

The link between the *Secret of Secrets* and Fedor Kuritsyn's *Laodicean Epistle*

Luria assigns great importance to the *Laodicean Epistle* (*Laodikiiskoe Poslanie*) as a source for understanding the ideology advanced by the Muscovite leader of the heretics, Fedor Kuritsyn, as this short text represents a work which he considers as the heretics' own work, since it carries the name of Fedor Kuritsyn, leader of the Moscow heretics, encrypted at the end of the *Epistle* as its presumed "translator."

I include the "Poem on the Soul," the introductory part of the *Laodikiiskoe Poslanie*, in the list of texts belonging to our corpus, since I interpret it, together with Fine, Kämpfer and Maier, as a document of Jewish provenance. I further propose an interpretation linking it to one of the texts in our corpus of Ruthenian translations from Hebrew, namely the *Secret of Secrets*. If we compare the Hebrew and the Slavic texts of the *Secret of Secrets*, we find numerous differences. The crucial one is a passage where Aristotle, the purported author, promises Alexander the

[10] P, R: воспѣвалнаѧ.
[11] P, R: всего.

Great, the purported addressee, a drawing in form of an eight-part circle which would summarize all the good advice given in this "Mirror of Princes." It is to be found at the end of section 39 of the Hebrew *Secretum Secretorum* (Gaster 1908, Hebrew text on page א"ר (11) and English translation on page 20): "And I will give thee here the wisdom of Divine philosophy **in the shape of a picture divided into eight sections**, and that will tell thee all the objects of the world, and all that refers to the governance of the world, and all their degrees and qualities, and how each degree obtains its share of right. **And I have divided this circle in such a manner that each section represents one degree, and with whichever section thou beginnest** thou wilt find all that is most precious within the circle of the wheel. And because the thoughts stand in this world opposite to one another, one above and the other below, have I arranged it to begin in accordance with the order of the world. And this likeness is the most important portion of this book and the very purport of thy request. And if in reply to thy demand I had not sent thee but this picture, it would have sufficed thee. Therefore, study it very carefully and take heed of it, and thou wilt find therein all that thou desirest, thou wilt obtain all thy wishes. And all that I have taught thee at length is contained here, like in a brief summary."

The Hebrew manuscripts have here a circle divided into eight sections with the following poem, in eight double lines:

1. The world is a garden	hedged in by sovereignty
2. Sovereignty is lordship	exalted by law
3. Law is guidance	governing the king
4. The king is a shepherd	mustering the army
5. The army are dragons	fed by money
6. Money is food	gathered by the people
7. The people are servants	subjected to justice
8. Justice is happiness	and the establishment of the world.

The same passage, including the eight-part circle, is found also in Arabic (Badawi 1954: 126ff). But in Slavic we have something quite different (Speranskii 1908: 141 = Bulanin 1984:556, with emphases supplied):

а протожє хочю ти написати **два кржги. єдинъ свѣ^{т}скіи а дроугии дх̃ов^{н}ныи. а поч^{н}ноу ти свѣ^{т}скіи с^{н}вѣто^{м}, а дх̃ов^{н}ныи дп̃ію. а ка^{ж}дыи ѳ ни^{х}. ѡс^{т}ми час^{т}єи**. а ими тобѣ завѣзвю в^{н}си ѡбыходы дос^{т}татиѧ и^{х}, а бы^{х} ти написа$^{л̃}$ толѣко два тыи к^{н}рougи. досыть єси мѣлъ на то^{м}, зан^{т}же нєвозмо^{ж}но цр̃ю из^{н}вѣс^{т}ти с^{т}вѣтьс^{т}каа. нє из^{н}вѣ^{л} дх̃ов^{н}наа. но ли бєсєдою м^{л}рою. а бєз того нє можєтьємѳ ни планєта єго. а в^{н}сє ч^{т}то поминано во к^{н}низє сєи из^{н}дол^{т}га завєзвєтсѧ во к^{н}рат^{т}цє во к^{н}рвзє си^{х} аминь. ("And therefore I wish to draw for thee **two circles, one worldly and one spiritual. And I will start for thee the worldly by 'world' and the spiritual by 'soul.' And each one of them contains eight parts.** And by means of these [circles] I will draw together for thee the entirety of their purport. And had I drawn for thee but these two circles, thou wouldst have had enough of it. For it is impossible for a king to understand worldly matters without understanding the spiritual ones, except through learned conversation, and

without that not even his star will help him. And everything which I describe extensively in this book is summarized in concise manner in these circles. Amen.")

The promised two circles are missing in Slavic. The fate of the missing 'Worldly Circle' beginning with Свѣтъ remains a mystery, but the 'Spiritual Circle' beginning with душа is obviously the "Poem on the Soul" in the *Laodicean Epistle*. In other words, I maintain that the allegedly 'Muscovite' poem attributed to Fedor Kuritsyn was in fact originally part of the Ruthenian version of the *Secret of Secrets*.

The Spiritual Circle was composed and added to the Slavic translation by the Jew who translated the *Secretum* from Hebrew into Slavic. It was subsequently appropriated and used in Muscovy (see Klibanov 1960: 333–350, Luria 1960: 174ff) in intellectual and theological controversies, with particular prominence given to its opening line about the "sovereignty of the soul" – a concept that did not figure in the original wording of the Ruthenian text, but emerged in Muscovy as a result of the text having been corrupted by Muscovite copyists unfamiliar with Ruthenian. I further assume that the circles, presented as the core of Aristotle's wisdom in matters of governance, were excised from the TT by an early reader, who followed the explicit advice in the TT to keep these secret treasures of political wisdom out of reach of unworthy eyes (Speranskii 1908:138):

но во истин҃ѣ҃ знамєнахо҃ таины раз҃вєр҃зєнє и печатлѣи притчами дабы не оупала книга нїѣа сїа в҃ ржкѣ҃ недостоиныхъ. да внєт҃а҃ изведаютъ то, ч҃то и҃ѕ҃ бг҃ъ не соудилъ вѣдати. но бы҃х то а разорилъ завѣтъ того хто҃ѫ мнє тоє ѿкры҃т҃. а тако҃ѫ та запр҃исаг҃аю, и како и мєнє заприсаг҃али ѡ сїю вѣщь. а хто оувєдавъ сїю вєщь таинꙋю. ѿкрыєтъ недостоинымъ. оущєпєнь єсть сєго свєта. и ѡного г҃с҃и сила҃м҃ оуховаи на҃с҃ сего ами҃н҃. ("But in truth we have hinted at the secrets scattered and sealed (in this book) by means of allegories, lest this book of ours fall into unworthy hands. And if they were to learn that which God has not judged them worthy of learning, I would have broken the covenant with regard to Him who revealed this to me. I too, therefore, swear you (into secrecy) just as I was sworn about this thing. And whoever, having learned this secret matter, discloses it to someone unworthy, will be cut off of this world as well as of the other, may the God of hosts guard us from him (or: from this). Amen.")

This reader may well have been Fedor himself, who preferred to reserve the Worldly Circle for the benefit of his master and protector Ivan III, whereas the Spiritual Circle, which is our "Poem on the Soul" in eight parts, he preserved in encrypted form (see for example manuscript GIM Muz. 2251, facsimile in AFED 259, where the poem is written in a basically consonantal script, with occasional vowels put in). He also added, in numerical cipher, his own name as translator, which he may well have been. We are now in a position to reconstruct with more assurance the original shape of the poem, since we know that it contains eight sections, with each section starting with the word that ended the previous section, and with each section being a definition of a term, a noun, by another noun plus extensions which may either be nominal or verbal. I therefore propose the following reconstruction:

1. Дш҃а самость властна заграда єи вѣра
2. Вѣра наказанїє ставит сѧ пророком
3. Пророкъ старѣишина исправлꙗетсѧ чюдотворенїємъ
4. Чюдотворєнїє даръ оусилѣєтъ мд҃ростїю
5. Мудрость сила єи житиє фарисѣиско
6. Фарисѣиство житєльство прокъ єго наука
7. Наука прєблажєна єю приходимъ въ страхъ божии
8. Страхъ божии начало добородѣтєли – сим въорд҃жаєтсѧ дш҃а.
1. 'Soul' is a separate substance whose constraint is religion
2. 'Religion' is a (set of) commandments established by a prophet
3. 'A prophet' is a leader authenticated by doing miracles
4. 'Miracle-doing' is a gift strengthened by wisdom
5. 'Wisdom' – its power is in a temperate way of life
6. 'A temperate way of life' – its goal is knowledge
7. 'Knowledge' is most blessed – through it we attain the fear of God
8. 'The fear of God' is the beginning of good deeds – by it is edified the soul.

Among the texts related to the Judaizers, the "Poem on the Soul" is the only "internal" text, to be distinguished from the texts originating with the detractors of the heresy, Gennadii and Iosif Volotskii, to which even the skeptic Luria (1960: 172ff) assigns great significance as source for the interpretation of the ideology of the heretics. If we have indeed succeeded in establishing the provenance of the "Poem" from the *Secret of Secrets*, then this validates Sobolevskii's characterization of the whole corpus of late fifteenth-century Ruthenian translations from Hebrew as the "Literature of the Judaizers."

A possible Jewish motivation for the translation with a possible explanation of its tendentiousness

It would seem, at first sight, that we could content ourselves with the assumption that the translations were the result of an intellectual encounter between scholars, pursuers of truth and wisdom. The Kievan Jew Zacharia and the Muscovite diplomat Fedor Kuritsyn, head of the Moscow heretics, were both uncommon figures in their respective milieus. Zacharia was a scholar interested in philosophy and astronomy, while Fedor, chief diplomat to Ivan III and his protégé, was a man who, unlike most of his contemporary countrymen, was able to meet people from different cultures and religions, had traveled abroad and was acquainted with foreign cultures. The two may actually have met, for example, in 1482, when Kuritsyn was on his mission from Moscow via the Crimea to Walachia and Hungary, or on his way back in 1486–88. Such an intellectual bond might explain why a Jew would translate for Christians philosophical and scientific literature, but it would hardly explain why he should have dissimulated their Moslem origin and presented them as Jewish. What we are looking for, then, is a motivation for the Jewish party to collaborate in this enterprise of translations. Shmuel Ettinger (1961:236, fn. 39) wondered (translation mine): "Perhaps it is

not a coincidence that Jewish "calculators of the end" too predicted the end for the year 525 [i.e. 5525 = 1492 A.D]."

A possible link between such motive and the internal struggle within Judaism can be established on the basis of a recent proposal by Michael Schneider[12] who is preparing a dissertation on Rabbi Moses ben Jacob the Second, or Rabbi Moses the Exiled, from Kiev (1449–1520). Schneider drew my attention to this important figure of Rabbi Moses, a rationalist who studied in his youth in Constantinople, in the golden and prosperous era after 1453, when it was already under Moslem rule. Now this same rationalist, interested in astronomy and philosophy, for whom works had been copied by students and followers,[13] was also a fervent mystic. He was the author of a Kabbalistic work, *Šošan Sodot* ("The Rose of Secrets"), in which he was the first to quote, as noted already by Zinberg in 1931,[14] from two Kabbalistic works written in Constantinople in the fourteenth century, the *Sefer hapli'a* ("The Book of Marvel"), and *Sefer haqaneh* ("The Book of the Staff"). The extensive quotations include passages predicting the coming of the Messiah – the "Redemption" for the year 1490, according to a Kabbalistic exegesis of Job 38: 7 (וירעו כל בני אלהים וברין יחד כוכבי בוקר) – "When the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy". The numerical value of the first word, ברן 'beron', is 250, i.e. 5250 from creation according to the Jewish calculus, = 1490 A.D if one does not count the initial preposition *be-*, or 252 (=1492), if one does count it. Rabbi Moses also quotes passages from these works where it is said that Jesus (אותו האיש, 'that man') knew this prediction, and that he announced for that date the end of the world – Doomsday – whereas in fact he meant the demise of the Nations and their subjugation to Israel, but was afraid to say so.[15] In this context Rabbi Moses quotes another passage from the *Book of Marvel*, where it is said that the proselytes are of a higher value for the process of Redemption than those born Jewish, "for the proselyte shed off his garment of impurity and donned a skin of purity" whereas the Jews, who were present at Mount Sinai, made the golden calf and thus "shed off the garment of God's law and donned a skin of impurity." Schneider points out that here Rabbi Moses adds an explanation of his own, Kabbalistic in nature, about the importance of the proselytes for the process of Redemption, namely that the proselytes are more important in this respect than those born Jewish, "for those who had stood before Mount Sinai were the ones who made the Golden Calf ... and destroyed the plants and were defiled by impurity" (כי העומדים בהר סיני הם בעצמם עשו העגל... וקצצו בנטיעות ונטמאו) whereas "the proselyte shed off his impure garment and brought about the union of the *Ecclesia Israel* with its partner" (ועשה חבור כ"י בבת זוגו והגר פשט בגד טומאתו). The proselytes are therefore the ones who will enable the Restoration (תיקון), the "mending of the broken vessels" which will bring about the Mystic Union necessary for the Redemption.

[12] Unpublished paper "The Movement of the Judaizers and Kabbalistic Eschatology" presented in Jerusalem in 1999.

[13] See Vienna manuscript # 183 described in Schwarz 1925: 204ff. containing *inter alia* the Hebrew version of Al-Farghānī's astronomical work copied for him in Kiev by Zacharia ben Aharon in 1468.

[14] See Zinberg 1929–37, vol. 3, 344 fn. 1.

[15] אז יבא המשיח זהו ברין יחד כוכבי בוקר וירעו כל בני אלהים ואותו האיש קדא שיעבוד האומו' תיי ישראל חורבן העולם כי יירא לבשר מפלתם כרי לדחוף אחוריו. (שושן סודות דף ריח עמוד ב')
(Then [i.e. when 5250 years will have eloped] will come the Messiah. This is (the meaning of) ברין יחד כוכבי בוקר וירעו כל בני אלהים. And that man (Jesus) called the subjugation of the Nations by Israel the Destruction of the World for he was afraid to pronounce their demise, lest they persecute him.)

The views of the leader of the Kievan community Rabbi Moses may thus point to a theological-eschatological motive for a Jewish "Mission to the Slavs" in the context of the eschatological fervor around the year 1492, and may supply the missing link for connecting the Muscovite Judaizers with the Ruthenian translations from Hebrew.

Do we have sufficient evidence for linking the mystic-rationalist Rabbi Moses with Zacharia and with the translations?

At this stage we do not have direct evidence for Kabbalistic tendencies on the part of the Kievan Jew Zacharia. We may however assume that this learned copyist, who lived in Kiev at the time of Rabbi Moses, and like him was interested in philosophy and astronomy, was close to the dominant and charismatic figure of the community leader Rabbi Moses (Vernadsky in fact says that Zacharia belonged to the circle of Rabbi Moses). That Rabbi Moses was a dominant and charismatic figure of a wealthy family is evident from the fact that already at the age of 24 he had students and followers who were copying works for him – the works preserved in the Vienna codex – among them the work copied by Zacharia in Kiev in 1468. Although the colophon does not specify that this particular work was copied for Rabbi Moses, it is nevertheless found in a codex belonging to Rabbi Moses. And although Zacharia (the earliest manuscript in his handwriting being from 1454) must have been older than Rabbi Moses who was apparently born ca. 1449, he must have been one of his circle. The charisma of Rabbi Moses shows even more clearly in the fact that only a few years after his definitive exile from Kiev in 1495 and settling in Kaffa (Theodosia) in the Crimea, he became head of the community there and introduced for the community a new canon of prayer (see Bernstein 1958), which constituted a compromise between the various components of the Jewish community, the Romaniote, the Sephardi, the Ashkenazi, the autochthonous Krimchak, and the Persian (Tat), a canon known thereafter as the Canon of Kaffa (נוסח כפא). Obviously, crafting a generally accepted consensus in matters of liturgy is one of the most difficult tasks and its achievement is a *tour de force*.

In order to provide more solid answers to this last question, we need to reread the translations from Hebrew with an eye for traces of this mixture of rationalism and Kabbalah. The first text one should start with is the *Secret of Secrets*, especially the passages not found in Hebrew. Is the rendering, e.g., of טבעיות ("Physics") by миротвореніе (מעשה בראשית), literally 'act of creation,' such an indication?

Or perhaps the rendering of טבע, 'nature, character,' in an astrological context, referring to the predetermined destiny of a man, written in his star, rendered by the Kabbalistic term искра, 'spark,' alongside with планита, 'planet,' and прожєнїе, 'nature, character,' is such an indication.

In conclusion, the delicate construct of assumptions, hypotheses and speculations presented here is based nevertheless on quite a quantity of facts, which, taken together, allow us to posit that the translations made from Hebrew by Jews who dictated them orally to Christians were intended for non-Jewish readers with an interest in (and probably sympathy for) Judaism and rationalism. I see in the "Novgorod-Moscow heretics" very likely (and in fact the only tangible) candidates for this kind of readership. There remains, however, much work to be done before we can confidently affirm (or perhaps deny) that the corpus of translations known as the "Literature of the Judaizers" was indeed meant by the Jewish translators to attract to the light of wisdom Christians thirsty for knowledge, in order to convert them to Judaism for mystical motives carefully hidden from their unsuspecting audience.

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THE NAMES FOR BRITAIN AND IRELAND REVISITED[1]

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Abstract: Discussions on the provenance of the names of Britain (*Albion* and *Prydain*) and Ireland (*Ériu / Íriu*) have occupied the attention of scholars since the end of the nineteenth century down to the present day. Suggestions as to the origin have included a variety of languages ranging from Celtic to Hamito-Semitic. This article suggests a simpler solution in seeking to show that the foregoing names belong together in a single concept.

Zusammenfassung: Beiträge zur Erklärung der Namen Britanniens (*Albion* und *Prydain*) und Irlands (*Ériu / Íriu*) haben Wissenschaftler seit Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum heutigen Tag beschäftigt und haben dabei eine keltische sowie eine hamito-semitische Herkunft vorgeschlagen. Dieser Beitrag bietet eine Lösung an, die die obigen Namen in einem einfachen Zusammenhang verbindet.

Introduction

The vexed question of the names for Britain and Ireland has occupied the attention of scholars and academics from the latter part of the 19th century, if not before, down to the present day. The discussion has centred around three names, two for Britain and one for Ireland, namely (for Britain) *Albiōn* and *Prydyn / Prydein* (*Prydain*), and (for Ireland) *Ériu / Íriu*. Over the course of time new and varied perspectives on the issue, from inside as well as from outside the world of Celtic Studies, have been put forward and discussed, some more credible than others. The present paper seeks to present a slightly adjusted perspective to the above names that may help simplify matters. Before embarking on this exercise a short outline of current thinking on the matter would perhaps be of benefit. The current view on the meaning or import of these names from various accounts seems briefly to be as follows:

1. Contributions to date

1.1. *Albiōn*

Albiōn is the earliest known name for the island of Britain. It later became restricted to Scotland. An early contribution to a discussion on *Albiōn* was made by Alfred Holder in 1896 (Holder 1896: 83 s.v. *Albion*) who translated it as 'weißland' ('white land'), so called from its coastal white chalk cliffs.

> **Albiōn** n-st. 'weißland' *von seinen kreidefelsen am meer, name der ganzen brittanischen insel, später bloß Schottland*, ir. Alba, Alpa, Elbu, aus **Albiōn*, gen. Alban, d. acc. Albain, cy. Alban (Holder 1896: 83 s.v. *Albion*).

However, Julius Pokorny in 1925 (Pokorny 1925: 197) regarded the name as non-Indo-European, having nothing at all to do with Latin *albus* 'white', and suggested that it meant 'hill', from a non-Indo-European stem **alb-* 'Berg' ('mountain'):

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> *Albu* bedeutet zweifellos ‚Hügel'; es ist dasselbe Wort, das die Griechen mit *Albion* wiedergaben: urkelt. **Albiū*, Gen. *Albionos*, der älteste Name Englands [*rect.* Britanniens], der dann später auf Schottland eingeschränkt wurde. Mit lat. *albus* ‚weiß' hat der Name nichts zu tun;[2] es liegt zweifellos ein nichtindg. Stamm *alb-* ‚Berg' zugrunde, der in *Alba Longa*, den *Alba*-Namen hochge-legener italienischer Städte, *Alba* ‚schwäbische Alp', dem Namen der Alpen, usw. vorliegt (Pokorny 1925: 197).

In 1959, however, Pokorny (1959: 30), more guarded in his comment, asked how far the element *albho-* 'white' could be associated with *Albiōn* and its Welsh descendent *elfydd* 'earth, world' (or in connection with the chalk cliffs), or whether the name was of non-Indo-European provenance:

> ***albho-*** ‚weiß'. Gr. αλφός ‚weißer Ausschlag', lat. *albus* ‚weiß'; cymr. *elfydd* m. ‚Erde, Welt' aus **albíio-* [...]. Fraglich ist [...], ob oder in welchem Umfange Namen wie gall./lat. *Albiōn*, mir. *Albbu*, gen. *Alban* ‚Britannien' (zu cymr. *elfydd*? oder von den weißen Kreidefelsen?), lat. *alpes,* Αλπεις (alti montes?) und die auf ital. ligur. und kelt. Gebiete häufigen Ortsnamen wie *Alba, Albium* u. dgl. auf den Begriff ‚weiß' zurückgehen oder aber nicht idg. Herkunft sind [...] (Pokorny 1959: 30).

In 1946 T. F. O'Rahilly (1946: 385) took the view that *Albiōn* was of Celtic origin:

> The oldest name of the island of Britain is recorded by classical writers as *Albion* (Gr. Αλβίων, Αλουίων, Αλβίον). This name, which represents Celt. **Albiū*, gen. **Albionos*, has been preserved, but with altered meanings, in Irish and Welsh. Mod. Ir. *Alba* (OIr. *Albu*) means 'North Britain, Scotland'. Its Welsh counterpart *elfydd* (OW. *elbid*) has become a common noun meaning 'the earth, *terra firma*; compare OIr. *íriu* 'land, ground', which is ultimately a doublet of *Ériu* 'Ireland' (O'Rahilly 1946: 385).

Nevertheless, the association of the name with the 'coastal white chalk cliffs' seems to have prevailed as the accepted interpretation of *Albiōn* and remained unchallenged until 1990 when Wolfgang Meid (1990a: 97-119 (107-108), 1990b: 435-439), noting the hitherto accepted thesis of the name's association with the 'coastal white chalk cliffs', suggested that the reference may be more cosmological than real and offered the contrast **albio-* (the world of light above the earth), as opposed to **dubno-* (the earth with its dark depths), as a possible solution, paralleling this notion with Slavic *svjet* 'world' = 'light':

> *Albu* ist in der alt- und mittelirischen Literatur der Name für Schottland; [...]. Ursprünglich erstreckte sich der Name auf die gesamte britische Hauptinsel, wie auch Beda am Anfang seiner englischen Kirchengeschichte betont (I, 1) [...] (die Stelle geht wohl auf Plinius zurück): *Britannia Oceani insula cui quondam Albion nomen fuit* [...]. Dem Namen *Albiōn* liegt wohl das indogermanische Farbadjektiv **albho-* ‚weiß' zugrunde [...]. Nach einer älteren Theorie wäre die britannische Hauptinsel nach den weißen Kreidefelsen ihrer Küste benannt worden, vielleicht von frühen indogermanischen Einwanderern. Dass auch schon vor den Kelten indogermanische Einwanderer nach Britannien gekommen waren, dafür gibt es auch sonst Anhaltspunkte, namentlich in der Gewässernamengebung, die in der älteren Schicht vorkeltisch, aber indogermanisch ist („alteuropäische" Hydronomie nach H. Krahe).
>
> Mir ist jedoch wahrscheinlicher, dass der Name nicht eine real-topographische, sondern eine mythologische Signifikanz hatte. Im Kymrischen gibt es in poetischen Texten ein Wort *elfydd* m., das ‚Welt' bedeutet und aufgrund der kymrischen Lautgesetze auf britannisch **albiio-*, indogermanisch folglich **albhiio-*, zurückgehen muss. [...] Es scheint also, dass in einem ursprünglichen kosmologischen System **albio-* die lichte Oberwelt und **dubno-* die Erde mit ihren dunklen Tiefen, gelagert in Wasser, bezeichnete. Dass man seinen Lebensraum als „die Welt" bezeichnet, ist verständlich und hat viele Parallelen. Was die Assoziation mit ‚Licht' betrifft, sei auf slawisch *svjet* ‚Welt' = ‚Licht' verwiesen [...] (Meid 1990a: 107-108; see also Meid 1990b: 435-439).

Meid's interpretation of *Albiōn* has seemingly held sway until the present.

[2] In this respect Eric Hamp (Hamp 1992: 87) took a similar view: "[...] One will note that I see no connexion with the oronym *Alpēs* nor any secure way of relating names of rivers such as that of the Elbe".

1.2. *Prydyn / Prydein*

The generally accepted view here is that this name, noted in the Greek of Diodorus Siculus (ca. 30 BC) as Πρεττανική, variant Βρεττανική (< Βρεττανοί) (?from Pytheas ca. 325 BC Πρεταν-), coming into Latin as *Britanni*, is Celtic in origin, namely **Pritanī* (> W. *Prydain* 'Britain'), **Pritenī* (> W. *Prydyn* 'Picts, Pictland' -> OIr. *Cruithin, Cruithni* 'Picts' < PCelt. **Qriteni(i)*) (cf. Hamp 1983: 289-290). Jackson (1955: 158-160) believes the former to have been current in southern Britain, the latter in the north. As Holder (1896: 552 s.v. *Brittani*) puts it:

> **Brittanī** [...] Die griechische schreibung (von Pytheas?) *Πρεταν-*, [...] hängt nach Thurneysen und d'Arbois de Jubainville mit cy. *Prydain*, älter *Prydyn* und *Prydein* zusammen, das bei den Iren in der form *Cruithn-ig* bezeichnung der Picten-stämme ist; grundform **Qritano-* oder **Qritino-* (Holder 1896: 552 s.v. *Brittani*).

O'Rahilly (1946: 448, 450-451) expresses the situation more fully:

> The Celtic name of Britain, **Albiū* (whence Ir. *Alba*), was known to Greek writers, and is recorded as *Albion* by Pliny, who evidently drew his information from a Greek source. The Greeks more frequently referred to Britain as ἡ Πρεττανική (or Βρεττανική) 'the Pritanic (or Britanic) island'; compare the synonymous Welsh *Ynys Prydain*. The Romans invented the name *Britannia* 'the land inhabited by the Britanni' on the model of *Galli* : *Gallia* and the like; and this was borrowed as Βρεττανία by late Greek writers. The close resemblance, both in form and meaning, between **Pritanī* (Πρεττανοί) and *Britannī* suggests the question whether both names were not originally one [...] (O'Rahilly 1946: 448).
>
> The facts, certain or probable, regarding the two names may be [so stated]. **Pritanī* or **Pritenī*, the name of a people dominant in both Britain (**Albiū*) and Ireland (**Īvernā*) was borrowed by the Greeks as Πρεττανοί. The borrowing may have taken place as early as 500 BC. In the course of time new invaders from Gaul deprived the Pritani of their dominion over the south of Britain, though they retained their hold on the north of the island. Notwithstanding the encroachments of the later invaders, Britain continued to be regarded as 'the island of the Pritani' [...]. After the Roman conquest of Gallia Narbonensis ca. 121 BC, if not before [...], the Romans [may] have heard of Britain from the Gauls. The earliest Latin name for the inhabitants of Britain is *Britanni*. The two names, *Pritani* and *Britanni* both mean the same thing, viz. 'the inhabitants of Britain'. They differ in point of date; the former, in its Greek shape Πρετ[τ]ανοί, is attested, indirectly, several centuries earlier than the latter. [There] is no reason to [...] doubt that [*Britanni*] accurately represents the name of the inhabitants of Britain current among the Gauls ca. 100 BC. Accordingly we are justified in assuming that the change of *P-* to *B-* occurred neither in British or in Latin, but in Gaulish. From the Gauls the Romans [also] borrowed [...] the hypocoristic formation *Brittones*. [...] The Celts of Roman Britain adopted *Brittones* [later W. *Brython*] from the Romans as a name for themselves; but in the native names **Pritanī* and **Pritenī* they retained the *P-*, as we can see from the Welsh *Prydain* and *Prydyn*. The Gaulish change of *P-* to *B-* in *Britanni* < **Pritanī* can only be explained as the result of analogical influence [...]. [It] is not rash to suppose that Gaulish possessed not a few proper names and other words beginning with *brit-*, which might represent either IE *bhrt-* or IE *mrt-* [...][3] (O'Rahilly 1946: 450-451).

This seems to be the accepted view. However, with regard to the *P- / B-* contrast, Helmut Birkhan (2007: 32-33), regards O'Rahilly's view (that *B-* in Gaulish developed by analogy with existing names, such as *Brito-maros*, etc) as *nur eine Notlösung*. He notes:

> [...] Ist die bei Pytheas überlieferte Form Πρεττανικαί wirklich authentisch? Britannien muß ja eigentlich seit eh und je als Hauptlieferant des Zinns im Gesichtskreis der Römer gestanden haben. Auch wenn sie die Insel nicht selbst bereisten, so haben sie gewiß von Händlern ihren Namen in Erfahrung gebracht, da sie doch den wertvollen Rohstoff zur Bronzeerzeugung lieferte. Ich kann an die *ad hoc*-Annahme einer lat. phonetischen Adaption nicht glauben. Wir müssen also für *Britania* usw. eine andere Lösung suchen [...] (Birkhan 2007: 33).

[3] In Gaulish and Britonnic *mr-* fell together with *br-* at an early date, as in *Allo-broges*: (O'Rahilly 1946: 451 fn. 3; cf. also Birkhan 2007: 36).

In looking for such a solution Birkhan suggests PIE. **(s)mer-* 'grease' (cf. the North British tribe *Smertae*), with excrescent *-t *smert-*, zero grade **mrt-* > PCelt. **mrit-* > **brit-*; cf. Gaul. *-brog-* as in the Gaulish tribal name *Allo-brog-es*, W., Bret. *bro*, but OIr. *mruig* 'piece of land' (germ. **markō* ‚mark'). And so using **kʷritanī* as a model *Britani* would have a similar meaning? That is to say, *Britani* would mean 'those who smear themselves with paint, grease, anoint themselves, etc.

> ***Britani*** Idg. **(s)mer-* ‚Schmer', mit *-t-* Ableitung **smert-*, Schwundstufe **mrt-* > urkelt. **mrit-* > **brit-*; vgl. gall. *-brog-* in [kelt. Stammname] *Allo-brog-es*, kymr., bret., *bro*, aber: air. *mruig* ‚Landstück' (germ. **markō* ‚Mark'). Nach dem Vorbild von **kʷritanī* bedeutungsähnliches *Britani* ? (Birkhan 2006: Hand-out; 2007a: 35).

With regard to the meaning, the hitherto accepted derivation of **Pritanī / *Pretanī* is 'figured folk, tattooed folk' from PIE **qrt-* 'cut' (Latin *curtus*, Ir. *cruth*, W. *pryd* 'form, shape' < PCelt. **kʷritu-*, PIE **kʷr̥tu-* (cf. Meid 1990a: 109), seemingly dating from the time of Thurneysen and de Jubainville, as noted by Holder (1896: 552 s.v. *Brittani*), still holds sway today.

1.3. *Ériu / Íriu*

So far as is known, one of the first to venture into this area was John Rhŷs in 1875 (Rhŷs 1873-75: 196). He links the name with PIE **pìvar,* fem. **pìvarja*, 'fat, swelling'*:*

> Now suppose this *h* [were] to represent an original *p*, then *Hérinn* might, with the assistance of Welsh *Iwerddon*, be restored to the form *Pìveriana*, which, though not very transparent, must be allowed to remind one of Πιερία traced [...] to **pìvar*, fem. **pìvarja*, 'fat, swelling' [...] (Rhŷs 1873-75: 196).

Rhŷs's argument is interpreted by Graham Isaac (2006: 1) thus:

> ***Ériu*** < Pcelt. **Īweryon* < PIE **piHuerion-* [(? = Skt. *pīvarī* 'fat' f. = Gk. πίειρα (of soil) 'fertile' < PIE **piH-uer-ih2*, so = OIr. *íriu* 'earth'. Consistent with W. *Iwerddon* (Rhŷs 1873-75: 196 [Isaac's interpretation 2006: 1]).

In commenting on Rhŷs T. F. O'Rahilly (1943: 9) noted:

> Rhys long ago suggested (RC ii, 196, and iii, 87) that OIr. *Ériu* (later *Éire*) 'Ireland', and its Welsh counterpart *Iwerddon*, might be cognate with Gr. πίειρα; IE root *pī / pĭ*). This etymology, though afterwards discounted by Rhys himself, has acquired a certain vogue [...]. The crucial weakness of this etymology is that, while it might pass as a possible explanation of *Iwerddon*, it quite fails to provide an explanation of the *ē-* of *Ériu* [...] (O'Rahilly 1943: 9).

Holder (1904: 99-100) makes the following comment:

> ****Iveriū*** nach Rhŷs und Windisch aus **Piuĕri-o* aus fem. stamm *piveriā, pīvarī,* zu air.*pīvan*, griech. π-ί(F)ων, femin. πίειρα ‚fett, die fette, fruchtbare', vgl. landesnamen Πιερία, und idg. nominal-suffix *-ien-*; nach d'Arbois de Jubainville gen. **Iuĕrĭnos*, dat. (loc.) **Iuĕrĭnĭ*, acc. **Iuĕrĭonĕm*, urir. nominat. **Iuĕrĭiu*, gen. **Iuĕrĭnnos*, dat. **Iuĕrĭnnĭ*, acc. **Iuĕrĭnnen* ; air. nominat. *Ériu*, f. *Hériu, Héri* ; gen. *Hérenn, Érenn, Éirenn, Éirend*, dat. *Erin*, acc. *Éirinn, Érinn* [...] cy. *Iwerddun* (*dd* für *j*), *Iwerdon* [...]; Ιέρνη, die älteste griech. form für IFέρνη, hat das ursprüngl. F verloren, vgl. Ιουέρνη, lat. Iuberna; Hiberni, Hibernia sind latinisierte formen [...] wahrscheinlich mit anlenung an lateinisch *hibernus* [...] ‚die insel Irland' (Holder 1904: 99-100) s.v. **Iveriū*).

O'Rahilly (1943: 7-10) promoted the same line but in more detail. He noted that the polity name *Érainn* "was traditionally linked with *Ériu* 'Ireland'" and that *Íriu*, originally a doublet of *Ériu*, is to be equated with **Iverijū*, W. *Iwerddon* 'Ireland':

> Ptolemy, following an earlier Greek geographer, places the Iverni (Ιούερνοι) in the south of Ireland. An older Greek form of their name was *Iernoi*, preserved in Avienus, who speaks of *gens Hiernorum* (*Ora Maritima*, 111). The Greek name for Ireland is *Iernē*, which in some later writers (e.g. Ptolemy) becomes *Ivernia*. The best known Latin name of Ireland, *Hibernia*, employed by Caesar, Pliny and Tacitus, is a modification of *Ivernia* under the influence of *hībernus* 'wintry' [...]. In Irish tradition a people known as *Érainn* [...] are, like Ptolemy's Iverni, connected especially with the south of Ireland [...]. Also, just as the name *Iverni* is obviously connected with *Ivernia* 'Ireland', so the name *Érainn* was traditionally associated with *Ériu* 'Ireland'. Hence there is a very strong initial presumption that *Érainn* and *Iverni* are two closely related names for the one people [...].
>
> [*Érainn*] stands for Celt. **Ēvernī*, which in OIr. would give **É'rn* (earlier **Évirn*) [...], the word became in Mid. Ir. *Érainn*, gen. *Èrann* [...]. Pokorny (KZ xlvii, 233ff) has pointed out that the Irish name [*Ériu*] can only go back to **Ēverijū* [Lat. *Evernia, Ebernia* in Adamnan's Vita S. Columbae]. On the other hand, we may safely equate OIr. *íriu*, gen. *írenn*, 'land' with **Iverijū*, W. *Iwerddon*; originally a doublet of *Ériu* 'Ireland', *íriu* acquired the general sense of 'land, ground', just as **Albijū* 'Britain' (OIr. *Albu*, id.) has in Welsh *elfydd* acquired the sense of 'land' (O'Rahilly 1943: 7-10).[4]

However, in 1925 Pokorny (1925: 202) held *Ériu* to be derived from PCelt. **Ēverjō*, PIE **epi-ver-jō*, and took the name to mean 'raised land free from water between swamps', i.e. 'an island'.

> [...] Ich möchte nun, vorausgesetzt dass *Ériu* kein vorkeltischer Name ist, versuchen, eine Etymologie des Namens vorzuschlagen. Die älteste Form muss als *Ēverjō* angesetzt werden, wie ich KZ 47, 233 gezeigt habe, und als Bedeutung kommt ‚Hügel, geschützte Anhöhe' in Frage. Da nun Pedersen (Vergl. Gramm. II 551, 653) auch fürs Irische die idg. Präposition **epi* nachgewiesen hat, dürfen wir unbedenklich *Ēverjō* auf idg. **epi-ver-jō* zurückführen; die Wurzel *ver* ‚umschliessen' liegt auch in ahd. *warid*, nhd. *Werder* vor, mit genau derselben Bedeutung, die ich für *Ériu* annehme: ‚erhöhtes, wasserfreies Land zwischen Sümpfen', daher Insel [...]. Dazu kommt noch, dass Irland eine weite Ebene darstellt, die ringsumher an den Rändern von Bergen eingeschlossen ist. Lautlich ist die Gleichung jedenfalls unanfechtbar (Pokorny 1925: 202).

In 2000 Patrizia de Bernardo-Stempel (2000: 102), returning to the "*pīvarī*" thesis, noted the following:

> Ιουερνις ‚the fertile place', a town in the Gulf-Stream-exposed south of Ireland, contains - as an original **(p)iwer-n-ĭ-s* - that same heteroclitic nominal base **pīwer/n-* 'fat' from which the Irish common noun for 'soil, land, earth' (OIr. *íriu* gen. *írenn*) originated (IEW: 793f.) [...] (de Bernardo-Stempel 2000: 102).

The "*pīvarī*" thesis (for want of a better term), seemingly first muted by Rhŷs (1875), has essentially been accepted down to the present, cf. also Peter Schrijver (1995)[5] and Graham Isaac (2006).

Latterly Graham Isaac sought to show that in Welsh tradition *Ywerddon* originally equated with *Ériu* and *Iwerddon* with *Íriu*.

> In medieval Welsh inherited appellative[s] **iwerddon* and *Ywerddon* 'Ireland' were crossed, the form *Iwerddon* (in 14th century) eventually coming to dominate for 'Ireland', while appellative **iwerddon* came to survive only in LNN, understood folk-etymologically as *Y Werddon* 'The Greenery' [...] (Isaac 2006: 3).

He took *Ériu* to be a development of PIE **h₁epi-h₂uer-io-* (adj.) meaning 'on, upon, at, by, near, of the water, stream', supplying Greek parallels, and with an *n*-stem formed thereon, viz. **h₁epi-h₂uer-io-n-* to mean 'place on, upon, at, by, near the water, stream', or alternatively from Celt. **eiweryon-* < **epiwer(r)yon-* < **h₁epi-h₂uer-s-ion-* meaning 'place *par excellence* on which it rains'?:

[4] However, see Hamp (1983: 291) §2.3. below.

[5] Semantically and formally similar, noted Schrijver (1995: 288), is W. *elfydd* (f/m) 'world, earth', OIr. *Albu* (f *n*) 'Britain, Scotland' < **albiiū*.

(Y) Werddon in W LNN < appellative **iwerddon* 'fertile place, fertile earth' < Celt. **īweryon-* < PIE **piH-uer-ih2-(on-)* = Skt. *pīvarī* 'fat' f. = Gk. πίειρα 'fat, fertile' = OIr. *íriu* 'earth', as distinct from MW *Ywerdon* 'Ireland' < **ēweriyon-* < Celt. **eiweryon-* < PIE **h1epi-uer-ion-* = OIr. *Ériu*.

**h1epi-h2uer-io-* adj. 'on, upon, at, by, near, of the water, stream' (Type Gk. ἐπίγειος 'on or of the earth', ἐπιθαλάσσιος 'lying on the shore', ἐπιπόντιος 'upon the sea', ἐπιποτάμιος 'on or by the river', etc).

n-stem formed thereon **h1epi-h2uer-io-n-* 'place on, upon, at, by, near the water, stream' > Celt. **eiweryon-*. Alternatively: **h2uer-s-* verbal 'to rain' (*LIV* 259-60), nominal **h2uor-s-ó-* 'rain' (Skt. *varsá-*) **h2uer-s-eh2-* (Ep.Gk. ἐέρση 'dew' < **ἀέρση*), Celt. **eiweryon-* < **epiwer(r)yon-* < **h1epi-h2uer-s-ion-* 'place *par excellence* on which it rains'? (Isaac 2006: 3).

1.4. Comment[6]

1.4.1. *Albiōn*

Wolfgang Meid's (1990a/b) cosmological interpretation of *Albiōn* as 'world, light', bearing some mythological significance, presumably had the meaning of something like 'our world'. It is true that some polity names can be ideological, thus indicating how people wished to perceive themselves, e.g. the British polities *Catuvellauni* 'good (i.e. superb) in battle' (PNRB 305), *Ordouices* 'hammer-warriors' (Sims-Williams 2000: 8), the Gaulish polity *Aeduiu* 'les ardents; the valiant ones' (Dottin 1980: 90, Holder I: 65 s.v. *Aiduos*), and as such could well fit into an ideological or mythological framework. Though whether the notion of "our world" was common to the British polities as a whole, bearing in mind Caesar's comments[7] concerning inland vis-à-vis coastal polities (Caesar BG V, 12) is uncertain.

In 1992 Eric Hamp (1992: 88-89) expressed some semantic objections to Meid's thesis. He regards the forms **albio-* and **dubno-* either as near synonyms or applicable to both domains of the "upper and heavenly world" and "lower earthly world", not as opposites:

> [...] My difficulty with Meid's reconstructed semantics [...] arises in bridging the hypothesis that **albio-* once denoted the light, upper, heavenly world, while **dubno-* denoted the dark and black (**dubu-*), deep and lower (**dubni-*), earthly world, and yet these two terms turn out in the attestation accessible to us as near synonyms or else as applicable to both these different domains. This distinction becomes all the more difficult to draw when we are presented with yet another synonym *bitu-* as a plausible candidate. The case of **dubno-* in this framework is not aided if, as I (not alone) have suggested (*Studia Celtica* 12/13, 1977/78, 10) *annyf(y)n* contains the negative prefix. We need, then, a mechanism, a channel, a motivating neutralization to transport us from the oppositional duality of **albio-* ≠ **dubno-* to the inclusive *elfydd* of *kyfrwng nef ac eluyd* (R 1390, 40-1, 14th cent.). Can we manage this by a mid-term

[6] It is my view that when dealing with place-names we should perhaps bear in mind that such names are normally bestowed by people who have direct contact with the land and its coasts and inland areas, etc, such as farmers, seafarers, merchants, etc. The vocabulary usually found in place-names is relatively basic, since the idea is to differentiate between place A and place B in the simplest terms possible. In addition, the name of a given feature, whether it be a mountain, town, field, etc, implies that such a feature is different from similar examples of the same in its neighbourhood, to such an extent as to warrant the name it has received, e.g. (Gaelic) *cnoc mór* 'big hill' as opposed to *cnoc beag* 'little hill'. I take the view that, as a general rule of thumb, the more mundane the meaning of a place-name, the more credible it is likely to be; the more fanciful the interpretation, the less credible it is likely to be. In this respect the application of cognitive linguistics is clearly relevant to place-name research (cf. Ungerer & Schmid 1996, Hough 2007).

[7] *Britanniae pars interior ab eis incolitur, quos natos in insula ipsi memoria proditum dicunt, maritima pars ab eis, qui praedae ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgio transierunt (qui omnes fere eis nominibus civitatum appellantur, quibus orti ex civitatibus eo pervenerunt) et bello illato ibi permanserunt atque agros colere coeperunt* (Caesar BG V, 12).
('The inland parts of Britain is inhabited by tribes declared in their own tradition to be indigenous to the island, the maritime part by tribes that migrated at an earlier time from Belgium to seek booty by invasion. Nearly all of these latter are called after the names of the states from which they sprang when they went to Britain; and after the invasion they abode there and began to till the fields') (Edwards).

> value? e.g. *yn annwfn is eluyd. yn awr uch eluyd* (T 20.8-9, 13th cent.). If so, the British evidence seems richer and more helpful ultimately than the Irish.
>
> In that case, we seem to have in *annwfn* an intensive **ande-dubno-*. On the other hand, we have plenty of evidence that the Otherworld was **uindos* (> OIr. *find*, Welsh *gwyn*). We also know that originally **dhubh-ú-* 'black' and **dhub-ni-* 'deep' were formed from different bases that later fell fortuitously together (Hamp 1992: 88-89).

Pokorny's (1925: 197) suggestion of 'hill', as noted above, was not developed further. Indeed, it would be difficult to accept Pokorny's interpretation in the context of the hilly geography of most of the islands within the British / Irish archipelago. In view of this and of Hamp's semantic reservations, Meid's and Pokorny's interpretations would need to be treated with caution.

1.4.2. *Prydyn (Prydan) / Prydein (Prydain)*

The suggestion that **Pritanī* means or suggests 'figured or tattooed people' implies that this practice was restricted only to the people of Britain. The notion of painting or tattooing may perhaps have been subconsciously reinforced by the comment from the 4th century classical writer Claudianus who referred to the Picts as *non falso nomine Pictos* 'the well-named Picts' thus perpetuating what seems to have been Roman folk-etymology deriving the name from, or equating it with, the Latin adjective *pictus* 'painted, tattooed'.[8] However, Wilhelm Nicolaisen (1996: 5) takes the view that:

> If the Roman etymology were correct, *Pict-*, or rather *Pect-*, would go back to PIE **peik-* 'painted' but if that were so, the Celtic derivative would have lost its initial *p-*, thus leaving us with something like **-ekt-*. A *p*-Celtic *Pict* (< **Pekt-*) would, however, have started out as something like **Quekt-*, whatever that may have meant, and a meaning like 'painted' is unacceptable. The most closely related names are *Poitiers* and *Poitou* in France, which started out as *Pictones* and *Pictavi* respectively [...] (Nicolaisen 1996:5).

In addition, Helmut Birkhan (2007a: 32) demonstrates that body art was not only practised by the *Britanni*. Classical authors, he notes, make clear that the practice was fairly widespread. Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* XXII, 2) notes that the Dacians (*Daci*) and Sarmatians (*Sarmatae*) also indulged in body paint (*inscribunt*)[9] and Tacitus (*Germania* 43) tells us that the German polity the Harii, in demonstrating their fierceness, "blacken their shields and dye their bodies (*tincta corpora*)". The practice of body art is also found among Continental Celts, to judge from depictions on coins where tattooed cheeks can be seen (cf. Birkhan 2007a: 32 fn. 28). Even Meid (1990a: 109) comments that the notion that the Picts were 'well-formed, good-looking' seems to contradict the view, expressed by him, that they were pygmies and ugly-looking (*pygmäenhaft und eher häßlich*)! In view of this, the aforementioned derivation of 'figured, tattooed people' as a British preserve would also need to be treated with caution.

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[8] The Picts are attested in historical sources as follows: *Pettar, Pettir* (Old Norse), *Pehtas, Pihtas, Pyhtas, Peohtas, Piohtas* (Old English), *Pecht* (Old Scots), *Peith-wyr* (Welsh). The name is also contained in the Pentland Firth (ON *Petlandsfjorðr*). The Ravenna Cosmography of ca. 700+ AD has *Pexa*, which, though listed as the name of a fort on the Antonine Wall, may stand for **Pectia* 'Pictland'. The cosmographer's source for northern Britain is believed to be a Severan modernisation (208-211 AD) of an official military map of Flavian times (69-96 AD), the information for which was mostly gathered during Agricola's campaigns (77-83 AD). If so, this would make *Pexa* (< **Pectia*) the earliest reference for the Picts and Pictland (Nicolaisen 1996: 5).

[9] *Inlinunt certe aliis aliae faciem in populis barbarorum feminae, maresque etiam apud Dacos et Sarmatas corpora sua inscribun*t (Pliny *Nat. Hist*. XXII, 2, quoted after Birkhan 2007:32, fn. 27).

1.4.3. *Ériu / Íriu*

Although to date a Celtic provenance for the name has been proposed, nevertheless there is no unity among Celtic scholars on any linguistic interpretation.

Pokorny's (1925: 202) suggests as a meaning for *Ériu* 'a raised piece of land free from water between swamps, an island' (see above), or (1959: 1161) 'Hügel, Insel ['hill, island']':

> air. *ferenn* (**uereno-*) ‚Gürtel', *fertae* (mir. *fert*) ‚Grabhügel' (mit Steinen verschlossen) = ags. *weorð* [‚Hof, Wirtschaft'], air. *feronn. ferann* (**uerono-*) ‚Land, Acker' (wohl ‚*umhegt'); mcymr. *gwerthyr* ‚Festung' (**uertro-*; vgl. [...] air. *vartra-* ['Schutzdamm, Deich']); hierher wohl air. *Ériu*, Gen. *Érenn*, cymr. *Iwerddon* ‚Irland' als **epi-ueriō*, Gen. *-ionos* ‚Hügel, Insel' (vgl. ahd. *werid*) nach Pokorny KZ. 47, 233, ZcP. 15, 197ff. (Pokorny 1959: 1161).

These seem somewhat curious in an archipelago that is the British Isles which contains a large number of islands, a point also noted by Vennemann (1998a: 463). In addition, Pokorny's (1916: 233) view that *Ériu* goes back to PIE **uer-, ueru- urū* 'shut, protect, save', interpreting this in the context of Ireland's geography as a large plain surrounded by mountains on the edge, seems somewhat strained:

> Dazu kommt noch, dass Irland eine weite Ebene darstellt, die ringsumher an den Rändern von Bergen eingeschlossen ist [...]. (Pokorny 1925: 202).

In addition to Pokorny's etymology Rhŷs (1873-75), Holder (1904), and latterly Schrijver (1995) and de Bernardo-Stempel (2000) associate the name for Ireland with Skt. *pīvarī* 'fat' (f.) interpreting it as 'the fat, fertile place':

> W PN Iwerydd, cf. OIr. *Ériu*, íriu 'earth' < **eiuVr-iiū* or rather **īuVr-iiū* (< PIE **piHuer-*, cf. Skt. *pīvarī* 'fat' (f)); a PCl. or PIE origin of the formation is uncertain. If the connection with Skt. *pīvarī* is correct, *Iwerydd* may well be a derivation in **-ōn* > PCl. **-ū* based on the feminine stem **piHuer-ih2-*. [...] (Schrijver 1995: 288).

Nevertheless, as can be seen, Schrijver himself is not 100% certain about a PCelt. or PIE provenance for the name *Ériu* and has some doubts about the connection with *pīvarī*, thus casting doubt on a Celtic or even Indo-European provenance for *Ériu / Íriu*. Porkorny in 1925 also had similar doubts as to the Celticity of *Ériu* when he noted:

> [...] vorausgesetzt dass *Ériu* kein vorkeltischer Name ist [...] (Pokorny 1925: 202).

Finally, Graham Isaac (2006: 1-4), as we have seen, proposes two solutions for the interpretation of *Ériu*: 1. 'place on, upon, at by near the water, stream', 2. 'place *par excellence* on which it rains'. Both proposals suggest that Ireland is blessed with a lot of water and rain, implying that other islands in the area, e.g. Britain, are not so endowed, i.e. that the distinction between the two is considerable, and therefore noticeable to warrant a name of that sort. However, anyone familiar with the climate of both Britain and Ireland today would recognise that each is as much inundated with rain, water, etc, as the other. The climate seems to have been similar in antiquity, as commented on (for Britain) by the Greek geographer Strabo (64BC - ca.21AD) (*Geog*. IV, 5, 2):

> ἔστι δ' ἡ πλείστη τῆς νήσου πεδιὰς καὶ κατάδρυμος [...] ἔπομβροι δ'εἰσὶν οἱ ἀέρες μᾶλλον ἢ νιφετώδεις; ἐν δὲ ταῖς αἰθρίαις ὁμίχλη κατέχει πολὺν χρόνον, ὥστε δι' ἡμερας ὅλης ἐπὶ τρεῖς μόνον ἢ τέτταρας ὥρας τὰς περὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ὁρᾶσθαι τὸν ἥλιον [...] (Strabo *Geog.* IV, 5, 2)
>
> Most of the island is flat and overgrown with forests, although many of the districts are hilly [...]. Their weather is more rainy than snowy; and on the days of clear sky fog prevails so long a time that

> throughout a whole day the sun is to be seen for only about three or four hours round about midday (...) (Loeb: Jones).

Isaac's suggested interpretations for *Ériu* seem unrealistic and therefore unlikely.

2. Present proposals

Given the aforementioned difficulties with the various names, perhaps we should pause for a moment and look at the situation afresh.

2.1. *Albiōn*

With regard to *Albiōn* let us return to the basic meaning of **albho-* 'white'. The earlier interpretation, as noted by Holder (1896: 83), that the name *Albion* refers to the coastal chalk cliffs perhaps needs some slight modification. It is my view that 'white' here does not refer to chalk cliffs, but to the *white metal* (see Pokorny below) available there, namely tin (Lat. *plumbum album* 'white lead'),[10] mined in south-west Britain, mainly in Cornwall, i.e. that *Albiōn* would mean 'white metal land, white tin-land'.[11] If so, the name would seem to have been applied by early Indo-European visitors to Britain whose main interest was securing tin for the making of bronze artefacts, e.g. weapons, jewellery, etc. Pokorny (1959: 31) provides us with a parallel use of this term, albeit in a by-form, for 'tin', namely:

> Zum Ablaut: neben **albho-s* scheint eine zweisilbige Wzf. vorzuliegen in gr. αλωφός [...]. Da ferner *-bho-* ein in Farbenbezeichnungen häufiges Suffix ist (z.B. lat. *galbus*, lit. *raības* ‚bunt' neben *raīnas* [...]), ist **albhos* auf die einsilbige Wz. **al-* beziehbar und dürfte andrerseits αλωφός [...] zu lit. *aĩvas* ‚Zinn' (‚weißes Metal'), apr. *alwis* ‚Blei', russ. *ólovo* ‚Zinn' (aus idg. **al uo-?* [...]) in einem ähnlichen Verhältnis stehen [...] (Pokorny 1959: 31).

This, if correct, would suggest that the application of *Albiōn* to mean 'white metal land, white tin land', given the aforementioned parallels in eastern Indo-European languages, was early. In this context, W. F. O'Brien (1990: 289) notes the connections between south-west Britain and Munster (Ireland) and Brittany ca. 1700-1500 BC, with the Trenovissick and Carnon bronze axes providing some evidence for contact between Munster-based Stage 6 workshops and Cornish alluvial tin sources. Long distance procurement of tin along the Munster-Cornish-Breton axis may explain the distribution of Irish-influenced metalwork on the Continent auring this period (O'Brien *ibid.*). These connections would be later continued by early Indo-European settlers (hence the name *Albiōn*), then by others, e.g. Phoenicians / Carthaginians, Greeks, Gauls and Romans, etc. It was evidently Britain's mineral resources that prompted the Roman invasion of 43 AD (cf. Jones & Mattingly 2002: 179-232).[12]

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[10] According to SOED (s.v. *tin*), tin is a "silvery lustrous malleable metal which is a chemical element, atomic no. 50, occurs chiefly in the mineral cassiterite, resists atmospheric corrosion, and is used in making alloys (e.g. bronze, pewter) and tin plate." 'Silvery lustrous' to the ordinary eye can be interpreted as 'white'.

[11] A similar explanation may also apply to the name *Belerion* (Βελέριον Diodorus Siculus V, 21; PNRB 266; applied to modern West-Cornwall), namely, 'shining metal land, tin land'. The current view as expressed in PNRB (266) associates this name with the Celtic god *Belenos* (< PIE **bhele-* 'shine') and offers 'a beacon' as a possible (but unsatisfactory) explanation.

[12] The minerals mined in Britain during the Roman period (using present-day nomenclature here for convenience) include gold (West Wales & Southwest & North Scotland), silver (Southwest England), lead (Northern & Southwest England, Central Wales), copper (Southern Scotland, Northern England, North Wales, Southwest England), zinc (Northern & Western England), tin (Southwest England), iron (Northeast, Northwest, Southwest & Southeast England), coal (England [possibly also Wales and Scotland, though not specifically stated]). Though earlier mining, particularly tin mining, activity in Britain was in the hands of the Phoenicians (cf. Diodorus Siculus above), the Romans exploited Britains's mineral

The name *Albiōn* in the course of time would become current for the whole island of Britain, irrespective of whether its original meaning was retained or not, i.e. *Albiōnes* would probably mean 'dwellers of (the land of) Albion, rather than 'tin people'. Later *Albiōn* developed into W. *elfydd* with the meaning ‘earth, world’.

2.2. *Prydyn (Prydan) / Prydein (Prydain)*

Rather than that **Pritanī / *Pritenī* mean ‘land of the figured or tattooed people’, it is suggested, in the context of *Albiōn*, that *Prydyn / Prydein* also means ‘tin-land’. This was first proposed by Vennemann (1998a: 467), based on the (Hamito-Semitic[13]) form *pretan* seemingly found in a Demotic manuscript of early first century BC date:

> [...] Der älteste Namenshinweis ist jedoch in einem demot[ischen] Pap[yrus] des frühen 1. Jt. v. Chr. zu finden. Hier ist *pretan* der Name für Zinn, das damals vermutlich von Cornwall nach Äg[ypten] eingeführt wurde (Der Kleine Pauly s.v. *Britannia*; also quoted in Vennemann 1998a: 467).

In Schulten (1950: 11) the name is described as Coptic and given as πίθραν (pithran) 'tin'.[14] If this suggestion is correct, then this name would likely have been bestowed by Phoenician merchants during the 7th-6th centuries BC and may possibly be a translation of *Albiōn*. Nothing more is known about the aforementioned Demotic manuscript, however.

That tin was mined in the Cornwall area is detailed by Greek writers. Diodorus Siculus (*Hist.* V, 22), writing ca. 30 BC, notes:

> [...], νῦν δὲ περὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν φυομένου καττιτέρου διέξιμεν. τῆς γὰρ Βρεττανικῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ καλούμενον Βελέριον οἱ κατοικοῦντες φιλόξενοι [...]. οὗτοι τὸν καττίτερον κατασκευάζουσι φιλοτέχνως ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν φέρουσαν αὐτὸν γῆν [...]. ἀποτυποῦντες δ' εἰς ἀστραγάλων ῥυθμοὺς κομίζουσιν εἴς τινα νῆσον προκειμένην μὲν τῆς Βρεττανικῆς, ὀνομαζομένην δὲ Ἴκτιν; κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἀμπώτεις ἀναξηραινομένου τοῦ μεταξὺ τόπου ταῖς ἁμάξαις εἰς ταύτην κομίζουσι δαψιλῆ τὸν καττίτερον [...]. ἐντεῦθεν δ' οἱ ἔμποροι παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ὠνοῦνται καὶ διακομίζουσιν εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν [...] (Diodorus Siculus, *Hist.* V, 22).
>
> ('..., and at this time we shall discuss the tin which the island [of Britain] produces. The inhabitants of Britain who dwell about the the promontory known as Belerium [West Cornwall] are especially hospitable to strangers (...). They it is who work the tin, treating the bed which bears it in an ingenious manner (...). Then they work the tin into pieces the size of knuckle-bones and convey it to an island which lies off Britain and is called Ictis;[15] for at the time of ebb-tide the space between this island and the mainaland becomes dry and they can take the tin in large quantities over to the island on their wagons (...). On the island [of Ictis] the merchants purchase the tin of the natives and carry it from there across the Strait to Galatia (Loeb: Oldfather).

That this sort of name, also derived from business activity, was also in being in this area around that time is found in the Greek name *Kassiterides* (Gr. Κασσιτερίδες νήσοι ‘tin-

wealth more systematically. For fuller details see Jones & Mattingly (2002: 179-232 (map p. 179)).

[13] i.e. Mediterranean Hamito-Semitic (cf. Gensler 1993: 426).

[14] K. Sethe in Schulten (1950: 11, fn. 2) derives the Coptic name for tin from the name Britain [*Prydan*], though without explanation. For bronze and copper SOED derives the word bronze as probably from Persian *Birinj* 'brass' (SOED s.v. *bronze*) and copper from Latin *cyprium* '(metal of) Cyprus' (SOED s.v. *copper*).

[15] i.e. St. Michael's Mount. The above description fits the tidal situation here. This small island lies in the bay of Penzance directly opoosite or near to the Cornish tin mines, cf. *Muir n-Icht* 'the English Channel'. This form cannot come from *Vectis* or *Victis*, as it would have given **Ficht* in OIr., but rather from *Ictis*. PNRB 489 argues that "*Icht* derived from a learned tradition in Ireland, not from spoken British forms. All the early names of seas around Britain seem to be learned (Graeco-Latin), not British ones, and can have no popular currency [...]." and opts for *Ictis* being a miscopying of *Vectis*. For a discussion see PNRB 487-489 s.v. *Vectis*. The Isle of Wight, according to Coates (1988a: 9), was known to have been some sort of staging post for the export of tin in antiquity. Nonetheless, the description in Diodorus Siculus (above) fits the situation of St. Michael's Mount, not the Isle of Wight.

islands' (referring to the Isles of Scilly) from κασσιτέρος 'tin' (etymology unknown[16]), Lat. loanword *casseritum* 'tin') also mentioned in Diodorus Siculus (*Hist.* V, 38, 4-5):

> ὑπεράνω γὰρ τῆς τῶν Λυσιτανῶν χώρας ἔστι μέταλλα πολλὰ τοῦ καττιτέρου, καὶ κατὰ τὰς προκειμένας τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐν τῳ ωκεανῳ νησῖδας τὰς ἀπο τοῦ συμβεβηκοτος Καττιτερίδας ὠνομασμένας. πολυς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς νήσου διακομίζεται πρὸς τὴν κατ' αντικρὺ κειμένην Γαλατίαν, και δι τῆς μεσογείου Κελτικῆς ἐφ' ἵππων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἄγεται παρὰ τε τοὺς Μασσαλιώτας καὶ εἰς την ὀνομαζομένην πόλιν Ναρβῶνα. (Diodorus Siculus *Hist.* V, 38, 4-5).
>
> ('For there are many mines of tin in the country above Lusitania and on the islets which lie off Iberia in the ocean and are called because of that fact the Cassiterides. And tin is brought in large quantities also from the island of Britain to the opposite Gaul, where it is taken by merchants on horses through the interior of Celtica both to the Massalians and to the city of Narbo, as it is called.') (Loeb: Oldfather).

A similar picture is given by Strabo (*Geog.* 2, 120):

> τούτοις δὲ τὰ ἑσπέρια τῆς Βρεττανικῆς ἀντίκεινται πρὸς ἄρκτον, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς Ἀρτάβροις ἀντίκεινται πρὸς ἀρκτον αἱ Καττιτερίδες καλούμεναι νῆσοι πελάγιαι κατὰ τὸ Βρεττανικόν πως κλίμα ἱδρυμέναι (Strabo *Geog.* II, 5, 15).
>
> ('The westerly parts of Britain lie opposite these headlands towards the north; and in like manner the islands called Cassiterides, situated in the open sea approximately in the latitude of Bitain, lie opposite to, and north of, the Artabrians') (Loeb: Jones).

Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* VII, 197) mentions that a certain Midacritus (i.e. Μειδόκριτος ca. 575 BC)

> *ex Cassiteride insula primus adportavit* (Pliny *Nat. Hist.* VII, 197)
> ('first imported [tin] from the island of Cassiteris'[17]) (GB).

Again Strabo (*Geog.* III, 5, 11), who also mentions Phoenician activity in the area:

> Αἱ δὲ Καττιτερίδες δέκα μέν εἰσι, κεῖνται δ' ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων, πρὸς ἄρκτον ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἀρτάβρων λιμένος πελάγιαι; μία δ' αὐτῶν ἔρημός ἐστι, τὰς δ' ἄλλας οἰκοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι μελάγχλαινοι [...]. μέταλλα δὲ ἔχοντες καττιτέρου καὶ μολύβδου κέραμον ἀντὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν δερμάτων διαλλάττονται καὶ ἅλας καὶ χαλκώματα πρὸς τοὺς ἐμπόρους. πρότερον μὲν οὖν Φοίνικες μόνοι τῆν ἐμπορίαν ἔστελλον ταύτην ἐκ τῶν Γαδείων [...] (Strabo *Geog.* III, 5, 11).
>
> ('The Cassiterides are ten (islands) in number, and they lie near each other in the high sea to the north of the port of the Artabrians. One of them is desert, but the rest are inhabited (...). As they have mines of tin and lead, they give these metals and the hides from their cattle to the sea-traders, in exchange for pottery, salt and copper utensils. Now in former times it was the Phoenicians alone who carried on this commerce (that is, from Gades [Cadiz]) (...)') (Loeb: Jones).[18]

That the Phoenicians were active in the area of Britain (and by implication Ireland), as Pokorny (1953-54: 99) also notes, is found in reports, almost certainly available to the Greek writer Marinos of Tyre (ca. 100 AD), mentioning the voyages of discovery of the Carthaginian Admiral Himilco[19] who, after the destruction of Tartessos[20] ca. 500 BC, was seemingly

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[16] For a discussion on the possible provenance of *kassiteros* see Schulten (1950: 10-11).

[17] The *insula Cassiteris* woudl refer to the island of Britain, as, according to Pokorny (1953-54: 98), Pliny identifies the *Kassiterides* with the British Isles.

[18] Indirect reference to such activity may be found in the Old Testament. The prophet *Ezekiel* (27, 3), in praising the Phoenicians of Tyros (Tyre), states: "O thou that art situate at the entry of the sea, which art a merchant of the people for many isles [...]"; (27, 12): "Tarshish [i.e. Tartessos] was thy [i.e. Tyre's] merchant by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs"; (27, 25) "The ships of Tarshish did sing of thee in thy market: and thou wast replenished, and made very glorious in the midst of the seas".

[19] Himilco's exploits find mention in Rufus Festus Avienus (*fl.* 2nd half of the 4th cent. AD) *Ora Maritima* (ca. 400AD); cf. Murphy 1977, li.114-129, again 380-389 and 412-415, and KP II: 1151-52. The *Ora Maritima* in essence takes as its model a single *periplus* (sailors' manual) of 6th cent. BC date (KP II: 1151), quoting Schulten 1922.

[20] According to Schulten (1950:12, 44f.), Tartessos was already in being by 1100 BC, seemingly established by the Phoenicians of Tyre, itself founded ca. 1200 BC. After the fall of Tyre ca. 600 BC the Tartessos market was then taken over by

sent northwards to reconnoitre the route to the tin deposits available in Brittany and Cornwall. Details are given by Avienus in his *Ora Maritima* li. 108-119):

> *ast hinc duobus in sacram, sic insulam / dixere prisci, solibus cursus rati est. / haec inter undas multa[m] caespitem iacet, / eamque late gens Hiernorum colit. / propinqua rursus insula Albionum patet. / Tartes(s)iisque in terminos Oestrumnidum / negotiandi mos erat. Carthaginis / etiam coloni[s] et vulgus inter Herculis / agitans columnas haec ad[h]ibant aequora, / quae Himilco Poenus mensibus vix quattuor, / ut ipse semet re[m] probasse re(t)ulit / enavigantem, posse transmitti adserit. / [...]* (Avienus *Ora Maritima*, li. 108-119).
>
> ('But from here (the Oestrymnides islands, by Brittany), there is a two-day journey for a ship to the Holy Island (Ireland) - thus the ancients called it. This island, large in extent of land, lies between the waves. The race of Hierni inhabits it far and wide. Again, the island of the Albiones [Britain] lies near, and the Tartessians were accustomed to carry on business to the ends of the Oestrymnides. Colonists of Carthage, too, and the common folk living around the Pillars of Hercules came to these seas. Himilco of Carthage reported that he himself had investigated the matter on a voyage, and he asserts that it can scarcely be crossed in four months') (Murphy).

From that point onwards the Carthaginians seemingly controlled the trade with Brittany and Britain and Ireland. This is perhaps a convenient story to explain Carthaginian (Phoenician) presence in the area of Brittany and Cornwall,[21] but nevertheless it reinforces the view found in other reports noted above of Phoenician (trade) presence in the area of Britain and Ireland.

2.3. *Ériu / Íriu*

Likewise, as copper mining in Ireland was seemingly also "big business" (O'Brien 1987, 1990, Harbison 1988: 113-115),[22] Vennemann's suggestion (1998a: 465) that *Ériu / Íriu* derives also from Hamito-Semitic meaning 'copper island' would be appropriate in this context. Copper, as is well known, is a necessary ingredient, along with tin, for the production of bronze.[23] The Proto-Semitic form, as outlined by Vennemann (*ibid.*), viz. **'iy + we-ri'um, *iy weri'im*, would give ***íriu* in Goidelic (also Isaac 2006: 1)[24]:

> Meiner Ansicht nach ist der alte Name Irlands gebildet aus den paläosemitischen Etyma von hebr. *,-y-* ‚Insel' und akkad. *werûm, erû,* assyrisch oft *eriu(m)* ‚Kupfer, Bronze' *weri'um* (vergleiche *„weri'u(m)* ass[yrisch]"). Aus einem nach ursemitischem Schema gebildeten paläosemitischen **'y-wr'(m)* ‚Kupfer-Insel', konstruiert und vokalisiert als **'iy + we-ri'um, *iy weri'im* (Vennemann 1998a: 465).[25]

Greeks from Phocaea in Asia Minor until the destruction of Tartessos ca. 500 BC.

[21] In addition, indirect reference to such Phoenician activity may also be found in the Old Testament. The prophet Ezekiel notes: (27, 3): "O thou that art situate at the entry of the sea, which art a merchant of the people for many isles [...]", (27, 12): "Tarshish [i.e. Tartessos] was thy [i.e. Tyre's] merchant by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs", (27, 25): "The ships of Tarshish did sing of thee in thy market: and thou wast replenished, and made very glorious in the midst of the seas (*Ezekiel* 27, 3; 27, 12; 27, 25). The Book of Ezekiel was seemingly written by one of the Jewish exiles in Babylon after the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 587 BC. The period of exile in Babylon extended from 586 to 538 BC (cf. Finkelstein & Silberman 2002: 297, 2006: 293).

[22] The amount of copper produced in the Mount Gabriel area of south-west Cork, Ire-land, during the Early Bronze Age seems to have been considerable for the time (some 370 tonnes), dating from ca. 1700-1500 BC O'Brien 1987: 68). Much of it was evidently exported (Harbison 1988: 114-115, O'Brien 1990: 269-290).

[23] According to SOED (s.v. *bronze*) bronze is described as a "brown alloy of copper with up to one-third tin, often with small amounts of other metals."

[24] For comment on the name *Ériu* see also Schrijver (2016: 77-78).

[25] The suggestion of a Hamito-Semitic (or at least a non-Indogermanic) provenance for the names for Britain and Ireland (namely, *Prydyn / Prydein* and *Ériu / Íriu*) would not be out of place in this area. Richard Coates (1988a: 12), supported by Theo Vennemann (1998b: 39), has suggested a Hamito-Semitic etymon for the name Solent and Vennemann (1998b: 40-42) etyma for both Solent and the Isles of Scilly. For additional place-names in and around Britain and Ireland which Vennemann believes to be of non-Indo-European origin see Vennemann 1998b. For comment also

However, as we have seen, the name *Íriu* in the minds of the people of Ireland was evidently regarded as a doublet of *Ériu* (O'Rahilly 1943: 10). In this context *Íriu* would therefore mean 'Ireland', and not 'land', etc.

Eric Hamp (1983: 291) was not happy with the 'doublet' thesis, however:

> [...] Rachel Bromwich adduces T. F. O'Rahilly's claim of a doublet relation for OIr. *íriu*, gen. *írenn* 'land' and *Ériu*. This is impossible within Irish, and because Welsh *Iwerddon* must be related to *Ériu* it cannot be placed in relation with *íriu*. This makes the last word particularly isolated and ambiguous (Hamp 1983: 291).

Nevertheless, as we have seen, Isaac (2006: 3) has adduced that *Iwerddon* came to dominate for *Ériu* 'Ireland' in place of *Ywerddon*, i.e. that *Iwerddon* originally equated with *Íriu*. Though *Ériu* and *Íriu* may not be reconciled phonologically, as Hamp notes, nevertheless, what is important to bear in mind here are not the linguistics of the matter, but how these names were perceived by the people of Ireland who made use of them. Namely, that both were interchangeable in the context of Ireland and as such both meant 'Ireland'.

The suggestion of a Hamito-Semitic (or at least a non-Indo-European) provenance for the names for Britain and Ireland (namely, *Prydyn / Prydein* and *Ériu / Íriu*) would not be out of place in this area. Richard Coates (1988a: 12), for example, supported by Theo Vennemann (1998b: 39), has suggested a Hamito-Semitic etymon for the name Solent *(*s-l-'m ti'-* giving *Sol'im t'-* or *Sol'im ty-* plus determiner *'*the prominent cliffs')[26] and Vennemann (1998b: 40-42) has suggested etyma for both Solent and the Isles of Scilly *(*s-l-'-m-A mag-im (*Sul'imA mag-im) '*the (numerous) rocks, cliffs').[27]

3. Conclusion

In considering the place-names *Albion, Prydyn (Prydan) / Prydein (Prydain)* and *Ériu / Íriu* the following points can be made:

1. It is here proposed that *Albiōn* 'whiteland' refers not to the white chalk cliffs but to the tin-mines in south-west Britain, and if so would mean 'white metal land, tin land', as probably also the name *Belerion*, and that the names were likely applied by early Indo-European visitors to Britain (ca. 900 BC)[28] to procure tin, thereby continuing a long tradition going back to ca. 1700-1500 BC, if not before.
2. In the same tradition *Prydyn (Prydan) / Prydein (Prydain)* is held to be a name of Hamito-Semitic origin, meaning 'tin land' and applied probably by Phoenician merchants ca.- 8th-6th centuries BC.
3. Likewise *Ériu / Íriu* is also regarded as of Hamito-Semitic provenance meaning 'copper island' and also probably applied by Phoenician traders at around the same time.
   The main advantage of this solution, if found acceptable, is perhaps its simplicity, as all the names (viz. Albiōn, Prydain, Ériu) are linked by a common factor, namely, that of metal procurement.

[26] Apparently first applied to the 'Needles' cliffs on the western end of the Isle of Wight, then later to the stretch of water between the Isle of Wight and Britain (cf. Vennemann 1998b: 38-40).

[27] For additional place-names around Britain and Ireland which Vennemann believes to be of non-Indo-European origin, see Vennemann (1998b); see now also Coates 2012.

[28] This period, according to Adams (1980: 50), saw the introduction of weapons and tools of a rather different kind from those of earlier settlers, suggesting a different type of incomer.

4. The acquisition of copper from Ireland and tin from south-west Britain and Brittany seemingly has a long history. As we have seen, the amount of copper produced in the Mount Gabriel area of south-west Cork, Ireland, during the Early Bronze Age seems to have been considerable for the time (some 370 tons), dating from ca. 1700-1500 BC. Much of it was evidently exported. As noted above, we would also need to bear in mind the connections at this time with south-west Britain and Brittany. These connections seem to have been continued into our era by early Indo-Europeans, then by Phoenicians / Carthaginians, Greeks, Gauls and Romans, etc.
5. It is not necessary for there to have been any (size of) Hamito-Semitic speaking population either in Britain or in Ireland for the names *Prydyn / Prydein, Ériu / Íriu* to be applied. These names would likely be the "trade-names" current in the Mediterranean area among merchants, etc., having a vested business interest in and around Britain and Ireland and pass accordingly into Greek and Latin as and when the need arose.
6. We would also need to bear in mind that names deriving from economic activity exist in our own time as well. We only need to think of the "Gold Coast" and "Ivory Coast" in West Africa, the "Pepper Coast" in the western part of Guinea in West Africa, and the "Spice Islands" in Indonesia, to name but a few.[29]
7. Many names for territories are applied by outsiders; the name *America*, for instance, is a prime example, without going any further through the alphabet.
8. We have noted that the traditional explanations of the names for Britain and Ireland within a Celtic framework are not all that satisfactory. A possible Hamito-Semitic (or at least non-Indo-European) provenance of such names as Solent and (the Isles of) Scilly, as we have seen, would lend support to a possible non-Indo-European origin also for the names for Britain and Ireland. In view of this, we may very well in future have to seek solutions outside the world of Celtic and Indo-European to establish the provenance of other names within and around the islands of Britain and Ireland.[30]

Abbreviations

ags. - angelsächsisch.
ahd. - althochdeutsch.
air. - altirisch.
apr. - altpreußisch.
BG - Bellum Gallicum (Caesar).
Bret. - Breton.
Celt. - Celtic.
cy./cymr. - cymrisch.
EpGk. - Epic Greek.
gall./Gaul. - gallisch/Gaulish.
germ. - germanisch.
Gk/griech. - Greek/griechisch.
idg. - indogermanisch.
IE - Indo-European.
IEW - Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch (Pokorny 1959).
ir./Ir. - irisch/Irish.
ital. - italisch.
kelt. - keltisch.
KP - Der kleine Pauly.
KZ - Kuhns Zeitschrift: Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen
Lat./lat. - Latin/lateinisch.
lig. - ligurisch
lit. - litauisch.
LIV - Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben (Rix 2001).
LN(N) - Location Name(s).
mcymr. - mittelcymrisch.
mir/Mid. Ir. - mittelirisch/Middle Irish.
Mod Ir. - Modern Irish.
MW - Middle Welsh.
nhd. - neuhochdeutsch.
OIr. - Old Irish.
OW - Old Welsh.
PCelt./Pcelt/PCl. - Proto-Celtic.
PIE - Proto-Indo-European.
PN - Place-Name.
PNRB - Place-Names of Roman Britain (Rivet & Smith 1979).
russ. - russisch.
Skt. - Sanskrit.
SOED - Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, 1993.
urir. - uririsch.
urkelt. - urkeltisch
W - Welsh.
ZCP - Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie.

[29] Names for 'exotic' substances can contrarywise be derived from geographical or polity names, e.g. (from polity names) OIr. *partaing* 'redness of lips; red Parthian leather' < Lat. *parthicus, -a* 'shiny red Parthian leather' (Ammianus Marcellinus, Chaudianus ca. 400 AD, quoted in Schrijver 2000: 195).

[30] For a discussion of some Hebridean island names see now Coates 2012, Broderick 2013.

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The Question of a Hamito-Semitic Substratum in Insular Celtic and Celtic from the West

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Abstract

The hypothesis of a Hamito-Semitic (or Afro-Asiatic) substratum in the Insular Celtic languages elaborated successively by Morris Jones, Pokorny and Wagner to explain striking structural resemblances between Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic is enjoying a revival. Linguists have generally assumed that the parallels between Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic are to be explained in terms of Greenbergian typology (all languages of the VSO type). However, recent work by Gensler, and also Jongeling and Vennemann, compels us to revisit the substratum hypothesis. This article presents the main contributions on the question, provides a table showing the principal points of similarity by author and language, briefly comments on each of these points, and, regretting the reluctance of substratalists to consider typological explanations, sounds a note of caution against what might be termed "substratum frenzy".

In connection with the recent interpretation of Tartessian inscriptions from the south-west of the Iberian peninsula as an early form of Celtic, a new scenario suggests itself: Phoenician may have exerted substratal influence on Tartessian, which in turn may have fed into the "Milesian" language traditionally said to have brought Q-Celtic from Iberia to Ireland; if this language also spread to Britain, that would explain the presence of "non-Indo-European" traits in Insular Celtic, P-Celtic coming subsequently directly from Gaul having acquired them from the Q-Celtic already present in Britain. Such a scenario would reconcile the two fundamental divisions between Insular Celtic (with "non-Indo-European" traits) and Continental Celtic (without) on the one hand and Q-Celtic and P-Celtic (without on the continent, with in Britain) on the other.

1. Introduction

Striking structural resemblances have long been noted between the Insular Celtic languages (divided into Goedelic – Irish Gaelic, Scottish Gaelic, Manx; and Brythonic – Welsh, Breton, Cornish) and various Hamito-Semitic (more broadly, Afro-Asiatic) languages. Few of these traits appear to have been noteworthy of the now extinct Continental Celtic languages (Gaulish, Celtiberic, Lepontic, Galatian), and they are not generally found in other Indo-European languages. This fact has led some to raise the possibility of a Hamito-Semitic substratum in the British Isles to explain their origin. Among the most prominent shared features are: VSO order; singular (apersonal) verb-marking with plural post-verbal lexical subjects; the Semiticists' "construct state" – a [HEAD [*the*-DEPENDENT]] genitive construction; "conjugated" prepostions; and oblique relatives with pronoun copies, each illustrated below in Breton and Arabic.

Breton					*Arabic*		
			VSO order				
...e	*skrivas*	*Yann*	*ul*	*lizher*	*kataba*	*Yaḥyā*	*risāla*
...AFF	wrote.PRETº	John	a	letter	wrote.PRET.Mº	John	letter

"John wrote a letter"

Singular (apersonal) verb-marking with plural post-verbal lexical subjects

...e	*skrivas*	*ar*	*merc'hed*		*katabat*	*al-banāt*	
...AFF	wrote.PRETº	the	girls		wrote.PRET.Fº	the-girls	

"The girls wrote"

*"Construct state" – [HEAD [*the-*DEPENDENT]] genitive construction*

ti	*ar*	*roue*		*bait*	*al-malik*
house	the	king		house	the-king

"The house of the king, the king's house"

"Conjugated prepositions"

gant,	*maʿ,*
ganin, ganit,	*maʿī, maʿak, maʿik,*
gantañ, ganti,	*maʿuh, maʿhā*
ganeomp, ganeoc'h, gante	*maʿnā, maʿkum, maʿhum*
"with,	"with,
with me, with you.SG,	with me, with you.SG.M, with you.SG.F,
with him, with her	with him, with her
with us, with you.PL, with them"	with us, with you.PL, with them"

Oblique relatives with pronoun copies

ar	*gwele*	*a*	*meus*	*kousked*	*ennañ*	*as-sarīr*	*al-ladhī*	*nimt*	*fīh*
the	bed.M	AFF	I.have	slept.PP	in.it.M	the-bed.M	the-REL.M	I.slept	in.it.M

"The bed I slept in, the bed in which I slept"

2. *Main authors*

Both Gensler, in his thesis (1993:57-191), and Jongeling (2000:6-64) provide extensive surveys of earlier authors on the Insular Celtic / Hamito-Semitic question. The first mention of structural similarities between Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic was in Davies (1621), where a number of resemblances between Welsh and Hebrew were noted. John Rhŷs (1877:189f) and subsequent works raises the possibility that pre-Aryan languages may have exerted structural influence on the Insular Celtic languages.

Morris Jones (1900) Pre-Aryan syntax in Insular Celtic reviews startling similarities between Welsh and Egyptian, including (1900:625-6) the periphrastic conjugation *be* + preposition + verbal noun: "In Welsh and Irish, although these languages retain many of the Aryan tenses, this construction is extremely common ... The three prepositions commonly used for this purpose in Egyptian are *em* 'in', *er* 'to, for', *ḥer* 'above' [= Loprieno (1995:80) *m* "in", *r* "towards", *ḥr* "on"] indicating the present, future, and perfect respectively. These correspond in use with the Welsh prepositions *yn* 'in', *am* 'for', *wedi* 'after'." He also notes the surprising parallels between Welsh *yn* and Egyptian *em*: (1) preposition "in", (2) "in" + verbal noun = progressive, and (3) predicative and adverbializing "in". Other similarities are noted with Berber, but no Semitic language is examined. He concludes (1900:639) that the resemblance

> seems to involve an intimate connection of some kind between the two families of speech in the prehistoric period, though they are probably not actually cognate. It is with Hamitic, however, rather than Semitic, that Celtic syntax is in agreement; for, as we have seen, it agrees with Berber where the latter differs markedly from Arabic, as, for instance, in the shifting of the pronominal suffix from the verb to a preceding particle … Is the influence of a Hamitic substratum to be discovered in the simultaneous development on the same analytic lines of French, Spanish, and Italian in their use of infixed and postfixed pronouns?

Pokorny (1927-1930) Das nicht-indogermanische Substrat im Irischen, his *magnum opus* on the subject, has been conveniently reduced to 64 features by Vennemann (2002:324-6). Pokorny's discursive text is often impressionistic, with numerous examples (never glossed, at best paraphrased) from Hamito-Semitic languages, as well as Cushitic, Bantu (including unseemly references (1927:137) to "*Negersprachen*" deemed "*ungemein primitiv*"), Basque, Finno-Ugric, Caucasian, etc., all grist to his substratal mill. He proposes (1927:100ff) that in a language with a strong, aristocratic literary tradition such as Irish, substratal influence may take a long time to become apparent in the written language. Pokorny continued to write on the subject throughout his life; his most concise statement of the linguistic features shared by Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic is (1959), where he identifies a more managageable list of 20 shared features, most of which are included in the table of shared features below. See also Pokorny (1960).

Wagner (1959) ***Das Verbum in den Sprachen der britischen Inseln*** – his main work on the Insular Celtic / Hamito-Semitic question (usefully summarized by Gagnepain (1961)), especially the third part, entitled "The linguistic geography position of the Brittonic verb", with sections on "Celtic, Berber, Basque, English and French as representatives of a North African – Western European linguistic stratum, exemplified by the structure of the verb", "The Berber verb system" and "Remarks on the Semitic verb system". He describes his basic position (see also 1981) as follows (**The Celtic invasions of Ireland and Great Britain: Facts and theories, 1987:19-20**):

> Between the fourth and sixth centuries A.D. Insular Celtic suffered revolutionary changes … As a result of it Insular Celtic developed features and grammatical categories hardly found in other Indo-European languages. They have, however, close parallels in Berber and Egyptian, the Hamitic languages of Northern Africa, as well as in Basque … The linguistic structure of Insular Celtic compels me to assume that, long before the arrival of Celtic or Belgic tribes, these islands were populated by people, who spoke languages or dialects which, from the point of view of E. Lewy's typology could be described as Hamito-Semitic, languages not necessarily connected with but of a similar type as Berber and Egyptian and, somewhat more distantly Hebrew and Arabic. For my latest position on this subject, cf. my articles of 1976 and 1982. When Celtic was adopted by pre-Celtic populations, the structure of their original language(s) began to impose itself on the language of the Celtic invaders. The result was a linguistic revolution which led to the making of the mediaeval and modern Celtic languages.

Hewitt (1985) Quelques ressemblances structurales entre le breton et l'arabe: Conséquence d'une typologie ordinale commune? was written before I became aware of the Pokorny-Wagner tradition; I assumed that the resemblances could only be typological. The similar features reviewed in that article include head-dependent typology, VSO~SVO word order (main and subordinate clauses), verb-subject agreement/non-agreement, collective/singulative, conjugated prepositions, expression of "have", the construct state genitive, compound "construct-state" adjectives, double "topic ≠ subject" sentences, relatives (restrictive, non-restrictive, on prepositional objects, on possessives), the dummy sentential pronoun, and circumstantial subordinating *and*. The chief shared feature omitted is the verbal noun, most certainly historically speaking a verbal noun in Breton, but in modern Breton it behaves like an infinitive (accusative rather than possessive object pronouns).

Gensler (1993) A typological evaluation of Celtic/Hamito-Semitic syntactic parallels examines 12 Insular Celtic or Hamito-Semitic languages plus a random sample of 58 other languages from all over the world. He identifies a set of 17 "exotic" structural features shared by Insular Celtic and Hamito-

Semitic, but not common among languages worldwide. Assigning scores for each feature in each of the 70 languages, he concludes (1993:426):

> On the basis of the sample used in this study, nothing remotely close to the full-blown Celtic/Hamito-Semitic [CHS] linguistic type recurs anywhere else in the world. The relatively few languages which are 'best matches' – actually rather poor matches – are scattered all over the globe, from the West Coast of North America to the Caucasus and New Guinea. However, the continental average score for Africa is higher than for any other continent, and drops only slightly when the CHS languages Egyptian and Berber are omitted; West Africa scores especially well, and appears especially hospitable to several of the CHS features (adpositional periphrastic, word-initial change, kin terms, inter alia). Conversely, Europe has one of the lowest average scores, and when Welsh and Irish are excluded its score drops far below that of any other continent. Celtic is thus radically out of place in a European landscape, whereas the Hamito-Semitic languages simply intensify a structural trend seen over much of Africa. A weak form of the CHS type, then, would appear to have a natural home in Africa, in particular Northwest Africa. Within Afroasiatic, the highest-scoring languages are on the Mediterranean; scores fall away in every direction, but the Chadic language Hausa (in West Africa) scores much higher than Cushitic Afar (in East Africa). The diachronic evidence, too, argues that the (weak) CHS type is something quite old in Africa: the African and Arabian case studies all show stronger CHS-ness further back in time. All this, in conjunction with the blood-type agreement between the British Isles and Northwest Africa, argues for some sort of prehistoric scenario specifically linking these two regions.

While Gensler does not claim to have proved the Hamito-Semitic substratum hypothesis for Insular Celtic, he does appear to be saying: "in the face of such statistical results, what else can it be?" He takes great care with the weighting (0, ±½, ±1) of scores for individual features, but no account is taken of the centrality or frequency of each feature within a particular language, such that pervasive features such as the genitive construction (feature 8) have the same weight as more marginal ones like the idiomatic genitive kinship constructions (feature 17). Furthermore, the languages that score highest in Gensler's table, thus most strongly exemplifying what he calls the "Celtic/Hamito-Semitic type", are the Insular Celtic languages rather than the Hamito-Semitic languages, i.e. the languages that are said to have been influenced by the Hamito-Semitic substratum which purportedly gave rise to the type. Another drawback is that possible typological explanations for some of the features (cf. remarks on the genitive construction below) are not envisaged or examined. Nevertheless, with his thorough analysis and the sheer wealth of linguistic evidence he has marshalled, Gensler has certainly put the Hamito-Semitic substratum hypothesis back on the map; all authors on the subject will henceforth need to take due account of his arguments.

Jongeling (2000) ***Comparing Welsh and Hebrew*** provides an excellent, lengthy introduction to the history of the subject. The features he surveys include VSO, head-dependent order, numerals, nominal clauses, circumstantial subordinating *and*, relatives, the verbal noun, conjugated prepositions, and the lack of a verb "*have*". He proposes (2000:149-50) an interesting variant of the substratum hypothesis:

> Supposing that the explanation of certain peculiarities of Insular Celtic are due to substratum influence, one might suppose that the same or a similar substratum has influenced some subgroupings of Afro-Asiatic [Hamito-Semitic] ... In short, this scenario would mean that we should consider Western Europe and North Africa as an old coherent area of VSO-character. The influence on the three northern Afro-Asiatic groups, Semitic, Egyptian and Berber is comparable to the influence on the Celtic sub-grouping of Indo-European ... one might suppose that Western Europe and Northern Africa once formed one great contiguous VSO area. This area was split by the incoming Indo-Europeans. The proportion of Indo-Europeans on the continent was so great that any influence of a pre-existing language was blotted out, while the number of pre-Indo-Europeans inhabitants on the British Isles was such that their influence there was felt long after they were gone from memory.

This scenario not only explains the congruity in syntax of Welsh and Hebrew but at the same time gives a reason for the lack of lexical correspondences not only between Welsh and Hebrew, but in general between Afro-Asiatic and Insular Celtic.

Vennemann sees a Hamito-Semitic substratum as having influenced Insular Celtic, and through Celtic, English. In **Atlantis Semitica: Structural contact features in Celtic and English** (2001:351) he claims: "The European Atlantic Littoral was, at the dawn of history, explored and colonized by Mediterranean, probably Palaeo-Phoenician seafarers." The main features examined in this article include the verbal noun and the related progressive construction, the English "Northern Subject Rule" reminiscent of Semitic and Celtic verb-subject agreement, and the "replacement of the sympathetic dative by the internal possessor construction" (*Jean s'est cassé le bras* vs *John broke his arm*, see feature 22 below). Explaining why what he calls the "Atlantic type" arose only in Middle English, he reiterates (2001:364) an argument of Pokorny's and Wagner's: "substratal influence originates in the lower strata of a society and usually takes centuries to reach the written language, and regularly only after a period of social upheaval." In **Semitic → Celtic → English: The transivity of language contact** (2002), in which he draws attention to circumstantial subordinating *and*, and the prevalence of tensed verb/auxiliary responsives in Celtic and English, Vennemann states:

> In my view the case is closed, the thesis of a Hamito-Semitic substratum underlying Insular Celtic being one of the most reliably established pieces of scientific knowledge there is in any empirical discipline. As Gensler has shown, the substratum really was not simply Hamito-Semitic, which is a huge family including hundreds of languages in Africa and Asia (which is why it is also called Afro-Asiatic or Afrasian), but more specifically Hamito-Semitic of the Mediterranean type, which includes Libyco-Berber, Ancient Egyptian, and Semitic. In order to stress the similarity of the substratum to this particular manifestation of Hamito-Semitic, I sometimes refer to it as Semitidic or simply Semitic.

Celtic influence on English. The idea that certain features of English may be attributable to Insular Celtic is particularly in vogue among Finnish and German scholars, cf. articles by Filppula, Klemola, Vennemann, and especially Filppula, Klemola, Pitkänen (eds) (2002) and Tristram (ed.) *Celtic Englishes I, II, III, IV* (1997-2006). This theory presupposes that the Anglo-Saxons were (thinly) superimposed on a British-speaking population which eventually shifted to Anglo-Saxon, leaving subsequent substratal structural traces in English. However, a recent study by Capelli et al. (2003) has found genetic evidence to support the more traditional picture of massive population shifts (2003:979): "By analyzing 1772 Y chromosomes from 25 predominantly small urban locations, we found that different parts of the British Isles have sharply different paternal histories." Coates (2004) casts doubt on the influence of British Celtic on Anglo-Saxon.

Typological approaches. Not all authors dealing with similarities between Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic languages subscribe to the substratum hypothesis. Recent papers adopting a purely typological stance include Borsley (1995), Isaac (2004), and Roberts (2004). An important methodological critique of the substratum approach is Isaac (2008).

3. *Shared features*

The table on pp.7-8 shows the main features shared by Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic, according to author and language. The first 17 features correspond to Gensler's (1993) shared features. These are followed by additional features identified by Morris Jones (1900), Pokorny (1927-1930, 1959), Wagner (1959), Hewitt (1985), and Jongeling (2000). Features marked with (✓) in the column for Gensler are mentioned by him, but are not central to his thesis; features 35-39 from Hewitt (1985) are given by no other author, and are purely typological in nature.

1. Conjugated prepositions. In both Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic, this looks historically very much like incorporation of a pronominal in the preposition, a commonplace process; in Hamito-Semitic there is a single set of endings for prepositions, possessives and objects of verbs.

2. Word order: VSO, head-dependent, prepositions. The word order typology of both families is basically verb-subject-object (VSO), with head-dependent order and prepositions. However, a number

of qualifications are in order. As suggested in Hewitt (2002b), Breton simultaneous VSO and V2 is better described as PSO (predicate-subject-object) and T2 (tense-second).

Irish and Welsh are generally considered to be classic examples of VSO order, and (apart from a strong V2 period in Middle Welsh, see Willis (1998)) show no signs of a tendency towards SVO. However, Jones & Thomas (1977), analysed Welsh as TSPO, T attaching either to an auxiliary or, if there is none, to the main verb. So which is Welsh in the case of *Mae Mair yn dysgu Cymraeg* [is^{o} Mair in learn.VN Welsh] "Mair is learning Welsh", SVO or VSO? It depends on whether for V you see as primary T the tense-bearing function (> VSO), or P the predicative function (> SVO).

Most Hamito-Semitic languages are reckoned to be VSO, with the exception of Amharic and Akkadian (both SOV). Hebrew shows a steady progression from clear VSO in the Biblical period to SVO in the Massoretic and modern periods. Similarly, Arabic is normally considered to be VSO, although, as in Breton, SVO is a common alternative order, even from the Koranic period; SVO has gained in prominence in modern times; certain styles of journalistic Arabic are reckoned to be more SVO than VSO, and some dialects, in particular Egyptian, are thought to be basically SVO, with only residual VSO effects. While the *World Atlas of Language Structures Online* (Feature 81: Order of Subject, Object and Verb) does show VSO with the Celtic and Semitic languages (Modern Hebrew and Syrian Arabic being "neutral", and other modern dialects of Arabic being predominantly SVO), the other concentrations of VSO are in the Rift Valley in Africa, Sumatra – Philippines, Central America, and the Northwest Coast of North America; central sub-Saharan Africa, where pronoun copies with oblique relatives, as in the Celtic languages, are so heavily concentrated (see below, feature 4), is strongly SVO rather than VSO.

However, in the case of Arabic VSO, another analysis is possible, with potentially far-reaching consequences for word order typology in general (cf. Hewitt 2002a, 2006): in verb-initial clauses, there are numerous and regular violations of the canonical VSO order, such as VOS, VoS (o=pronominal object), VPREPOS (PREP=preposition), VPREPOSO, VPREPOOS, and VoOS. A principle of increasing "information salience" of post-verbal nominal constituents (given, known information > new information) appears to provide a unitary account of all the observable orders, *including VSO*. Strict SO order is thus called into question for Arabic, and replaced by a strict GN (given-new) order. Languages traditionally described as VSO (however, the principle of information salience-governed word order does not appear to apply to any of the Celtic languages) or SOV (e.g. Turkish, Hindi/Urdu, Tibetan) might need to be revisited in order to see whether VGN or GNV does not provide a better account of their functioning than VSO or SOV. The *World Atlas of Language Structures Online* assumes that predicate-and-arguments word order can only be based on syntactic function – subject, object, despite the questionable universality of those concepts – and does not envisage the possibility that for some languages the primary factor may instead be information salience. The whole question of VSO is thus rather more complex than it might appear at first sight.

3. Invariable relative clause linker, not relative pronoun. The precise syntactic status of the Celtic relativizer, e.g. Breton direct (subject, object) *a*, indirect (oblique – other elements) *e* is debatable, being variously analysed as either an affirmative tense particle or a relative pronoun of sorts. The invariable Hebrew *ăšɛr* has been analysed both as a relativizer and a relative pronoun. The Arabic relative pronoun *al-ladhī* M, *al-latī* F, *al-ladhīna* M.PL, etc. agrees in gender and number with its antecedent.

Similar features in Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic according to author

Feature	Morris Jones (1900) W, (Ir.); Eg., Bb.	Pokorny (1927-30, 1959) Irish, HS	Wagner (1959) IC, HS	Hewitt (1985) Breton, Arabic	Gensler (1993) IC, HS	Jongeling (2000) Welsh, Hebrew
1. Conjugated prepositions	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2. Word order: VSO, head-dependent, prepositions	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3. Invariable relative clause linker, not relative pronoun		✓	~		✓	✓
4. Relative clause copying, not gapping: *the bed that I slept* ***in it***	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
5. Special relative tensed verb form		✓	✓		✓	
6. Subject and object marking in verb	✓	✓	✓		✓	
7. Object marker: preverb-infix-V/V-suffix	✓	✓	✓		✓	
8. Genitive construction: def. art. on dependent only: *house* ***the****-man*		✓		✓	✓	✓
9. Non-agreement of verb with plural noun subject	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
10. Verbal noun, not infinitive (object in genitive, not accusative)		✓	✓		✓	✓
11. Predicative particle: *he is* ***in****a farmer*	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
12. Prepositional periphrastic: *he is* ***at****singing*	✓	✓	✓		✓	
13. Periphrastic DO: *he* ***does****singing*	✓	✓	✓		✓	
14. Circumstantial clause *and* S PRED (subordinating *and*)		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
15. Nonfinite possible instead of finite main-clause verb			✓		✓	✓
16. Word-initial phonetic changes (mutations), various syn. functions			✓		✓	
17. Idiomatic genitive kinship constructions: *son of X*		✓			✓	
18. Nominal clause (absence of copula)	✓	✓	✓		(✓)	✓
19. Amplification of negative by noun after verb: French *pas*	✓				(✓)	
20. Numerals followed by singular	✓					✓
21. Prepositional expression of *have*		✓	✓	✓	(✓)	✓
22. Possessive *he broke his arm* rather than dative *il s'est cassé le bras*		✓			(✓)	
23. Preference for parataxis (Pokorny: *anreihend* "stringing along")		✓	✓		(✓)	
24. Basic unit word group rather than single word		✓	✓		(✓)	
25. Subjectless sentences (impersonal constructions)		✓			(✓)	
26. No present/active participle		✓			(✓)	
27. Distinction between essential and contingent BE (*is/tá*)		✓	✓		(✓)	
28. States/relations expressed with *N (PREP-O) PREP-S Tá scilling agam ort*		✓	✓		(✓)	
29. Welsh *yn*, Egyptian *m* "in": predicative, locative, progressive		✓			(✓)	
30. Old Irish infixed pronoun *-d-* identical to Berber *-d-*		✓	✓		(✓)	
31. Comparatives (and superlatives) predicative only, not attributive		✓			(✓)	
32. Initial focus clefts		✓	✓		(✓)	
33. Yes/no responsives with auxiliary/verb/entire clause		✓	✓		(✓)	
34. Prepositional relative: fronting of bare preposition *the bed* ***in****I slept*		✓	✓		(✓)	
35. Unmarked collective, derived singulative		✓		✓		
36. Virtual complement clause VSO; factual complement clause SVO~VSO				✓		
37. Construct state *bahuvrīhi* adjectives (Ar. "improper annexation")				✓		
38. Topic ≠ subject ("double subject" sentences)				✓		
39. Yes/no dummy sentential pronoun: *I don't know and* ***he****they came*				✓		

Similar features in Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic according to language

Feature	Irish	Welsh	Breton	Arabic	Hebrew	Egyptian	Berber
1.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2.	✓	✓, AUX S V	✓PSO~SPO	✓+SVO	✓>SVO	✓+SVO	✓
3.	✓	✓	✓	~✓gen.num.	✓	✓agreem.	×
4.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×
5.	✓	~ *sydd, sy*	~ *so (zo)*	×	×	✓	✓
6.	✓ OI	~	~	~✓	~✓	×	✓
7.	✓ OI	~	~ ✓trad. B	×	×	×	✓
8.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	×
9.	~	✓	✓VS, SV aff.	✓ VSO	~ VSO	✓	×
10.	✓	✓ ~	✓ trad.	✓	✓	? ~ ×	✓
11.	✓ *in his*	✓	~× ✓adv.	~×	~×	✓	
12.	✓	✓	✓	×	×	✓	×
13.	~×	~✓	✓	×	×	✓	~×, ?
14.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ < Ar.
15.	×	✓	~✓	×	✓		×
16.	✓	✓	✓	×	~× ✓phon.	×	~ vow. red.
17.	~✓	~✓	~✓	✓	✓		✓ < Ar.
18.	~✓	~✓gnomic	~✓gnomic	✓	✓	✓	✓
19.	~✓	✓	✓	~✓ (dial.)	×	✓ (Coptic)	✓
20.	~✓ (20, x)	✓	✓	✓ (11+)	✓ (11+)	✓ ME>	✓ (11+)
21.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
22.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
23.	✓	~✓	~✓	?	?	??	✓
24.	✓	✓	✓	~✓	✓	?	✓
25.	✓	~✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
26.	✓	✓	✓	×	×	×	✓
27.	✓	×	✓	×	×	✓	✓
28.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
29.	~✓	✓	~✓	~✓	?	✓	×
30.	✓	×	×	×	×	×	✓
31.	✓	×	×	×	×	✓	✓
32.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
33.	✓	✓	✓	×	?	✓	✓
34.	✓	×	×	×	×	×	✓
35.	?	✓	✓	✓	?		
36.	×	×	~✓	✓	?		
37.	✓ + poss.	✓ + poss.	✓ + poss.	✓	✓		
38.	×	×	✓	✓	?	✓	
39.	×	×	✓	✓ Eg. Ar.	×		

4. Relative clause copying, not gapping: *the bed that I slept in it*. Yes, Breton *ar gwele a meus kousked ennañ* [the bed.M AFF I.have slept in.it.M]; Arabic *as-sarīr al-ladhī nimt fī-h* [the-bed.M REL.M I.slept in-it.M] "the bed I slept in/in which I slept". The *World Atlas of Language Structures Online* (Feature/Chapter 123: Relativization on Obliques) does show a heavy concentration of this strategy, apart from in Irish and Scottish Gaelic, in Semitic (Hebrew and Arabic) and in numerous languages of central sub-Saharan Africa, but also in Persian, Eastern Kayah Li (Thailand, Myanmar), Paamese (Vanuatu, South Pacific), and Guaraní (Paraguay, Brazil). Berber never has resumptive pronouns, only movement of the bare preposition; Old Irish is similar, but the order of relator and preposition is the reverse: Berber REL+PREP; Old Irish PREP+REL.

5. Special relative tensed verb form. This is present in Irish (*-as* vs. *-aidh*, *-ann*, etc.) and apparently in Egyptian and Berber; in Brythonic, the only modern trace is in the present relative form of the copula Welsh *sy(dd)*, Breton *so* (Modern Breton *zo*); apart from Akkadian, this is unknown in Semitic; the Berber "relative form" is commonly called a "participle".

6. Subject and object marking in verb. Yes, for both Insular Celtic and Semitic; this concerns most strongly Old Irish, Berber, and Egyptian. Object pronouns are traditionally proclitic in Celtic and postclitic in Semitic; this is not the same, however, as the true subject-and-object-marking verbal morphology of Georgian. The cliticization of object pronouns on the verb is hardly a rare trait.

7. Object marker: preverb-infix-V/V-suffix. This concerns especially Old Irish and Berber. It should be noted more generaly that pre- versus post-cliticization of object pronouns concerns many languages, cf. Romance, Serbo-Croat, etc.

8. Genitive construction: def. art. on dependent only: *house the-man*. Breton *ti ar roue* [house the king], Arabic *bait al-malik* [house the-king] "the king's house". Known as the "construct state" CS among Semiticists, this is not necessarily due to substratal influence. In the typology of genitive constructions, there is a limited number of parameters: (1) the order of head and dependent: H D or D H (VSO normally implies H D order); (2) the presence or absence of an article (on D only; on both D and H; no examples of the article on H only; all Insular Celtic and most, but not all, Hamito-Semitic languages have a definite article); (3) the relation marking may be on either H or D; and finally (4) a limited number of relator mechanisms (one or more are possible): (a) simple adjacency (H D, as in all Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic languages except Amharic, or D H); (b) phonetic modification of either H or D: phonetic CS marking of H in Hebrew: *bayit* "house", but *bēt ham-mɛlɛk* [house.CS the-king]; *dābār* "word", but *dăbar ham-mɛlɛk* "the king's word"; or phonetic modification of D in Berber: *agellid* "king", but *axxam (n) ugellid* [house (of) king.CS]; (c) case: GEN, DAT, OBL, etc.; (d) possessive POSS: Turkish D-GEN + H-POSS: *kral-ın ev-i* [king-GEN house-his]; (e) link particle LNK: in both Hindi-Urdu and Swahili the link agrees with H: Hindi-Urdu *laṛkā* "boy.NOM", *laṛkē kā ghar* [boy.OBL LNK_x $house_x$] "the boy's house"; Swahili: *nyumba ya mfalme* [house.CL9 LNK.CL9 king.CL1] "the king's house"; (f) adposition: preposition, postposition, cf. English *the door of the house*.

In Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic languages which no longer have case, the construct state is defined solely by the adjacency of the head and dependent, and the restriction of the article to the dependent. However, in both families this is probably the result of independent evolution. While Breton, Welsh, Hebrew and colloquial Arabic have no cases: Breton *dor an ti*, Welsh *drŵs y tŷ*, Hebrew *dɛlɛt hab-bayit*, colloquial Arabic *bāb al-bait* [door the-house] "the door of the house", Classical and formal Modern Standard Arabic and Irish (for some items at least) conserve case endings: Arabic *bāb-u l-bait-i*; Irish *doras an tí* [door.NOM the-house.GEN], and these help to define the genitive relation. It is only with the loss of the case endings that the [H [*the*-D]] structure becomes crucial to defining the genitive construction.

Germanic has both a compact genitive construction *the king's house*, with genitive case and only one article possible, on D, and a periphrastic construction *the house of the king* with two articles and the genitive relation expressed by the preposition *of*. While it is not obvious to ordinary English-speakers

which element the article *the* applies to in *the king's house*, other Germanic languages provide a clue: German *des Königs Haus* [the.GEN king.GEN house.NOM] or Swedish: *kungens hus* [king.the.GEN house]. It therefore seems logical to bracket the phrase as follows: [[*the king's*] *house*], which is simply the reverse of the order of the two main constituents H and D in Breton [*ti* [*ar roue*]] or Arabic [*bait* [*al-malik*]]. Indeed, in one Germanic language which has lost all genitive case-marking, the [[*the*-D] H] order actually defines the genitive relation: the highly evolved form of English found in Jamaican Creole: [[*di king*] *hoos*]. Seen in this light, the Insular Celtic genitive structure is rather less exotic than it might appear at first sight; there is little need to appeal to Hamito-Semitic for a source.

Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic differ with regard to adjective placement in genitive constructions. While neither Celtic nor Germanic has any problem in attaching adjectives to either or both H and D: Breton *ti bihan ar roue bras* [house little the king big] "the big king's little house", Semitic cannot do this; any adjectives go obligatorily after the genitive construct, which is more akin to a compound noun "king-house", so *bait al-malik al-kabīr* [house the-king the-big] can in principle mean either "the king's big house" or "the big king's house". Only in formal Arabic is it possible to tell which the adjective applies to, from the case-marking. The usual way of applying adjectives to both H and D is to use a longer construction with two articles and a preposition, structurally similar to the periphrastic construction *the house of the king*: *al-bait aṣ-ṣaghīr li-l-malik al-kabīr* [the-house the-little to-the-king the-big] "the big king's little house". If the genitive construction in Insular Celtic really had its origins in a Hamito-Semitic substratum, it is difficult to understand why this major structural constraint prohibiting the insertion of adjectives between H and D would not also apply in Celtic.

9. Non-agreement of verb with plural noun subject. This is a striking parallel, strongest in Welsh, Breton, Egyptian, Classical Arabic and to some extent Biblical Hebrew, in the latter two with VSO order only; in Breton also with SVO order in the affirmative, but not in the negative; not in Berber. Non-agreement is fairly common with VS order worldwide, cf. Greenberg (1966), Universal 33: "When number agreement between the noun and verb is suspended and the rule is based on order, the case is always one in which the verb precedes and the verb is in the singular." Number non-agreement with plural post-verbal subjects is lost in spoken Arabic, and was lost in Hebrew from the Mishnaic period, so those two languages have moved away from non-agreement. There was usually *agreement* with post-verbal plural subjects in Old Welsh and Old Breton, so non-agreement appears to have come in since those periods. Non-agreement appears to be even more recent in Gaelic; indeed, in some dialects, such as Munster, there is often still agreement. These are exceedingly long times for some putative substratal non-agreement to have filtered through.

10. Verbal noun, not infinitive (object in genitive, not accusative). There appears to be more of a cline than a sharp distinction between the abstract verbal noun (Arabic, Georgian *maṣdar*) and the infinitive. The criterion for distinguishing between the two is whether objects are in the genitive (verbal noun) or accusative (infinitive). With the development in Breton since the 18th century (with the exception of the SE Gwened/Vannes dialect) of true "accusative" object pronouns (etymologically "*of* + pronoun"): *ma gweled* [my seeing] > *gweled ahanon* [see.INF/VN of.me] "to see me", little now distinguishes the Breton verbal noun from the French infinitive. In Insular Celtic, only the Irish verbal noun seems truly *maṣdar*-like.

Verbal noun or infinitive?

Nominal features	Irish	Welsh	Breton	Berber	Egyptian	Arabic	Hebrew
Gender	✓	×	×	✓	–	✓	?
Article possible	✓	✓	✓	–	–	✓	?
Pron. object: possessive	✓	✓	✓>×	?	✓	✓	✓
Lexical object: genitive	✓	(✓)	(✓)>×	?	(✓)	✓	(✓)

11. Predicative particle: ***he is in a farmer***. Especially in Welsh and Egyptian, if Welsh predicative *yn* really is "in", and this has recently been challenged by Gensler (2002). The construction is "*In his farmer*" in Irish. This feature is very limited in Breton, and is marginal in Hebrew and Arabic.

12. Prepositional periphrastic: ***he is at singing***. As Comrie points out (1976:100-102), apart from Insular Celtic languages, which all have prepositional periphrastic constructions, copular locative phrases expressing the progressive are found in numerous other languages: Chinese, Georgian, Yoruba, Shona, Igbo, Kpelle, other Nigero-Congolese languages, Hindi/Urdu, Punjabi, North American Indian, etc., not to mention Icelandic, various German dialects, and Continental Scandinavian. However, no Semitic languages do this, although there is an increasing use of active participles. In Egyptian *ḥr* "on", *r* "towards", and *m* "in" are all used with verbal nouns to express a progressive. Paradoxically, the Breton progressive is much closer in force to the English progressive than the Welsh or Scottish Gaelic periphrastic constructions, which have become a general cursive (imperfective) which freely allows statives (cf. Hewitt (1986, 1990)). Indeed, there appears to be a general tendency in many languages for a parallel evolution of simple tense > specialized uses, and progressive > general imperfective.

13. Periphrastic DO: ***he does singing***. This conflates at least three distinct uses: (1) activity DO with dynamic (non-stative) VPs: (Middle) Welsh, Breton; (2) DO with NPs: numerous languages; (3) DO as an empty auxiliary: North Welsh; Breton to avert V-1 in the affirmative (also English *do* with negative, interrogative). This is not typical of Semitic.

14. Circumstantial clause ***and s PRED*** **(subordinating** ***and*****)**. This feature is typical of both Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic (in Berber it is possibly borrowed from Arabic): Breton *gweled neus ahanon ha me o tond er-maes* [seen he.has me.OBJ and I PROG come.INF out], Arabic *laqad ra'ā-nī wa-'anā ṭāli'* [PFV he.saw-me and I coming.out] "he saw me as I was coming out". The construction is syntactically coordinate (in both Celtic and Semitic, the order after "*and*" is always SVO), but semantically subordinate; an adversive "*although*" connotation is possible.

15. Nonfinite possible instead of finite main-clause verb. This is particularly prevalent in Welsh, followed by Hebrew (infinitive absolute), but not in Arabic. There are sporadic examples in Irish and Breton.

16. Word-initial phonetic changes (mutations), various syntactic functions. The highly grammaticalized Insular Celtic initial consonant mutations are hardly comparable to the Berber "construct state" initial changes *argaz > urgaz (wərgaz)* "man", *tamɣart > tmɣart* "town", which appear to be more akin to vowel contraction, cf. the Hebrew construct state forms described under feature 8. As formulated, this is rather too abstract a feature to be confidently attributed to substratal influence, and there are numerous instances worldwide of results of phonetic changes acquiring a grammatical function.

17. Idiomatic genitive kinship constructions: *son of X*. This is very productive in Semitic, cf. Iraqi Arabic *abu chegāyir* [father.CS cigarettes] "(street) cigarette seller". It is not typical of Brythonic; the few examples in Insular Celtic are in Irish: *mac tíre* [son land.GEN] "wolf".

18. Nominal clause (absence of copula). There is no copula in the present tense in Semitic, only in non-present (future, past) tenses. This is not the same as ellipsis of the copula in Insular Celtic, especially Welsh, and to a lesser extent Breton, in gnomic expressions.

19. Amplification of negative by noun after verb: French pas. Arabic dialects (Palestine and westwards) have developed a French-like circumfix *mā V-sh* (<*shi* "thing"); Welsh *ni V S ddim*, Breton *ne V S ked*. This is surely part of a general linguistic tendency to amplify function words that otherwise risk being lost altogether.

20. Numerals followed by singular. Yes, in Brythonic; in Irish, originally nouns after 20 and higher multiples of 10 stood in the GEN.PL; due its identity with the nom. sg. in some declensional classes, this gave rise to its reinterpretation as singular. In Semitic, yes for 11 and higher; 3-10 are followed by nouns in the plural. Numerals are followed by singular nouns in many languages, for example Persian, Basque, Hungarian, Georgian, Tibetan...

21. Prepositional expression of have. Yes, Breton is the only Celtic language to have developed a verb "have": *m-eus*, etymologically [to.me-there.is^{q}] "I have", used as an auxiliary with perfect tense and as a lexical verb "possess"; possession of definites is usually expressed with prepositional periphrasis *an arc'hant so ganin* [the money is^{q} with.me] "I have the money", as it is in the other Celtic languages, Hamito-Semitic, and many other languages worldwide.

22. Possessive he broke his arm rather than dative il s'est cassé le bras. Yes, this is true of both Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic; "internal" possession with a possessive, rather than "external" possession with a dative is rare in European languages, with the exception of Celtic and English, cf. Payne & Barshi (1999). It is unclear which is more common worldwide. Note that Breton requires a combination of both types (possessive + dative) where the possessor of the object is not the same as the subject (possible, but not obligatory in French):

Mae Ieuan wedi torri 'i fraich	*Mae Ieuan wedi torri braich Pedr*	(Welsh)
is^{q} Ieuan after break.VN his arm	is^{q} Ieuan after break.VN arm Pedr	
"Ieuan broke his arm"	"Ieuan broke Pedr's arm"	
Jean s' est cassé le bras	*Jean (lui) a cassé le bras à Pierre*	(French)
Jean RFL is broken the arm	Jean (to.him) has broken the arm to Pierre	
"Jean broke his arm"	"Jean broke Pierre's arm"	
Yann neus torred e vrec'h	*Yann neus torred e vrec'h da Ber*	(Breton)
Yann has.M broken his arm	Yann has.M broken his arm to Per	
"Yann broke his arm"	"Yann broke Per's arm"	

Deus 'ta heol benniged da dommañ o revrioù d' ar ffiliped (Breton)
come then sun blessed to warm.INF their backsides to the sparrows
"Come on, dear sun, and warm the sparrows' backsides"

23. Preference for parataxis (Pokorny: anreihend "stringing along"). It is unclear how such a feature, identified by Pokorny, could be measured, and if it could be demonstrated, whether it is really unique to Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic.

24. Basic unit word group rather than single word. Again, it is unclear how such a feature might be measured, and whether it is unique to Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic.

25. Subjectless sentences (impersonal constructions). Both Pokorny and Wagner list this as a common feature. This probably covers a number of distinct phenomena which need closer definition, and in any case, it is hardly unique to Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic.

26. No present/active participle. Yes, for Insular Celtic, but not true of Semitic at all.

27. Distinction between essential and contingent be (is/tá). Yes, in Irish (*is/tá*) and Breton (*eo/emañ*), but not in Welsh or in Semitic. Again, such a distinction is quite common worldwide.

28. States/relations expressed with N (prep-O) prep-S. Yes, cf. Irish *Tá scilling agam ort* [is.SIT^{Q} shilling with.me on.you] "you owe me a shilling", *tá tart orm* [is.SIT^{Q} thirst on.me] "I am thirsty". Felt to be very typical of IC; not particularly typical of Semitic.

29. Welsh yn, Egyptian m "in": predicative, locative, progressive. Attention was first drawn to this amazing coincidence by Morris Jones, and it is tantalizing if true. However, there is some question as to the identity of the three *yn*'s in Welsh, cf. Isaac (1994), where he proposes that progressive *yn* derives from *wnc* "close", and Gensler (2002), who claims that Welsh predicative *yn* is derived from a deictic *int*.

30. Old Irish infixed pronoun -d- identical to Berber -d-. Pokorny drew attention to this, for instance in (1959:157). Its significance is unclear.

31. Comparatives (and superlatives) predicative only, not attributive. This is especially true of Irish, but not of Brythonic or Semitic.

32. Initial focus clefts. Such structures are common across many languages.

33. Yes/no responsives with auxiliary/verb/entire clause. This is considered to be very typical of Insular Celtic (which is held by some to have given rise to English "*yes, it is*", "*no, I don't*", etc.), but is not particularly characteristic of Semitic.

34. Prepositional relative: fronting of bare preposition the bed in I slept. Only Irish and Berber have this.

35. Unmarked collective, derived singulative. This is particularly productive in Breton *blew/blewenn* and Arabic *sha'r/sha'ra* "hair/strand of hair", cf. Hewitt (1985), but less so in Welsh and Hebrew, and it is quite marginal in Irish. It is also found in other languages, such as Swahili *nywele/unywele* "hair/strand of hair".

36. Virtual complement clause vso; factual complement clause svo ~ vso. "Virtual" complement clauses of the type "I want John to come" are obligatorily VSO in both Arabic and Breton, whereas "factual" complement clauses such as "I think John will come" are obligatorily SVO in Arabic; traditionally they have been VSO in Breton, but since the 18th century, an alternative SVO order has become increasingly frequent. It is unlikely that this should be French influence because Breton never has SVO order in the "I want John to come" type, cf. Hewitt (1985). This similarity is far more likely to be typological rather than substratal in origin.

Arabic				*Breton*					
'urīd	*'an*	*yajī'*	*Zaid*	*Me*	*meus c'hŵant*	*e*	*teuffe*	*Yann*	
I.want	that	come.SUBJ.M^{Q}	Zaid	I	I.have desire	AFF	come.COND^{Q}	Yann	
"I want Zaid to come"				"I want Yann to come"					
'aẓunn	*'anna*	*Zaid*	*sa-yajī'*	*Me*	*a*	*soñj*	*din*	*e*	*teuo*	*Yann*
I.think	that	Zaid	will-come.3.SG	I	AFF	think^{Q}	to.me	AFF	will.come^{Q}	Yann
				Me	*a*	*soñj*	*din*	*(penaos)*	*Yann*	*a*	*deuo*
				I	AFF	think^{Q}	to.me	(how)	Yann	AFF	will.come^{Q}
"I think that Zaid will come"				"I think that Yann will come"							

37. Construct state bahuvrīhi adjectives (Arabic "improper annexation"). Many languages have such adjective-noun compounds, including English, cf. "*pure-hearted*", "*great-winged*" below. The construct is formed with a possessive in Celtic, but has the form of a normal construct state in Semitic; note, however, the difference in treatment of the article between Hebrew and Arabic: in Arabic, the dependent noun always has the definite article; when the compound is definite, the whole construct

state has, quite exceptionally, a definite article prefixed to it; in Hebrew, it is the article on the dependent noun that determines, in rather more orthodox fashion, whether the compound is definite or not.

un den ledan e chouk (Breton)
a man broad his nape
"a well-to-do man" (i.e. who can bear a heavy [financial] load)

rajul ṭāhir al-qalb (Arabic)
man pure the-heart
"a pure-hearted man"

ar-rajul aṭ-ṭāhir al-qalb (Arabic)
the-man the-pure the-heart
"the pure-hearted man"

nɛšɛr găḏōl kănāpayim (Hebrew, Ezek. 17:7)
eagle great wings
"a great-winged eagle"

han-nɛšɛr hag-gāḏōl, găḏōl hak-kănāpayim (Hebrew, Ezek. 17:3)
the-eagle the-great great the-wings
"the large, great-winged eagle"

38. Topic ≠ subject ("double subject" sentences). This is very common in both Breton *Per eo klañv e vab* [Per is[º] ill his son] and Arabic *Zaid marīḍ ibn-uh* [Zaid ill son-his] "Per/Zaid's son is ill"; Breton *Chirac a dalc'h e fri da voanâd: c'hwessa a ra partoud!* [Chirac AFF keeps[º] his nose to narrow.INF: sniff.INF AFF he.does everywhere] "Chirac's nose keeps getting narrower / keeps narrowing: he's sniffing everywhere [for votes]". Again, this is surely typological; it is found in numerous languages.

39. Yes/no dummy sentential pronoun: I don't know and he they came. This concerns a partial resemblance between Breton and Egyptian Arabic, cf. Hewitt (1985); the main difference is that in Breton the dummy pronoun is invariable, whereas in Egyptian Arabic it must agree in number with the subject: Breton *n-onn ked hag-eñv e oa aed ar baotred* [NEG-I.know not and-**he** AFF was gone the boys] "I don't know whether the boys went"; Egyptian Arabic *sa'al-ni humma r-riggāla mishyu* [he.asked-me **they** the-men they.went] "he asked me whether the men had gone". This is unlikely to be substratal.

4. Main shared features

The most prominent and high-frequency features shared by the Insular Celtic and the Hamito-Semitic languages are probably the following:

VSO order (feature 2). This apparently concerns both families, but there are numerous other VSO languages worldwide, even if the proportion of VSO languages is low (around 15%). Furthermore, there has been drift of varying degrees towards SVO in both Hebrew and Arabic, and also in Breton. Welsh (and to some extent even Irish) could be analysed as SVO if the predicative function is taken as being more important than the tense-bearing function for V. In the *World Atlas of Language Structures Online*, VSO does not cluster well with feature 4 (pronoun copies with oblique relatives), where many other languages partial to that strategy are strongly SVO. Finally, analysis of Arabic suggests that for that language at least, and possibly for other Hamito-Semitic languages, but clearly not for any Insular Celtic language, the basic order of the verb and its arguments is not based on the syntactic status of the arguments (subject, object: VSO), but rather on their information salience (given, new: VGN), the VGN principle economically accounting for *all* observable verb-initial orders, *including* the most frequent verb-initial order VSO.

Construct state (feature 8). The [*house* [*the-king*]] "the king's house" [HEAD [*the*-DEPENDENT]] structure is certainly one of the most striking features shared by the two families. This involves: head-dependent order; availability of a definite article; relation-marking on the dependent only; relator mechanism of simple adjacency. Historically in both families, the relation was marked on the dependent with the genitive, and to some extent continues to be so in Arabic and Irish and Scottish Gaelic. The [HEAD [*the*-DEPENDENT]] structure becomes crucial in defining the genitive construction only with the loss of case (Colloquial Arabic, Hebrew, Welsh, Breton). Finally, Hamito-Semitic allows absolutely no adjectives to be placed between the head and the dependent, whereas all Celtic languages do so freely. The two families thus appear to have arrived quite independently at this construction, which is not so exotic as might be thought: Jamaican Creole, which has lost all case-marking, has [[*di-king*] *hoos*], which is merely the dependent-head inverse of [*house* [*the-king*]].

Non-agreement with plural post-verbal subjects (feature 9). Greenberg's (1966) Universal 33 states that: "When number agreement between the noun and verb is suspended and the rule is based on order, the case is always one in which the verb precedes and the verb is in the singular." The tendency in Semitic (Arabic and Hebrew) has been to relax or lose non-agreement with plural post-verbal subjects; in the older stages of the Celtic languages (Old Welsh, Old Breton, Old Irish) number *agreement* was general; *non-agreement* has come in since the old periods, and in Irish, for instance, is still not complete, agreement being common in the southwestern dialects of Munster. Thus the trends appear to be going in opposite directions in the two families. In the negative, Breton functions exactly like Standard Arabic in both affirmative and negative: number *agreement* with preverbal subjects; *non-agreement* with post-verbal subjects.

"Conjugated prepositions" (feature 1). The apparent "conjugations" are probably historically, in both families, simply the result of a morphological process of incorporation of post-prepositional pronominals.

Pronoun copies with oblique relatives (feature 4). In addition to Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic, the *World Atlas of Language Structures Online* shows this strategy to be common in numerous languages of central sub-Saharan Africa, but also in Persian, Eastern Kayah Li (Thailand, Myanmar), Paamese (Vanuatu, South Pacific) and Guaraní (Paraguay, Brazil).

Verbal noun rather than infinitive (feature 10). The distinction between the two is a matter of degree, the chief polar features being: gender: yes/no; definite article possible: yes/no; pronominal object: possessive/accusative; lexical object: genitive/accusative. Only Irish and Arabic have the first option (verbal noun) for all four features; other languages are less clear-cut. Breton (mainstream KLT dialects) and Modern Spoken Welsh have reached a point at which little distinguishes the untensed citation form of the verb from the infinitive of French and English. Arabic is not moving in this direction at all; as in Georgian, for instance, its *maṣdar* is fully nominal.

Circumstantial subordinating and (feature 14). I am unaware of any other languages apart from Hamito-Semitic and Insular Celtic which have this feature.

The apparent correspondence of **Egyptian *m* "in", *r* "towards", *ḥr* "on" and Welsh *yn* "in", *am* "for", *wedi* "after"** expressing, respectively, **predicative/locative/progressive, future, perfect** (Morris-Jones and **feature 29**) is quite tantalizing, but to this level of detail concerns these two languages only, and is not widely shared by the rest of the Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic languages (*tar éis* "after" with a verbal noun may express the perfect in Irish, and *war* "on" with the verbal noun/infinitive may be used for a prospective in Breton).

For none of these prominent shared features is a substratal explanation demonstrably more plausible than a typological explanation or mere coincidence.

The existence of striking structural similarities between the Insular Celtic and the Hamito-Semitic languages is beyond question. However, the matter of whether this is to be attributed to substratal influence through prehistoric contact or to typological tendencies and correlations remains unresolved. Gensler's statistical approach (the low likelihood of such clustering of "exotic" features in two genetically unrelated families) is in itself skewed: by focusing on the shared features, he loses sight of the bigger picture, including all the features that are not shared by the two families. Furthermore, he has no way of accounting for the relative frequency or centrality of his various features in the languages concerned.

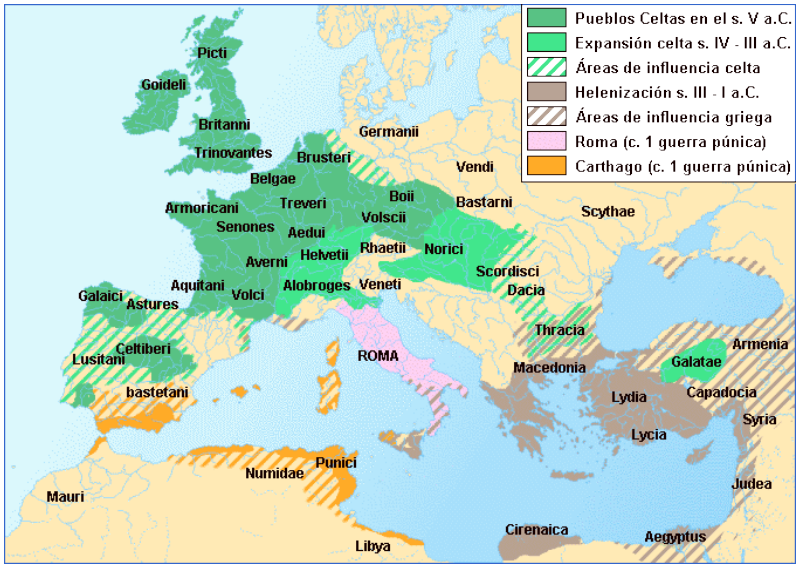
Authors inclined to a substratal explanation for the shared features appear to be prey to a kind of "substratum frenzy", as if prehistoric contact must be the only possible explanation for "un-Indo-European" traits in an Indo-European language. They pay scant attention to the possibility of typological explanations, even though, as we have seen, such explanations are perfectly plausible for many of the shared traits. With lexical items, the number of possible phonetic sequences is so vast that any significant accumulation of lexical similarities between two genetically unrelated languages can hardly be anything other than a sure sign of contact and borrowing. With structures, however, the range of possibilities across languages is far more limited – there are, for instance, only so many ways of expressing a genitive relation –, so it is less surprising for unrelated languages to possess analogous structures. It is therefore important always to bear in mind and investigate thoroughly the possibility of a typological explanation.

A major problem with the substratal explanation is the precise identity of the substratum. A subsidiary puzzle is the special affinities noted between Welsh and Hebrew (several authors, most recently Jongeling), Welsh and Egyptian (Morris Jones), Irish and Berber (Morris Jones, Pokorny and Wagner), and Breton and Arabic (Hewitt – probably typological: both SVO~VSO topic-prominent languages); in each case, however, the number of features concerned is low enough for the "special affinity" to be coincidental.

Surprisingly, Gensler's scores suggest that it is the Insular Celtic languages which are most typical of the "Celtic/Hamito-Semitic type" rather than the Hamito-Semitic languages, and this is borne out by our table of shared features by author and language, where the various features are more consistently present in Insular Celtic than in Hamito-Semitic. This is the reverse of what one would expect if the shared features really had their origin in Hamito-Semitic.

Rather than positing some Berber *Urvolk*, or Phoenician settler ghosts (who have somehow managed to leave no archaeological traces), substratalists (and it should by now be clear that I am sceptical) might take a cue from Jongeling (2000), who moots a single prehistoric substratum to both Hamito-Semitic and Insular Celtic. Such a substratum might have been centred on north-western Europe or even the British Isles, where it might have affected the incoming Celtic languages strongly, but the more distant Hamito-Semitic and North African languages less so. The identity of such a substratum would, however, perforce be so shrouded in the mists of prehistory as to be quite unknowable.

Clearly, more work is needed on both the substratal and the typological approaches to this fascinating question.



Celtic peoples during the second Iron Age

5. *Celtic from the West – Phoenician-substratalized Tartessian spreads to the Celtic Isles by a maritime route?*

It is known that Phoenician was well established at various points along the southern Iberian coast, including, in particular, at Gadir/Gades (modern Cádiz), the major Phoenician settlement nearest the area in which Tartessian emerged, from before, possibly well before 700 BCE, and continued to be spoken through the Roman imperial period.

It is therefore plausible now, for the first time, to imagine that Phoenician may have provided a substratum to Tartessian. If so, and if Tartessian is indeed Celtic, this could conceivably solve the problem of the hitherto unidentifiable substratum language which might account for "non-Indo-European" traits in Insular Celtic to the exclusion of Gaulish. This would involve several steps:

- Find typical HS/IC substratal features in Tartessian;
- Find sources/correlates for such features in Punic or Phoenician;
- Imagine a scenario (maritime route?) which would get such a substratalized Tartessian to the Celtic Isles entirely bypassing Gaul, where none of the putative HS/IC substratal features have been attested;
- Suppose that this substratalized "Milesian" language was Q-Celtic, and became prevalent both in Ireland *and* in Britain;
- Suppose that P-Celtic arrived in Britain subsequently from Gaul, and acquired its HS/IC substratal features from the Phoenician-substratalized Q-Celtic already present;
- This would resolve the Insular Celtic/Continental Celtic *vs* Q-Celtic/P-Celtic conundrum by allowing both fundamental divisions to be maintained simultaneously;
- However, long shot on multiple counts:
    - Consensus on Tartessian being Celtic?
    - Paucity of clear reliable evidence from Phoenician/Punic;

  - Timeframe of transmission of "Milesian" Q-Celtic to Isles? Possibly before Tartessian inscriptions?
  - Likelihood of Q-Celtic in Britain as well as in Ireland?
  - Need to bear in mind possible *typological* explanations for "non-Indo-European" traits in Insular Celtic (cf. above).
- So, sit on *several* fences:
  - Insular Celtic "non-Indo-European" features due to substratum or typology? What diagnostic?
  - If substratum, pre-Celtic inhabitants of Isles, or Phoenician > Tartessian?
  - Tartessian: Celtic or not?
  - Tartessian the source of the "Milesian" language bringing Q-Celtic to the Isles?
  - "Milesian" language to both Ireland and Britain, and P-Celtic from Gaul only later? Far-fetched!
- Teleological fallacy: one should ideally avoid positing conclusions before investigating the available evidence;
- But difficult to avoid when attempting to imagine plausible scenarios on the cusp between prehistoric and palaeohistoric linguistics.

Tibetan for "dog", pronounced /ˉkʰi/, cf. Welsh *ci*, Breton *ki*, Irish *cú*.

Abbreviations

ADV.	adverb(ial)	Ir.	Irish	REL	relator
AFF	affirmative tense particle	LNK	link particle	RFL	reflexive
aff.	affirmative	M	masculine	S	subject
agreem.	agreement	ME	Middle English	SG	singular
Ar.	Arabic	N	new	SIT	situative
AUX	auxiliary	NEG	negative tense particle	SUBJ	subjunctive
Bb.	Berber	NOM	nominative	T	tense
Br.	Breton	num.	number	trad.	traditional(ly)
CL	class	O	object	V	verb
COND	conditional	OI	Old Irish	VN	verbal noun
CS	construct state	o	pronominal object	vow.	vowel
D	dependent	OBJ	object	W.	Welsh
DAT	dative	OBL	oblique	X	some initial element: P, S, O, Adv, etc.
dial.	dialect(al)	P	predicate		
Eg.	Egyptian	PFV	perfective	º	apersonal verb form: no person-marking
F	feminine	phon.	phonetic		
G	given	PL	plural	x	agreement, marked on both terms
GEN	genitive	POSS	possessive		
gen.	gender	PP	past participle	~	partially
H	head	PRET	preterite	✓	present
HS	Hamito-Semitic	PREP	preposition	×	not present
IC	Insular Celtic	PROG	progressive	?	questionable; uncertain
INF	infinitive	red.	reduction		

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The theories of the 'Great Caravan Route' between Cilicia and Troy: the Early Bronze Age III period in inland western Anatolia

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Abstract

At the beginning of the second settlement a change that we can define as a 'breaking point' takes place in Trojan indigenous cultural development. Behind this change must lie, to a great extent, the intensification of Troy's cultural and economic relations with the interior of Anatolia and beyond (north Syria and Mesopotamia). This change is archaeologically most evident in the pottery; the potter's wheel is introduced to Troy IIb along with new forms and wares. For a long time it has been widely accepted that the wheel – in use in north Syria and Cilicia since the Late Chalcolithic period – became known in the interior of western Anatolia only after its appearance at Troy, and there has been a general consensus that the potter's wheel and other Mesopotamian influences reached Troy through maritime trade from Cilicia westward and northward along the Anatolian coastline. The author, on the other hand, as early as the mid 1980s, had begun to defend the thesis that Trojan-Cilician relations were established over inland western Anatolia, rather than by sea. Here again he deals with the subject, now strengthened by new evidence that continues to come to light from recent investigations and excavations within western Anatolia – most especially that from Küllüoba, where excavation has been continuing under the author's auspices since 1996. The author now goes one step further to define this overland route between Cilicia and the north Aegean as the 'Great Caravan Route'.

Özet

II.Yerleşmenin başlarında, Troya'nın yerel kültürel gelişiminde 'kırılma noktası' olarak nitelendirebileceğimiz bir değişim gerçekleşir. Bu değişimin gerisinde, esas itibariyle Troya'nın ilk defa yoğun bir şekilde Anadolu içleri ve gerisindeki bölgelerle (Kuzey Suriye ve Mezopotamya) kültürel ve ticari ilişkiler kurması yatmış olmalıdır. Bu değişiklik özellikle çanak çömlekte izlenir ve buna paralel olarak Troya'da (IIb katı) çömlekçi çarkı da ilk defa kullanılmaya başlanır. Çarkın iç Batı ve Orta Anadolu'da Troya'dakinden daha sonra ortaya çıktığı kabul edildiğinden; Kilikya bölgesinde ve Kuzey Suriye'de Geç Kalkolitik'ten beri kullanıldığının bilinmesinden dolayı, Mezopotamya etkilerinin Kilikya üzerinden Akdeniz ve Ege sahilleri boyunca, Troya'ya ulaşmış olabileceği fikri hemen hemen herkes tarafından kabul görmekteydi. Yazar ise 1980'li yılların ortalarında, söz konusu ilişkilerin, deniz yolundan ziyade, iç Batı Anadolu üzerinden kurulmuş olabileceği tezini ortaya atmış ve bunu günümüze kadar da savunagelmiştir. İşte Yazar, son senelerde Batı Anadolu'da yapılan kazı ve araştırmalar ve özellikle kendisinin başkanlığında 1996 yılından beri kazılmakta olan Küllüoba kazıları sonucunda ele edilen bazı yeni somut verilerle, konuyu burada tekrar ele almaktadır ve bir adım daha ileri giderek, Troya-Kilikya ilişkilerinin gerçekleştiğini düşündüğü bu kara ulaşım yolunu 'Büyük Kervan Yolu' olarak tanımlamaktadır.

Since Hetty Goldman began publishing the results of her excavations at Tarsus (Goldman 1956), the Troy-Tarsus relationship in the Early Bronze Age (EB) III has continued to be one of the most hotly debated topics of the Anatolian Early Bronze Age. At that time, the striking similarities between the EB III pottery of these two geographically distant sites was puzzling, because parallels to these assemblages were practically unknown in inland western Anatolia. This was further complicated by various scholars regarding the distinctively local pottery of the Demircihüyük EB II phases as contemporary with that of the Trojan EB III (settlements II–IV),

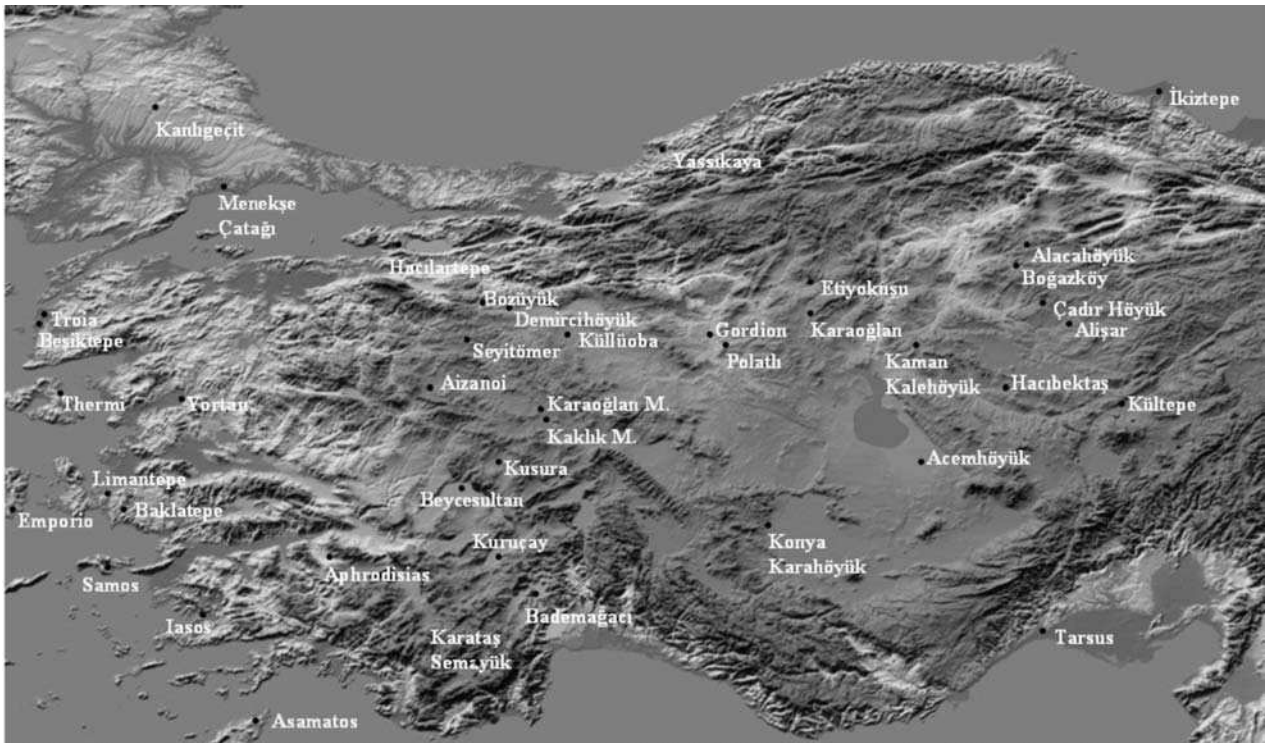

Fig. 1. Major Early Bronze Age sites in western Anatolia

thus ruling out the possibility that the new repertoires had earlier spread overland through the Eskişehir and İznik/İnegöl plains. That is, this equation mistakenly synchronised the late EB II horizon of Demircihüyük with the Trojan EB III period. This led scholars to an almost unanimous conclusion that relations between Troy and Tarsus had been established via a maritime route along the southern and western shorelines of the Anatolian peninsula. One of the strongest proponents of this theory was the late Machteld Mellink (Mellink 1986; 1993).

Excavations carried out along the Aegean coastline and on the Cyclades have contributed little to the validity of this suggestion. James Mellaart looked for clues inland. Following the Beycesultan excavations and his surface surveys in inland western Anatolia and on the Konya plain, he introduced the theory of a 'Luwian Invasion' (Mellaart 1958: 11; 1963: 210; 1965: 46–47). This theory was principally based upon the evidence of burnt layers at many sites in western Anatolia corresponding to the horizons of Troy IIg and the end level of the Tarsus EB II settlement.

In researching my dissertation on the Early Bronze Age (EBA) pottery of the later phases at Demircihüyük (completed in 1984 and published in 1988 in the Demircihüyük series), I studied and took into account the EB III elements of the poorly stratified and stray materials from the nearby sites of Bozüyük and Aharköy (Efe 1988: 80–88). This enabled me to correlate the final phases (phases P–Q) of the Demircihüyük EB II period with Trojan strata predating the Trojan second settlement, thus concluding that the typical western Anatolian EB III assemblage might be much better represented in the region than anticipated. Consequently, I propounded the existence of an important overland trade route between Cilicia and the Troad – with influences travelling in both directions – from the mid third millennium onward, suggesting, moreover, that much of the new pottery repertoire characterising the west Anatolian EB III period had most probably evolved in inland western Anatolia and spread outward from this region in opposite directions (Efe 1988: 93–99). An important criterion here was the evidence of early wheel-made forms along this route indicating influence from Cilicia into inland western Anatolia. This was the topic of my paper at the Thirty-fourth International Assyriology Congress in Istanbul in 1987 (Efe 1998). I cannot claim, however, that my theories were accepted with open arms; indeed some scholars continued to assess the Demircihüyük EB II material as belonging to the early EB III – in some instances dating it nearly to the end of the third millennium BC.

In the 1980s the excavations at the cemeteries of Bozüyük-Küçükhöyük and Demircihüyük-Sarıket produced new evidence in support of an overland trade route (Gürkan, Seeher 1991; Seeher 2000), as have the more recent Seyitömer salvage excavations (Efe, İlaslı 1997) and my own excavations, begun in 1996, at Küllüoba near Seyitgazi (Efe, Ay-Efe 2001; Efe, Türkteki 2005). These sites are shown on fig. 1.

We now have incontrovertible evidence for intense overland trade between Cilicia and the northern Aegean in the second half of the third millennium. Based on the results of an eight-year surface survey in the provinces of Eskişehir, Kütahya and Bilecik, I chose to excavate the large mound of Küllüoba; it appeared the site most likely to fill several gaps in the prehistoric sequence of the Eskişehir area – most particularly those within the Early Bronze Age. Needless to say, I hoped the excavations would reveal more concrete evidence for the above-mentioned theory. After ten years of excavating at Küllüoba, I remain more convinced than ever of the existence of such a trade route and I have gone so far as to refer to it as the 'Great Caravan Route' (Efe 2003a).

The following is a summary of my assessment of inland connections in light of the most recent research.

Early hints of Syro-Cilician influence on metal-working in inland western Anatolia

During the late EB II of inland western Anatolia, an obvious influx of Oriental elements can be felt – first in metalworking (fig. 2). We find an abundance of toggle-pins and lead bottles, as well as a spearhead with a bent tang and a crescent axe of Syro-Cilician origin in the EBA cemeteries of the Eskişehir region (Efe 2002: 54–61, figs 5:1–5, 9–12; Seeher 2000: figs 17.G.21.b, 23.G.100.f, 23.G.105.b, 25.G.141.b, 33.G.243.g, 37.G.305.h; Gürkan, Seeher 1991: fig. 21.8). Toggle-pins make an early appearance at Demircihüyük and Küllüoba in northern inland Anatolia (fig. 1) as well as in the cemeteries of Kaklık Mevkii, Harmanören and Karataş-Semayük further south (fig. 2; see also Efe, Fidan 2006: 21–26, Tab. 4, pl. 7). Similar metal finds have not yet appeared elsewhere in western Anatolia or the Aegean world in contexts so early. The late EB II is also the period in which the first use of tin-bronzes is attested in inland western Anatolia. Analysis of the metal artefacts from Demircihüyük-Sarıket, for example, revealed many objects of tin-bronze (Pernicka 2000). Indeed, the use of tin as an alloy might well have been one of the factors that opened up this inland trade route stretching from Cilicia to the northern Aegean (Troy and Poliochni) in the west.

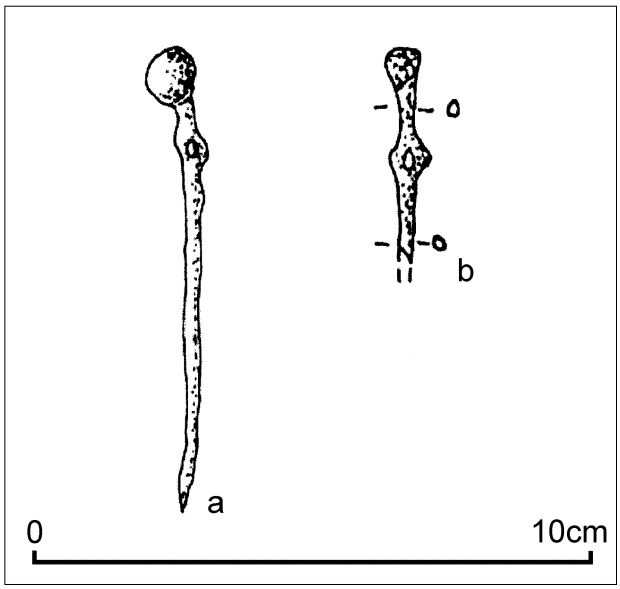

Fig. 2. Metal implements dating to the second half of the EB II period of possible Syro-Cilician influence found at Küllüoba

Parallel to this development, there are traces of the initial steps towards urbanism in western Anatolia. This is reflected in the development of upper and lower towns, as well as in buildings with possible administrative functions within settlements. Might this development not foreshadow the gradual emergence of large organised settlements under a central authority?

The late EB II period at Küllüoba and Seyitömer Höyük

Let us turn to Küllüoba, an inland western Anatolian settlement offering valuable hints of change in the socio-political structure as early as the initial stages of eastern influence during the EB II period (fig. 3).

The EB II settlement encompasses both an upper and lower town (fig. 4). The fortification wall surrounding the acropolis town dates to the very beginning of the EB II period; two main phases are now evident. The upper settlement represents a linear plan centred around two large free-standing complexes – complexes I and II – which were very likely administrative in function. The gate/court/palace layout in the east of the acropolis as well as the plan of complex I itself (a central megaron longitudinally flanked by two or three subsidiary structures) is, as far as we know, the earliest and simplest example yet identified in western Anatolia and the Aegean realm. It now appears that complex I and the structures surrounding the court on the other three sides may have formed one large entity. This is suggested by the absence of an oven in the complex itself, and the existence of at least two kitchens (each with an oven and a hearth) to the north of the east gate, as well as what seems to be storage bins limiting the court on the north and east.

A second large complex now completely excavated on the west of the acropolis (complex II) displays at least three phases and includes, on its southern flank, a megaron some 31m long with a 2m wide entrance in its final phase, approached by a stone ramp. Two earlier ramps lie beneath. Within this western complex there were also facilities for storage, including one corridor-like storeroom with a row of pithoi *in situ* (figs 4–6).

This complex remained in use over a long period, as is attested by the various phases of building and reconstruction. We have assembled quite a lot of information about the various functions of the different units. The complex definitely included three megara, all facing west. The great megaron in the south had only two rooms in its early phases and a third room was eventually annexed at the back. The great megaron exhibited practically no internal architectural elements save for the hearths. Nor did we encounter *in situ* finds indicative of everyday use. This provides a stark contrast with the situation in the units annexed to it, which included storage bins, pantries and ovens, as well as much pottery and many implements of ground stone, chipped stone and bone. This would suggest that the great megaron had a religious or an administrative function, whereas the annexes reflect a more domestic character.

As regards the lower city, we have established that the EB I and II settlement spread over a wide area (ca 300m by 150m) covering the entire surface of the mound around the acropolis. It seems that the configuration of upper and lower cities may very well have begun as early as the end of the EB I period, clearly continuing to develop in the succeeding EB II period.

The results of work in grids AI/AJ 23/24 and AR 22 (fig. 3) would indicate that at least part of the lower city comprised insulae and perhaps also free-standing houses (fig. 4). The unit apparently including a megaron-house

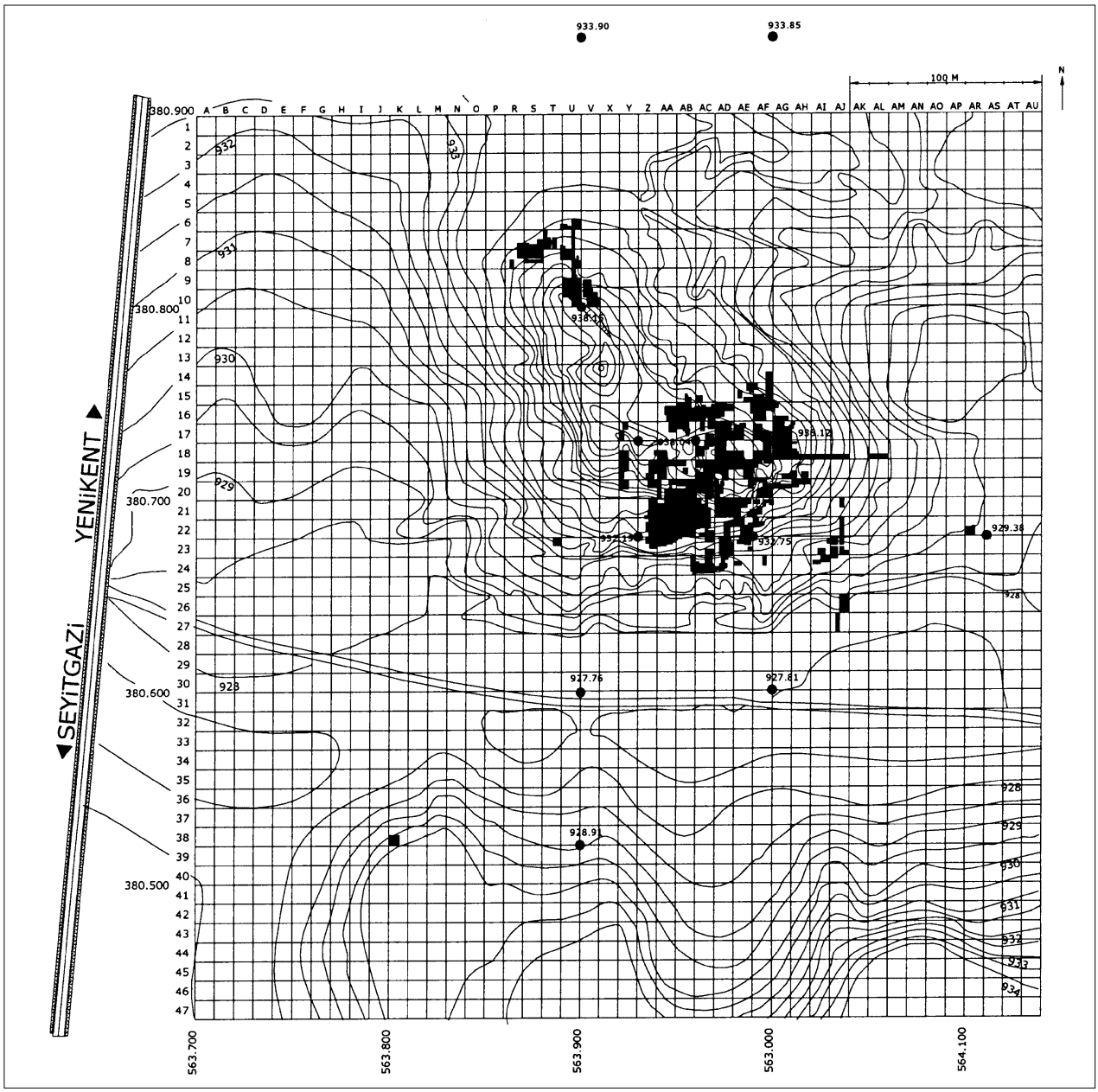

Fig. 3. Topographical plan of Küllüoba showing the excavated areas (2006)

Fig. 4. Plan of the upper town and the houses in the lower town as exposed

in grids AI/AJ 23/24 and attests that such a plan was present here at least from the early EB II onward. The megara in the more highly configured plans of complexes I and II on the acropolis may have developed from this plan. Consequently there is a possibility that the houses in the late EBA settlements in the north Aegean islands (often including a megaron) had their roots in mainland Anatolia.

At Seyitömer, 30km north of Kütahya, excavation of one burnt room dating to the very end of the EB II revealed a pottery kiln and many complete vessels, some of which were recovered in the process of manufacture. Pottery moulds fashioned from clay were also found here (Efe, İlaslı 1997). As evident both in the burnt level at Seyitömer (figs 7a–b, 8, 9a–b, 10a) and in the contemporary phase IVA at Küllüoba (figs 7c–e, 9c, 10b), the first signs of a distinct change in the pottery repertoire emerge in the Eskişehir area. This phase marks the first tendency towards homogeneity in the ceramics throughout the whole of western Anatolia.

Marked elements include red slipped wares foreshadowing Carl Blegen's Red Coated Ware at Troy, as well as the earliest tankards, tripod cooking pots and beak-spouted jugs with backward-leaning necks yet discovered in inland western Anatolia. A few of the small red slipped plates of Trojan A1 type might have been thrown on the wheel.

Some vessel shapes and ornaments from the Seyitömer burnt level which find counterparts both in the Eskişehir region and in the Trojan second settlement are

Fig. 5a. The southwestern corner of complex II and the first phase of the stone ramp

Fig. 5b. The second phase of the stone ramp

Fig. 5c. The storeroom with the pithoi in situ

Fig. 6a. Complex II from the northeast

Fig. 6b. Western part of complex II from the south

Fig. 7a. Seyitömer beak-spouted jugs (Efe, İlaslı 1997: pl. II:3-6)

Fig. 7b. Seyitömer tripod cooking pot

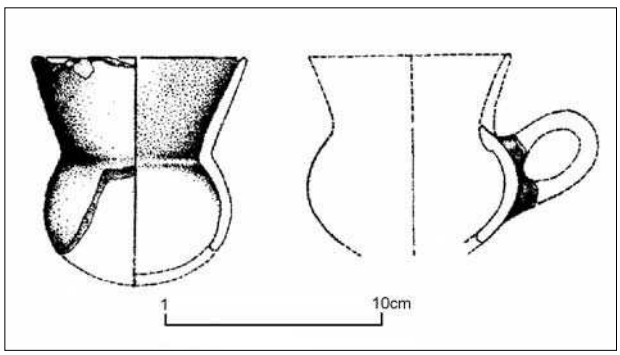

Fig. 7c. Küllüoba late EB II tankard

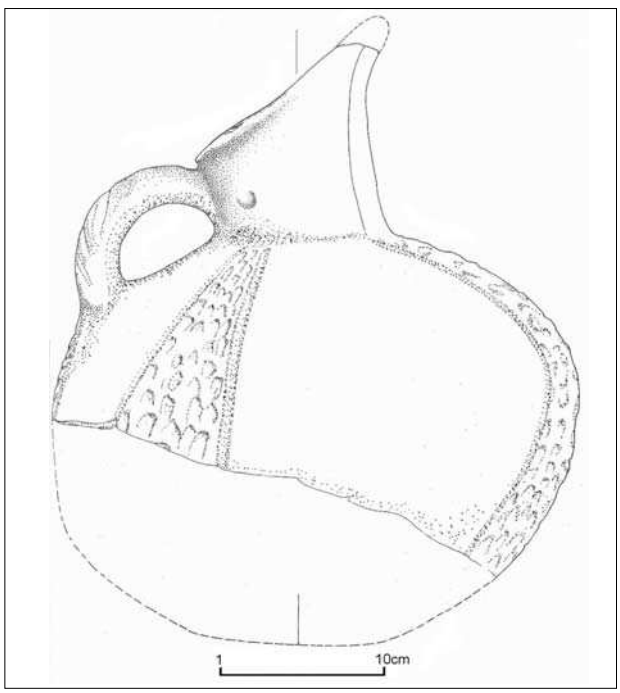

Fig. 7d. Küllüoba beak-spouted jug with barbotine decoration in reserved bands

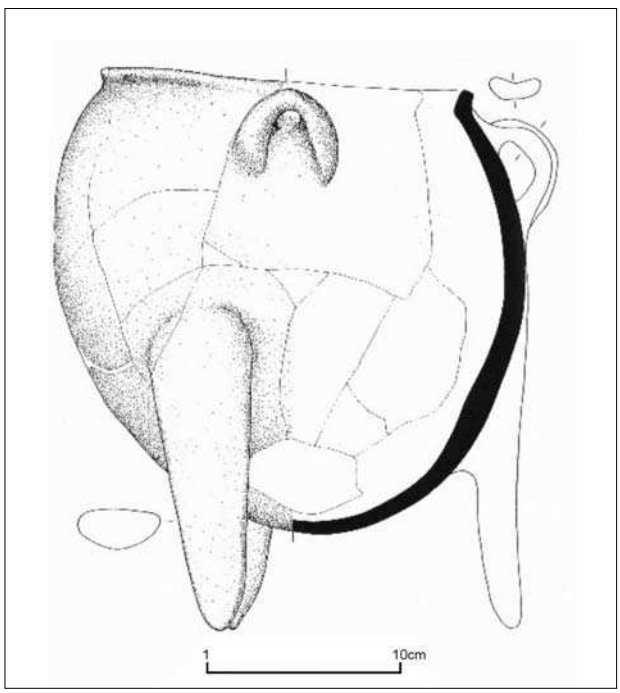

Fig. 7e. Küllüoba tripod cooking pot

shown in figs 8–10. Similarity in ornament – a combination of impression and incision – between one of the Troy lids (see Blegen, et al. 1950: 404, pls 36.1149, 35.437, 35.770, 35.553, 36.860) and one from Seyitömer (fig. 10a) was noted.

The horizon represented by the Seyitömer burnt level and Küllüoba phase IVA reflects the first intensive cultural and trade relations with the Troad and the northern Aegean. This phenomenon must have introduced the cultural innovations seen at the beginning of the Trojan second settlement. Indeed, we might speak of this as a phase transitional into EB III (the topic of the Trojan/inland northwestern Anatolian connections during the Trojan II settlement is discussed in detail in several other publications: Efe 1988: 93, 114; 1998: 297; 2002: 54; Efe, İlaslı 1997: 596).

The EB III period

This development continues uninterrupted with more dramatic changes marking the beginning of the Anatolian EB III period (around the mid third millennium). Among the many cultural innovations on the Anatolian peninsula were the emergence of more developed urban centres such as the Trojan second settlement and Liman Tepe, the first use of the potter's wheel west of Cilicia, new ceramic wares and forms, and new technologies and typology in metalworking. Then, towards the end of the Trojan second settlement, this development is felt in the Aegean world as well, where it is known as the 'Anatolianising' trend, characterised by the repertoire of the so-called 'Lefkandi I' or 'Kastri Group'. The emergence and the scope of Oriental influence in western Anatolia and the Aegean in the second half of the third millennium have very recently been discussed by L. Rahmstorf (Rahmstorf 2006).

That the potter's wheel, introduced most probably from Cilicia, brought new forms with it is clearly demonstrated at Küllüoba. Most of the early wheel-thrown pottery is represented by plain ware. In the first phase of the EB III at Küllüoba, this ware represents 12% of the ceramics (phase III D) when it was introduced, a proportion that rises to ca 20% in the following phase (phase III C).

The typical west Anatolian *koine* first appears dominant in Cilicia following a severe conflagration at the end of the Tarsus EB II period (Mellink 1989: 324). The megaroid row-houses laterally aligned in the Tarsus EB III settlements resemble those already established in the Küllüoba EB II period. The new pottery repertoire at Tarsus is stylistically more closely related to that of inland Anatolia than to that of the Aegean coastline. The effect of this apparently eastward-moving influence can be felt as far east as the Gedikli cemetery in the İslahiye area and even at Titriş on the banks of the Euphrates; in this region we find the depas, the tankard and flasks with cutaway spouts, as well as marble idols (Gedikli: Alkım 1979: figs 28–31; Titriş: Algaze, et al. 1995: fig. 35; Laneri 2002: fig. 8; for the distribution of the depas amphikypellon east of Cilicia, see Rahmstorf 2006: fig. 3).

Fig. 8. Pots with horizontal lug handles from Seyitömer (Efe, İlaslı 1997: pl. I)

The most characteristic vessel forms common to the Troad and the Eskişehir region in the early EB III period are Trojan A2 platters (compare fig. 11a with Korfmann 2001: pl. 374), small jar-like 'amphorae' (compare fig. 11b with Blegen, et al. 1950: pl. 389: 36.863, 37.997) and necked pots with horizontal or vertical lug handles on the bodies (figs 8, 9, see also Blegen, et al. 1950: pl. 398: 36757, 35578). These necked vessels of plain ware are distinguished by taller, more elongated bodies made possible by the use of the potter's wheel – a phenomenon evident at Tarsus and Troy as well as at Küllüoba (fig. 11b). Such characteristic forms, however, do not seem to appear this early along the southern Aegean coastline. The necked pot with pierced vertical lugs on the shoulder – from the middle phases of the EB III at Küllüoba (not illustrated) – finds nearly exact parallels at Troy, especially in the second settlement (Blegen, et al. 1950: pl. 403: 36.732, 35.427, 37.1113).

The earliest examples of depas at Küllüoba (for example, fig. 12a–b) display pointed bases and would appear to be all hand-made; although eventually wheel-made depa occur as well (fig. 12c). This striking form represents 7% of the early EB III pottery inventory at Küllüoba and thus appears to have been much more frequent here than at sites both to the west and to the east along the proposed trade route.

As at Tarsus (and Troy, for that matter) depas eventually become shorter and more squat. Fig. 12d shows a Küllüoba depa from phases with transitional *(Übergangsperiode)* pottery, which compares with examples from Tarsus (Mellink 1989: pl. 63:4–5). The walls may be curved or straight and flaring.

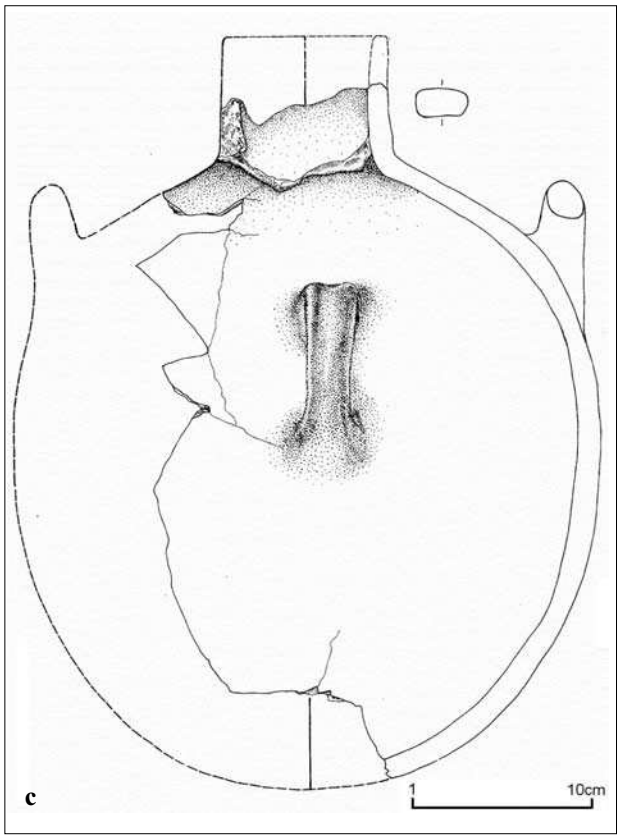

Fig. 9. A comparison of certain vessel forms from Seyitömer and Küllüoba. (a, b) Seyitömer (Efe, İlaslı 1997: pl. I); (c) Küllüoba

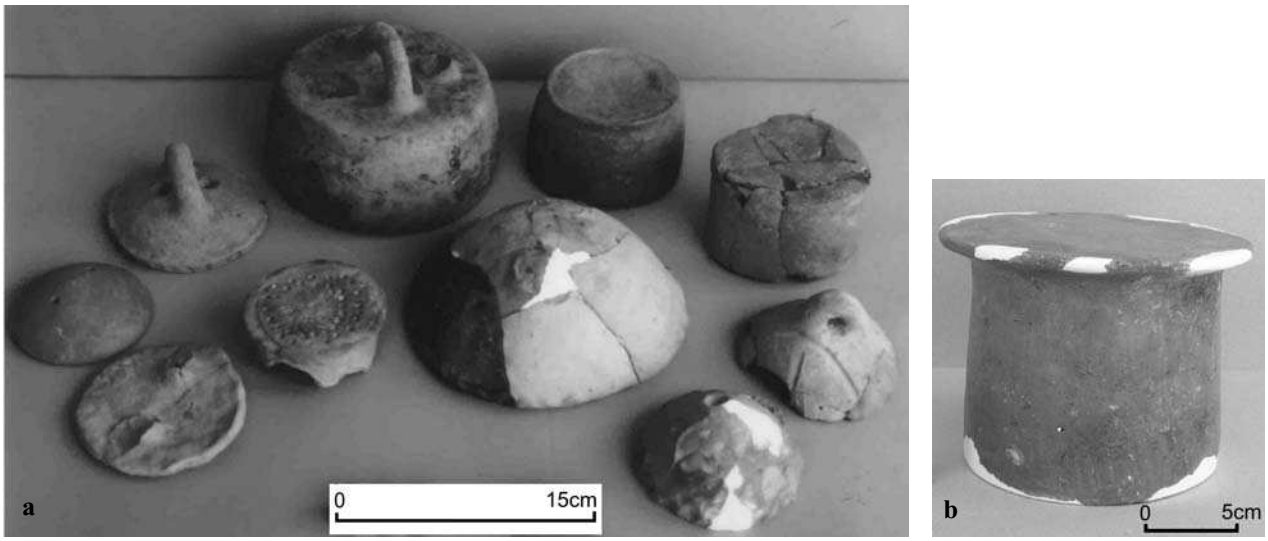

Fig. 10. Vessel lids from Seyitömer and Küllüoba. (a) Seyitömer (Efe, İlaslı 1997: pl. I); (b) Küllüoba

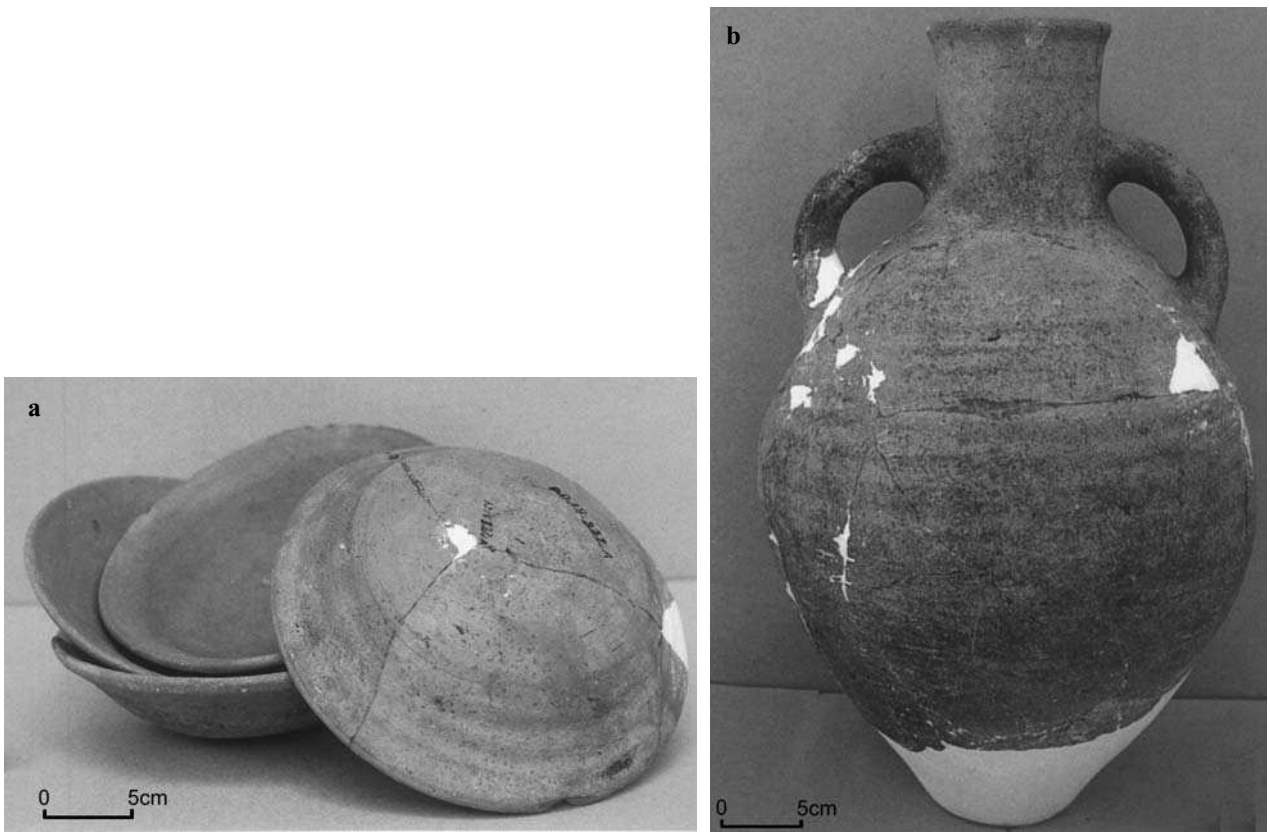

Fig. 11. Plates and amphora from Küllüoba of the early EB III period

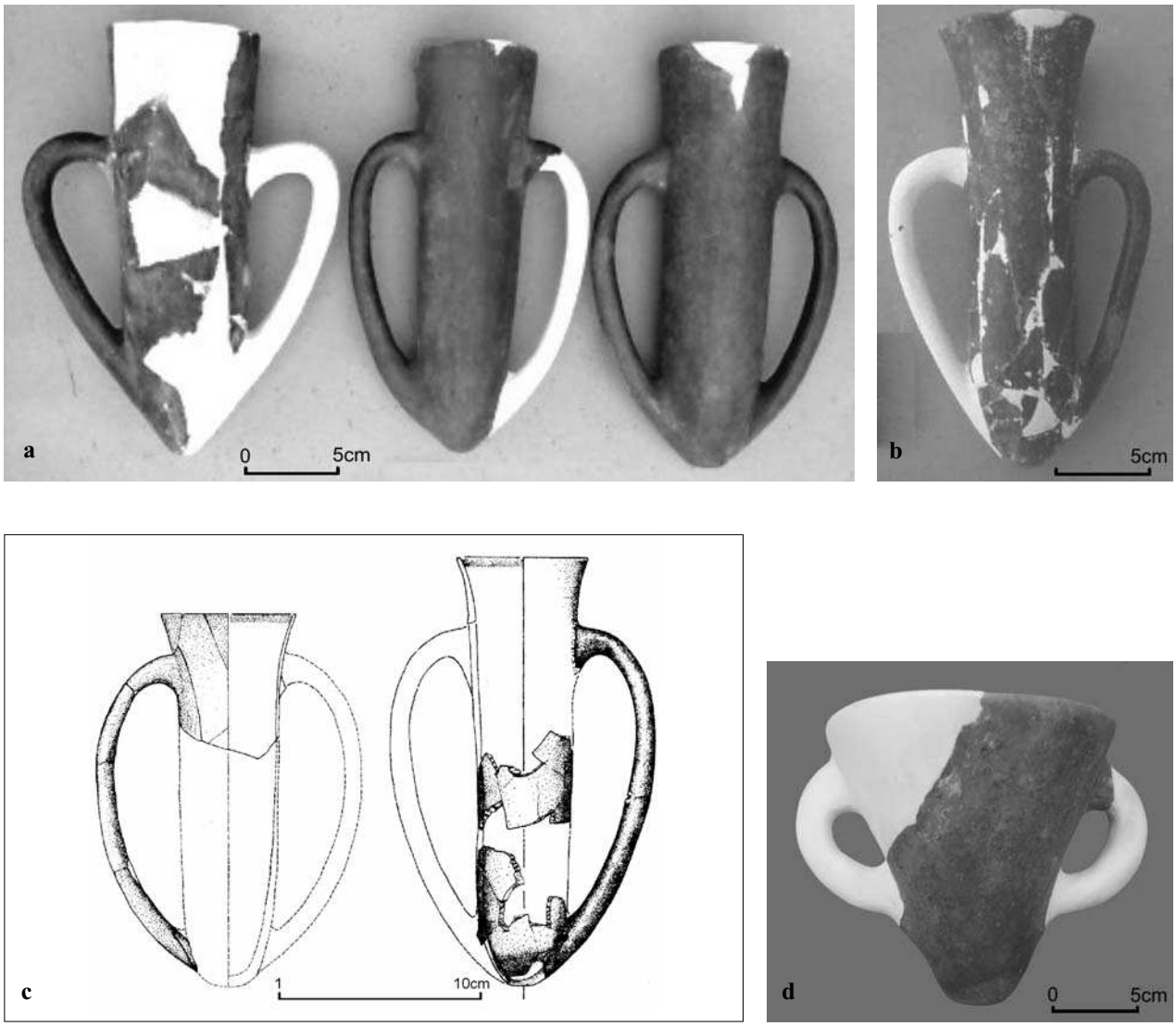

Fig. 12. Depa from Küllüoba

Westward from Cilicia, imitation Syrian bottles also come from the middle phases of EB III at both Küllüoba and Troy (fig. 13). This kind of bottle is also found at Palamari on Skyros in the north Aegean (for a distribution map of Syrian bottles, see Rahmstorf 2006: fig. 5). There are striking similarities between the EB III bone and marble idols of Troy and those of Küllüoba (compare Blegen, et al. 1950: pl. 360:35-60, 36-297, 36-84; Schliemann 1881: no. 996-997 with fig. 14).

One particular artefact that suggests direct trade between Syro-Cilicia and inland western Anatolia is the foot- or boot-shaped stamp seal. Examples from Tarsus, Konya/Karahöyük and Küllüoba come more or less from the same horizon, in other words, the mid third millennium (compare fig. 15a with Alp 1972: fig. 20:16, pl. 15:35; Goldman 1956: fig. 394:44). Stamp seals of metal also appear at Küllüoba (fig. 15b). From this same horizon at Küllüoba comes a skilfully executed long and slender bone implement with three perforations at equal intervals along the length (fig. 16). This might have been used as a balance beam in a scale for weighing valuable materials such as precious metals. Nearly exact parallels to this find come from late Troy I and the Red period at Poliochni (see Blegen, et al. 1950: pl. 222:37-548, fig. 16b–c; Bernabò-Brea 1964: pl. 178, 9). Another possible fragmentary example comes from Bozüyük (Koerte 1899: pl. 4:10; Rahmstorf 2006: fig. 10:26).

Fig. 17b shows the known concentration of early EB III wheel-made plain ware, in which the Trojan A2 plates appear most frequently. The plains of Konya and Akşehir, the Afyon region and the upper Sakarya plains, and finally the plains of Eskişehir and İznik/İnegöl, one after another, reflect an early concentration of this ware, suggesting the geography across which the 'caravan route' between Syro-Cilicia and the Troad probably

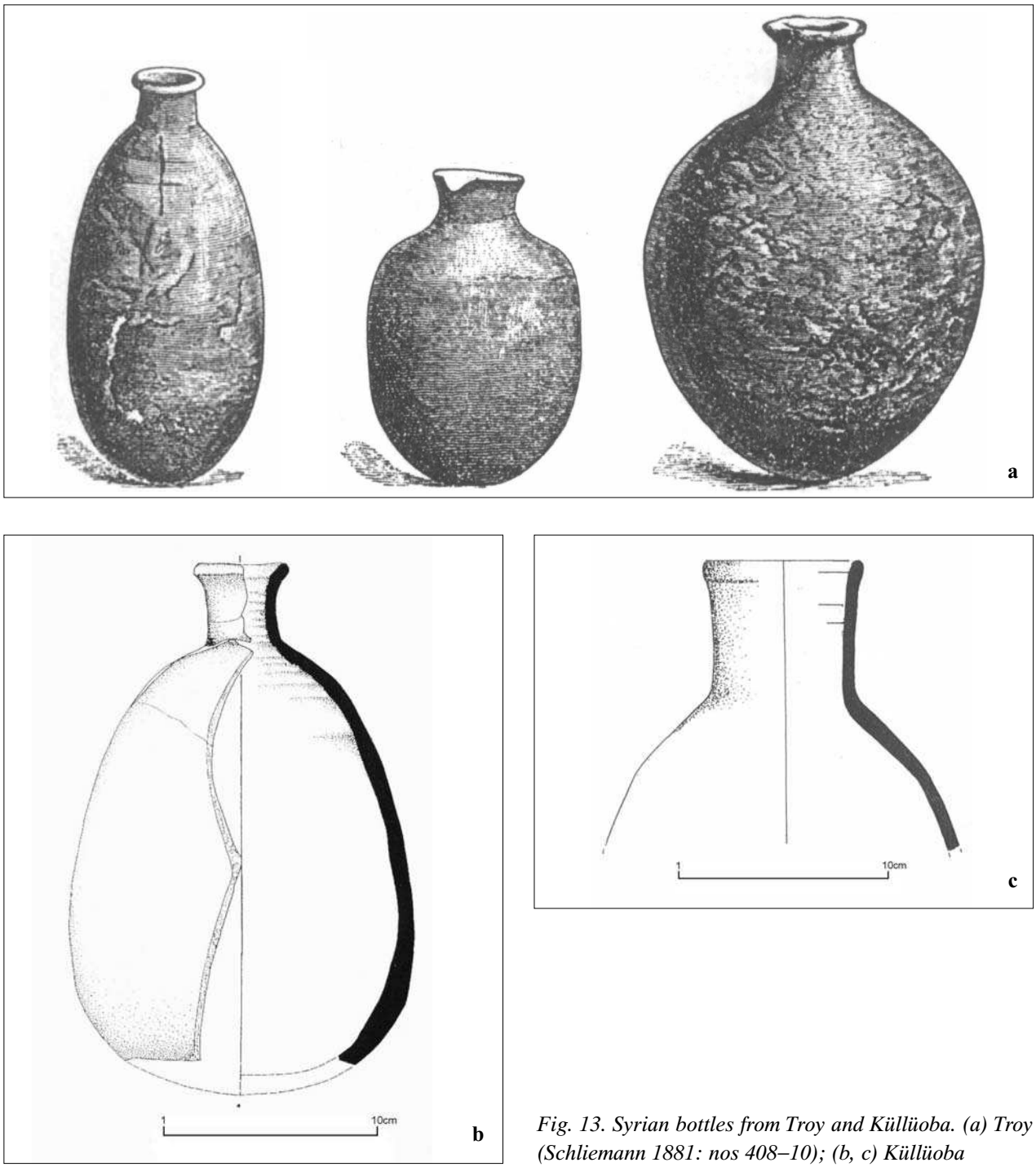

Fig. 13. Syrian bottles from Troy and Küllüoba. (a) Troy (Schliemann 1881: nos 408–10); (b, c) Küllüoba

emerged. Influence from this caravan route eventually found its way through inter-connecting valleys and plains both to the Aegean coastline and to central Anatolia. A ware related to this plain ware – most probably a later version – has shown up at Mehmet Özdoğan's excavations at Kanlıgeçit near Kırklareli in Turkish Thrace, accompanied by certain other west Anatolian features (personal communication), not only in ceramics but in architecture as well (Özdoğan 1998). Similar pottery has also been discovered at sites further north in Bulgaria.

In addition to the above-mentioned common finds along this proposed caravan route and in the adjunct surroundings, we see the emergence of new techniques in metalworking appearing in Mesopotamia and Troy. The toggle-pin demonstrates new forms during the EB III phases at Küllüoba, allowing us to trace its chronological development at the site (Efe, Fidan 2006: Tab. 4).

A stone trinket mould found in the late EB III phases at Küllüoba (ca 2200 BC according to C14 dating) may be taken as proof of the continuation of Syrian connec-

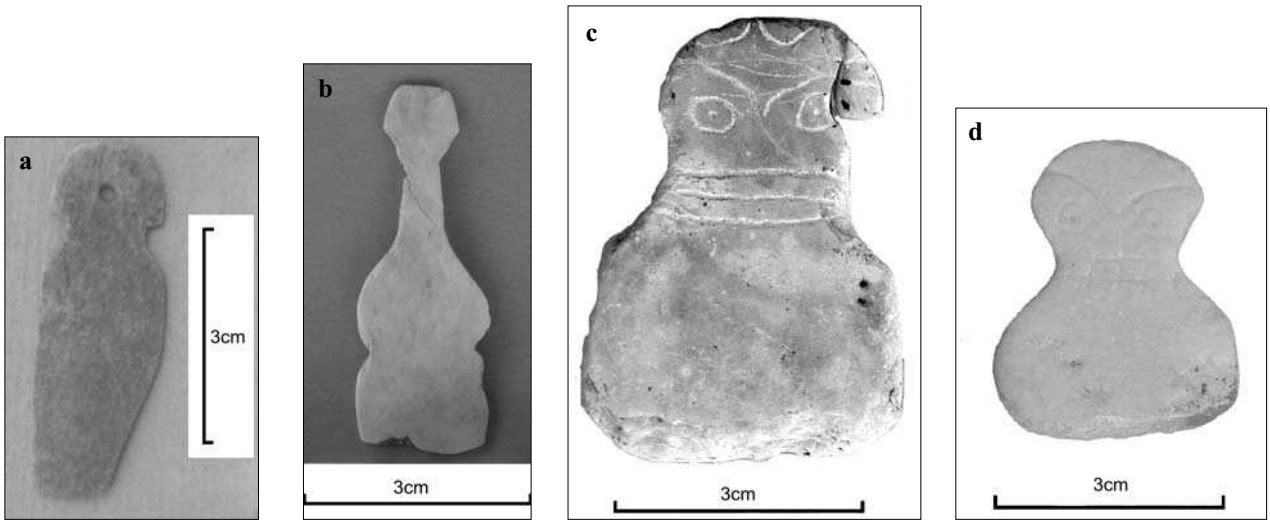

Fig. 14. Bone (a, b) and marble (c, d) idols from Küllüoba

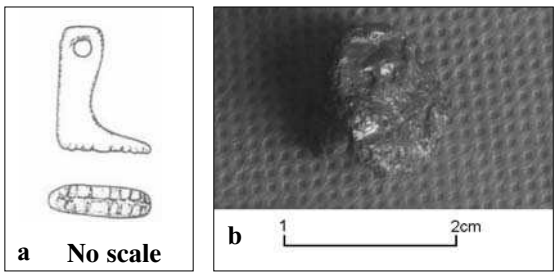

Fig. 15. Stamp seals from Küllüoba

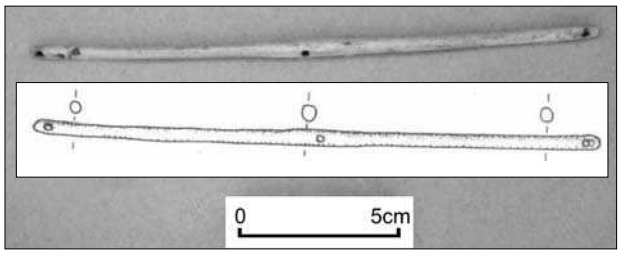

Fig. 16. Possible scale beam from Küllüoba

tions (Efe 2006: figs 1–5). A similar trinket mould from Titriş Hoyük, north of Urfa on the Euphrates, is approximately contemporary (Laneri 2002: figs 11, 12). A lead figurine very similar to those that would have been cast in this mould was found in Heinrich Schliemann's excavations at Troy (Schliemann 1881: 337, no. 226). Jeany Canby is of the opinion that these moulds might have been carried by metal-smiths travelling along the caravan routes between Mesopotamia and western Anatolian sites (Canby 1965: 52–54; 2003: 172; Efe 2006: 301, 303).

Towards the end of the EB III, however, inland western Anatolia appears to have bonded culturally, as well as politically, with central Anatolia, while sites along the entire Aegean coastline, on the other hand, became much more a part of the Aegean realm. Maritime commerce between the Aegean realm and the eastern Mediterranean coastal centres along the southern shores of Anatolia took on increased significance. It is most likely that developments in shipping and navigation, as well as new political alliances, paved the way for the new trade network of the Assyrian Colony period.

Conclusions

We can almost certainly say that the underlying factor of the important changes toward the middle of the third millennium, which mark the beginning of a new phase in the cultural development in western Anatolia called the EB III period, is the impact of intensive trade with the Mesopotamian cultural sphere. This commerce resulted in culturally and politically active centres, the emergence of an élite class, ceremonies and feasts, new habits in eating and drinking, and a trend towards more division of labour, standardisation and mass production. In western Anatolia, its early influence on the material culture can be traced most pronouncedly along this overland trade route from Cilicia to the north Aegean. Eastward of the Sivrihisar range in central Anatolia and westward along the southern Aegean coastline, this early impact is slight – if at all in evidence. The early distribution of wheel-made plain ware diagonally crossing the Anatolian peninsula (fig. 17b) is one of the most important clues to the 'Great Caravan Route' between Cilicia and the Troad (fig. 17a) and, consequently, to the origin of the west Anatolian EB III cultural elements. It is hardly a coincidence that the geographical distribution of the early

toggle-pins and tin-bronzes (Pernicka 2001: fig. 409) follows the same diagonal crossing. The chronological relationship between the two main waves of Oriental influence on western Anatolia is shown in fig. 18.

The Aegean world had its own trade network encompassing mainly the western coastline of Anatolia, the Aegean islands and mainland Greece. Following the Trojan first settlement, however, north Aegean settlements like Troy and Poliochni received inland influences via the 'Great Caravan Route', despite close ties with the rest of the Aegean. Eventually inland Anatolian EB III cultural elements (characterised by the so-called 'Lefkandi I' or 'Kastri Group') reached the other Aegean islands as well. This occurred toward the end of the Trojan second settlement, and appeared as an isolated phenomenon by no means comparable to the influence in the northern Aegean. Cyprian Broodbank is among those of us sceptical of direct sea trade between

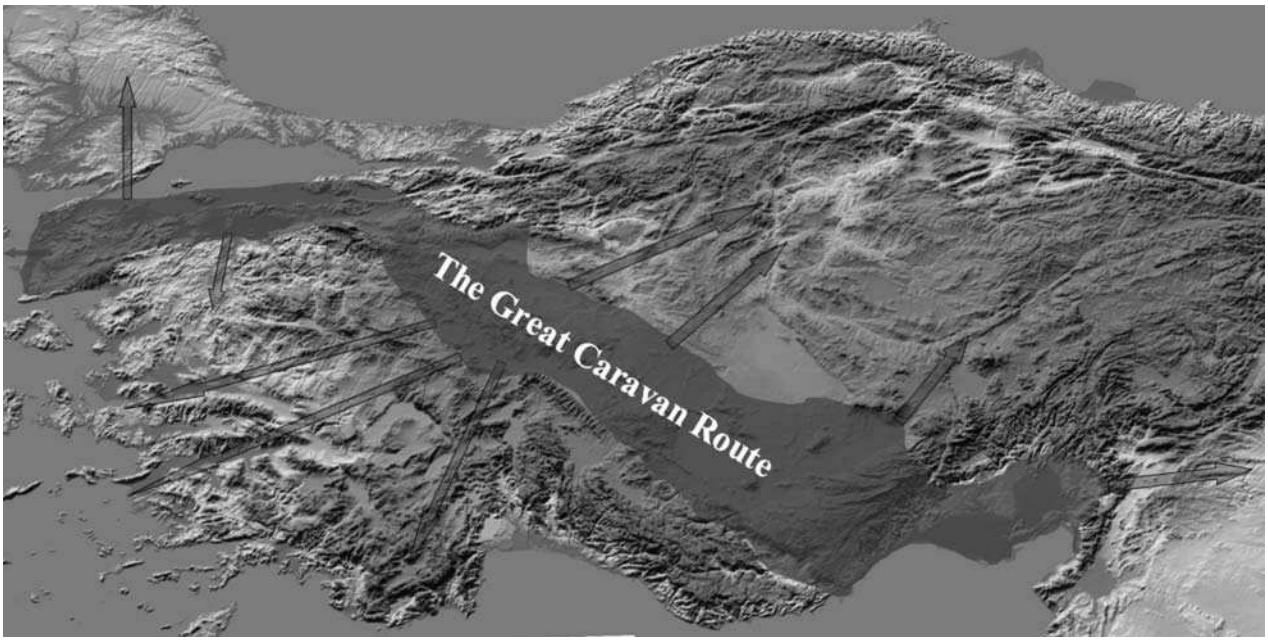

Fig. 17a. The 'Great Caravan Route' of the EB III period

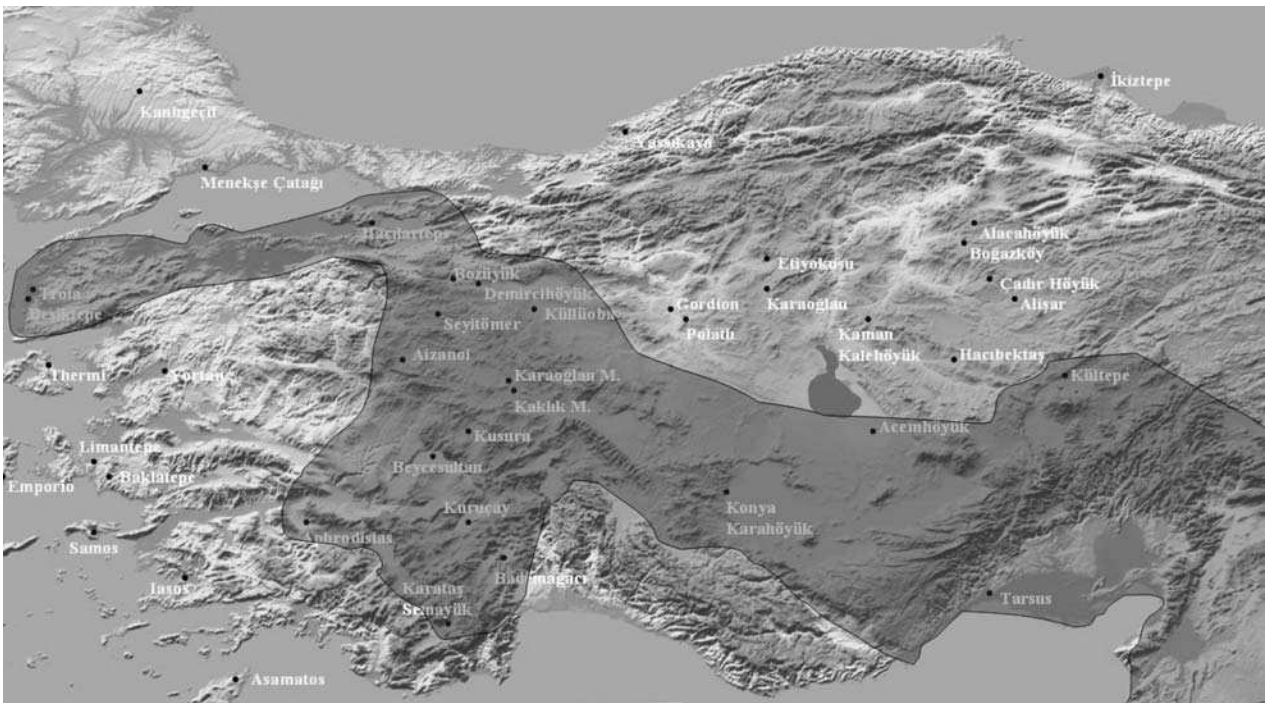

Fig. 17b. The early distribution of plain wheel-made wares of the EB III period, including the Trojan A2 platter

	Troy	Küllüoba		Demircihüyük	Beycesultan	Tarsus
		East	West			
MBA	V			I- IV	V	
Late EB III	IV	II A			VI	Late EBA III
		II B				
		II C			VII	
	III	II D			VIII	Early EBA III
				Hiatus	XI-IX	
Early EB III		III A			XII	
		III B				
	IIb	III C			Hiatus	
EB II	IIa-I (late)	IV A			XIIIa	EBA II
	I (middle)	IV B		Q	XIIIc	
		IV C		O-P	XIV	
		IV D		M-N		
		IV E		L	XV	
		IV F		K		
		IV G	1	H-I	XVI	
EB I				G	XVIII-XVII	
	I (early)	V A		F		
		V B	2	E	XIX	EBA I
		V C	3	D		
			4			
Transitional period into the EBA	Kumtepe IB		5	Hiatus		
Late Chalcololithic			6		XX	
			7			
			8			

Horizon of the 'Great Caravan Route' of the EB III period

Horizon of the early influx of Oriental metal types into inland northwest Anatolia

Fig. 18. A chronological chart synchronising the stratigraphies of major EBA sites in western Anatolia

the Levant and the Aegean islands much before the end of the third millennium BC and the early second millennium BC (Broodbank 2000: 44, 283). The suggestion of main overland trade routes connecting the Syro-Mesopotamian and the Aegean worlds in the EB III period has recently been finding more and more acceptance (Schachner, Schachner 1995: 310–14; Genz 2003; Rahmstorf 2006).

To evaluate and assess the mechanism, development and dimension of EBA trade and provide further evidence for the 'Great Caravan Route', we need to excavate more of the large mounds possibly representing trade centres along the proposed route – most particularly those in the Konya plain and in the region of inland western Anatolia stretching from the Lake District in the south to the plains of İznik/İnegöl in the north.

Acknowledgements

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The World Empire

of

3100 BCE

Dr. Saul Pressman

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Introduction

The theories of archaeology are in tatters.

Once the Great Sphinx was proven to be thousands of years older than dynastic Egypt by **Robert Schoch** and **John Anthony West** in 1993, and Gobekli Tepe was dated at 9500 BCE in 1994, the foundations for the entire conventional chronology came unhinged. With the onslaught of books over the last 50 years revealing enormous piles of evidence from every corner of the globe that modern archaeology has deliberately ignored, the credibility of the prevailing dogma began to rapidly erode.

With the revelations of a cometary impact in 10,900 BCE now solving the mystery of the termination of the Pleistocene era ice age, with its massive tsunami accounting for the destruction of the ice age megafauna, the false façade of Uniformitarianism has been permanently shattered. The **diffusionist** and **catastrophist** theories are on the ascendant and the spurious accusations of racism against diffusionists will shortly be seen as the dismal red herrings that they are.

This book shall serve as one more blow against the crumbling edifice that passes for archaeological theory today. In years to come, people will look back and marvel at the inanity of the mainstream theories that are now on their way to the dust heap of history, and at the tenacity with which their proponents clung to them in the face of overwhelming evidence.

And a new generation will grow up, and it will believe the opposite of what the old generation believed, and perhaps wiser decisions will be made because of it.

The Akkadian Dynasty

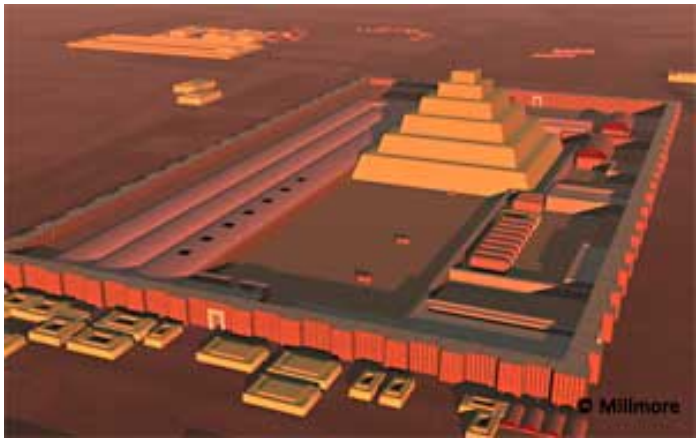
Sargon the Great	**His giant son Menes**	**His giant son Narmar**
Ruled in Akkadia 3132 – 3076 BCE	Ruled in Egypt 3113 – 3050 BCE	Ruled Akkadia & Egypt 3049 – 2993 BCE

A model of the Thor Heyerdahl's Tigris near the Pyramid of Guimar on Tenerife, Canary Islands.
The author visited Guimar and saw the museum display of Heyerdahl's cogent theories in 2005, which eventually led to this book.

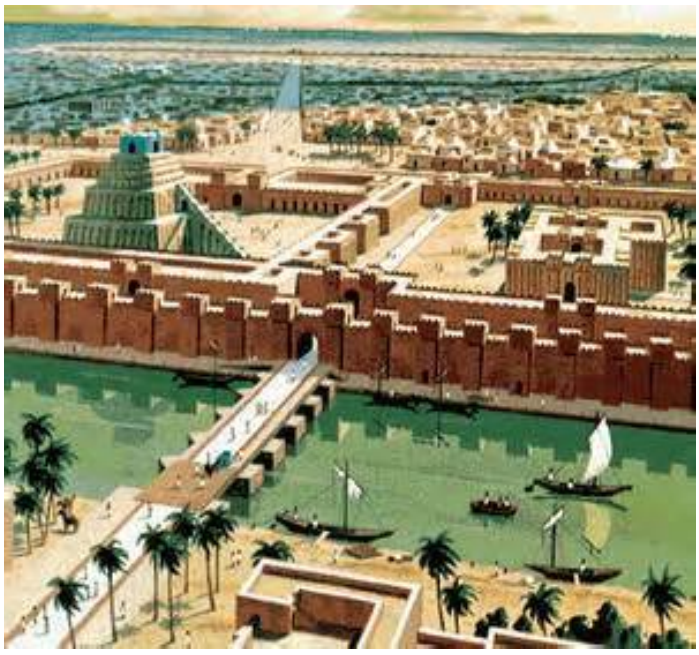
1. W.M. Flinders Petrie and the Dynastic Race Theory

In the early 20th century, Egyptologist Sir W.M. Flinders Petrie deduced that skeletal remains found at pre-dynastic sites at **Naqada** in Upper Egypt indicated the presence of **two different races**, with the **Followers of Horus** exhibiting a noticeably larger skeletal structure and cranial capacity. Petrie concluded that the physical differences of the remains in conjunction with the previously unknown burial styles, novel tomb architecture, and abundance of foreign artifacts inferred this race must have been **an invading elite** that was responsible for the sudden rise of Egyptian civilization. This began what has been called the **Dynastic Race Theory**. The Theory holds that the earliest roots of the Ancient Egyptian dynastic civilization were imported by invaders who then founded the First Dynasty and brought culture to the indigenous population.

Based on plentiful cultural evidence, such as architectural styles – most notably the distinctly Mesopotamian "niche-facade" architecture; pottery styles; cylinder seals and artworks, as well as numerous Predynastic rock and tomb paintings depicting Mesopotamian style boats, symbols, and figures, Petrie determined that **the invading race had come from Mesopotamia**, imposed themselves on the native Gerzean culture and became their rulers. Petrie argued that the Mesopotamians conquered both Upper and Lower Egypt and **founded the First Dynasty about 3100 BCE**. Predynastic and First Dynasty burial sites similar to Naqada were also found at Abydos, Saqqara, and Hierakonopolis.



Saqqara ziggurat and enclosure



Sumerian ziggurat and enclosure at Lagash

2. Modern Versions of the Theory

Following earlier proponents such as **L. A. Waddell**, and Walter Bryan Emery (a former Chair of Egyptology at University College London) modern scholars such as **David Rohl** and **Michael Rice** have advanced reasons in support of a Mesopotamian origin for the ancient Dynastic Egyptians.

According to Egyptologist David Rohl, "*There is little evidence of kingship and its rituals very much before the beginning of the 1st Dynasty; no signs of the gradual development of metal working, art, monumental architecture and writing – the defining criteria of early civilization. Much of what we know about the pharaohs and their complex culture seems to come into existence in a flash of inspiration.*" Rohl believes the most dramatic evidence to support this theory is the **sudden introduction of distinctly Sumerian "niche-facade" architecture found in several pre-dynastic sites including Abydos and Sakkara.** He says, "*It is highly improbable that such specialized building techniques were independently invented in two widely separated regions at the same historical period without cultural transmission.*"

Rohl believes, like Petrie, that the catalyst for this sudden development was the **influx of a Mesopotamian "foreign elite" who made their way to Egypt** by sailing around the coastline of the Arabian Peninsula into the Red Sea, then **dragging their boats across the desert to the Nile**. Rohl notes numerous **pre-dynastic rock carvings** found in several locations from Wadi Abbad to Abydos which depict large Mesopotamian style boats with crews of up to 75, which are being pulled across land.

The predynastic Egyptian god Min is associated with the eastern desert and two giant limestone statues of Min were found at Koptos. The dragging of ships across the desert is also depicted there, and it is clear that **Min is none other than Menes**.

Petroglyphs on the walls of the wadis up which the Shemsu Hor dragged the ships on rollers on their way to the Nile.

3. The Hamitic Hypothesis

Hamitic is a term for the peoples descended from Noah's son Ham (Hebrew Kham, Egyptian Khem). In the 19th century, the "**Hamitic race**" was designated a sub-group of the Caucasian race, grouping together the non-Semitic populations native to North Africa, the Horn of Africa and South Arabia, including the Ancient Egyptians.

Ham/Kham had four sons:

1. Cush (Kish), ancestor of the Akkadians
2. Mizraim, ancestor to the Egyptians, the Minoans and the Phillistines
3. Phut or Put or Pun, ancestor to the Libyans (Punic)
4. Canaan, ancestor to the Phoenicians, Canaanites, Hittites and Amorites

Old accounts state that Egypt was originally named **Khem** after Kham. After his son Menes rebelled against him, invaded Egypt and took over, the land became known as **Mizraim** in Hebrew, Misr in Egypt. Eusebius said that Mizraim was known to the Greeks as Aegypticus, from which we get the modern name of Egypt, but the Arabs still refer to it today as Masr.

Why are the ancient sources not believed?

Because their statements would overturn the shaky chronology invented to explain early Egyptian history. It is certainly not because there is solid evidence to the contrary:

Conventional Egyptology's shaky chronology

Dynasty 1	Date BCE	Tomb
King Scorpion ?	c. 3200 ?	?
Ka	c. 3150 ?	Abydos
Narmar	c. 3100 ?	Abydos
Hor-Aha, Aha-Men, Menes	c. 3050 ?	Abydos, Saqqara?

Their dating is obviously questionable.
They have even gotten the **order** of the rulers wrong. It should be **Ka, Menes, Narmar**.
King Scorpion is another name for Ka (Sargon/Shar Gin).

Is the conventional Sumerian chronology any more solid?

"*While Sumerian history is apparently older than Egypt, the earliest Sumerian dates around 2900 BC -- with no confidence until around 2700 -- appear to be later that those given for Egypt in the Archaic, beginning around 3100 BC. This effect is the result of* ***the fragmentary nature of Sumerian chronology…****. The "21 Kings since the Flood" of Kish would put us back* ***substantially before 2700, if not before 2900*** *-- if the numbers bear any relation to reality.....* ***What is unavoidable is that we have little evidence apart from legend*** *for Sumerian history, despite the archaeological indications that writing may have begun as early as* ***3400 BC****, while* ***in Egypt there are actual tombs for many of the I and II Dynasty Kings, at Saqqara, Abydos, or both****. Egypt, as a unified Kingdom, unlike the city states of Sumer, could be focusing its collective efforts on* ***its records and its monuments****, as* ***Sumer could not****, with the full resources of a large, organized state directed to preserving the past*." http://www.friesian.com/notes/oldking.htm#sumer

If anything, it is <u>less</u> reliable.

There are three competing Sumerian chronologies: Long, Middle and Short (0, 64 and 120 years apart). They do not agree, obviously. And they are not synced to Egyptian chronologies.

The Akkadian Dynasty Conventional dating				
Ruler – years	**Dates BCE**			**Comments**
	short	**medium**	**long**	
Sargon – 55/56	**2270 -** 2215	**2334 -** 2279	**2390 -** 2334	*"cupbearer of Ur-Zababa of Kish; he built Agade"*
Rimush – 9/15	2215 - 2206	2279 - 2270	2334 - 2319	*"the younger son of Sargon"*
Manis-Tusu – 15	2206 - 2191	2270 - 2255	2319 - 2304	*"the elder son of Sargon"*
Naram-Enzu – 35/37/56	2191 - 2156	2255 - 2218	2304 - 2248	*"the son of Manis-tusu"*
Shar Gani-Eri - 24/25/26	2156 - 2132	2218 - 2193	2248 - 2222	*"the son of Naram-Enzu"*

Early Bronze Age: New Chronology [Appendix 3]
Flood of Noah/Ziusudra: 3142 BCE

Beginning of Early Bronze Age 3132 BCE						
Rulers	**Start**	**Length**	**End**		**Hebrew**	**LXXa**
Akkadians	3132	205	2927		Noah, Shem, Ham	3142
Gutians	2926	124	2802		Heber	2876
Ur III	2801	115	2686			
Avan Elamites	2685	15	2670			
Amorites – Isin	2669	230	2439			
Amorites – Larsa	2438	252	2186		**Abraham** born	2141
Eparti Elamites	2185	102	2083		Abe enters Canaan	2066
Hammurabi	2082	42	2040		Sodom destroyed	2040
End of Early Bronze Age 2040 BCE						

Utnapishtim / Ziusudra / Noah

4. The Shemsu Hor

The Egyptian legends say that it was **the Shemsu Hor, the Followers of Horus** who entered and took over the country of Egypt. Who were they?

> "*The name Horus is Greek. In ancient Egypt he was known as "Heru" or "Hor" or "Har", which is translated as "the distant one". He was considered to be a celestial falcon, and so his name could be a specific reference to the flight of the falcon, but could also be seen as a more general solar reference. It is thought that* ***the worship of Horus was brought into Egypt during the predynastic period.*** *The Turin Canon, describes* ***the predynastic rulers of Egypt*** *as* ***"the Followers of Horus"****. Some scholars argue that the mythical battle between Horus and Set was once* ***a real battle between the followers of Set and the followers of Horus.*** *If this was the case, it would seem that the followers of Horus won, as Horus remained a popular emblem of kingship while Set was transformed into a symbol of evil*." http://ancientegyptonline.co.uk/horus.html

David Rohl says:

> "The epithet ascribed to the ancient Mesopotamian flood hero [Ziusudra], 'the far distant', is the exact meaning of the Egyptian word 'Horus'.

Noah	**Horus**	**Ziusudra**

Rohl has explored the wadis of eastern Egypt, where petroglyphs depict the overland transport of Sumerian ships to the Nile, providing powerful confirmation that Waddell's thesis of the Sumerian impetus to Egyptian civilization, Petrie's **Hamitic Dynastic Theory**, is correct. Rohl has identified these invaders from the east as "***The Followers of Horus***".

> "…these invaders came from Mesopotamia at the onset of the third millennium BC: "We can tell this from their style of weapons, ship design, their dress and their religious symbolism. They carry pear-shaped maces … and their ships are typical Mesopotamian seagoing vessels. Their chieftains wear tall twin plumes, and kilts with animals' tails attached. I've linked them with the mythical '**followers of Horus**' because the carvings feature the falcon god, Horus".

In addition to the evidence available to Petrie et al., Rohl also points out similarities in the names of divinities and places in the religious beliefs of the two cultures, and in depictions of regalia.
For example, **the Primeval Mound** of the Egyptian first creation was called the **Island of Nun**, and was surrounded by the Waters of Nun, while the Sumerian name for the great temple in their first city of Eridu was **Nun.ki** – the 'Mighty Place' – and it was **built on an island** in the reed swamps. Several scholars have also noted that the name Osiris is a Greek pronunciation, and that **the god would have been called Asar in Egyptian, while the Sumerian god of the Eridu area was also called Asar.** In this case, a Greek translation has obscured an important clue.

5. L. A. Waddell

There is a little-known book written in 1930 by an erudite Englishman, L.A. Waddell. It is called "***Egyptian Civilization: Its Sumerian Origin and Real Chronology***". In it, he states that a powerful Sumerian kingdom colonized Egypt under Sargon the Great, his son Menes, and his grandson Narmar. They also colonized the Indus Valley, Crete and Phoenicia, and sent trading expeditions to Britain. Waddell could read Egyptian hieroglyphs, Sumerian cuneiform and Indus valley script, apparently. He shows that the Sumerian King Lists, the Egyptian King Lists and the Indian King Lists correspond, although **the kings bear different names in each place**. The key to decoding this information is the realization of the equivalence of the king's different names in different lands of their empire.

Menes (also **Aha-Men)** of Egypt was known as **Manis-Tusu** in Sumeria**, Minos** in Crete and **Manasyu (**also **Asa-Manja)** in the Indus Valley.

Menes' son reigned as **Narmar** in Egypt**, Naram-Enzu (Naram, the Wild Bull Lord)** in Sumeria, **Mino-Taur (**son of **King Minos)** in Crete**,** and **Karam-Ba** or **Neram** in the Indus Valley. Narmar's palette in Egypt shows him as the Wild Bull, trampling his enemies in battle (bottom right).

The Narmer Pallette

L.A. Waddell

Waddell shows that **Egyptian hieroglyphs are derived from Sumerian cuneiform**; and points out that the Saqqara funerary enclosure buildings are built in the **Sumerian style**, just as Petrie had said.

Waddell uses his translations of **the Indus Valley seals** to acquire the names of the kings. He equates the images on the seals with Sumerian cuneiform, and gives page after page of the symbols side by side, with the meaning. From the Indus Valley seals:

The Seal of Sargon the Great, father of Menes:

SAG / AZU / KAD TUB / UMUN / ASH GUT

Sag / the Seer / the Mighty Ruler / the Overlord / the Goth

The Seal of Sargon's Queen Lady Ash-Nini at her Abydos tomb

PARIN / BARA / KAD / MA / ASH-NINI

(Of) The House of / the Pharaoh / the Ruler / My Lady/ Ash-Nini

The Seal of Menes, conqueror of Egypt:

UMUN / MAN / A-HA / MAR / SHA-GANI / BARA / GU-EDIN-AS

The Overlord / Man / Aha/ the son of / Sargon / the Pharaoh / in Indus Land

Menes self-description:

UMUN / A-HA / MAR / GUT / GIN-GE / GU-EDIN-AS

The Overlord / Aha / the son of / the Goth / Sargon / in Indus Land

Menes self-description:

SHAG-MAN / MA-ANSHU / BARA / GU-EDIN-AS

Viceroy / Ma-anshu / Pharaoh / in Indus Land

Menes' tomb at Abydos:

LUGAL / MIN-AS / BARA / MUS-SIR / MAD-AGA / TAB-GE

King / Minas / the Pharaoh / of Muzir (Egypt) / the Land of / the Two Crowns

Menes epitaph:

KU / MIM / WI-SU / XU-BAK GIR / A-HA / MIN-AS

The One / who Perished / in the West / of the Horus race / Aha / Minas

This last one refers to Menes' death aboard a ship on the way to his British colony at age 83.

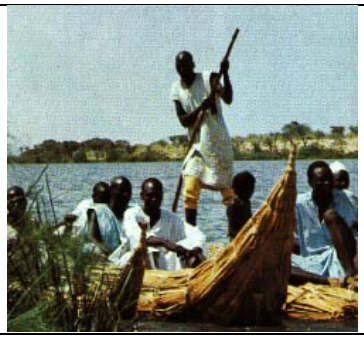
Waddell is writing in 1930, so undoubtedly there are changes that have occurred in the understanding of Sumerian, Egyptian and Indus Valley writing. However, since his translations make sense out of the Egyptological nonsense, I think that they are close to the mark.
From 1975 to 2010, Zechariah Sitchin became well-known for his 'translations' of the Sumerian cuneiform as well as interpretations of the seals. However, after reading all his books, I am not aware of very many correspondences between his interpretations and Waddell's translations. Needless to say, Waddell makes no mention of visiting aliens or rogue planets.

Waddell does, however, make sense out of the jumble of pre-dynastic times that has resulted partly from the Egyptologists' insistence on **the isolationist theory of history**. Waddell shows that the civilization of 3100 BCE was not only in control of the main centers of **Sumer, Indus, Egypt,** and **Crete**, they also brought tin from **Britain**, silver from **Spain** and cedars from the **Levant**. To that I would add copper from **Lake Superior**, tin from **Bolivia**, and gold from **Australia**. They had the ability to **travel worldwide**, as archaeological researcher and author Thor Heyerdahl proved with his expeditions in modern duplicates of their ancient reed boats.

6. Thor Heyerdahl's mighty ocean-going reed boat Ra II under construction

This ancient reed boat building technology has been preserved at **Lake Titicaca**; along **the Nile**; the marshes of **the Tigris**; and the receding shores of **Lake Chad**; showing that this complex skill was indeed worldwide, and highly advanced. Recently, it has been found that the Egyptians made pilgrimages to Lake Chad. (See my book ***The Green Sahara***.)

Egypt



Lake Chad

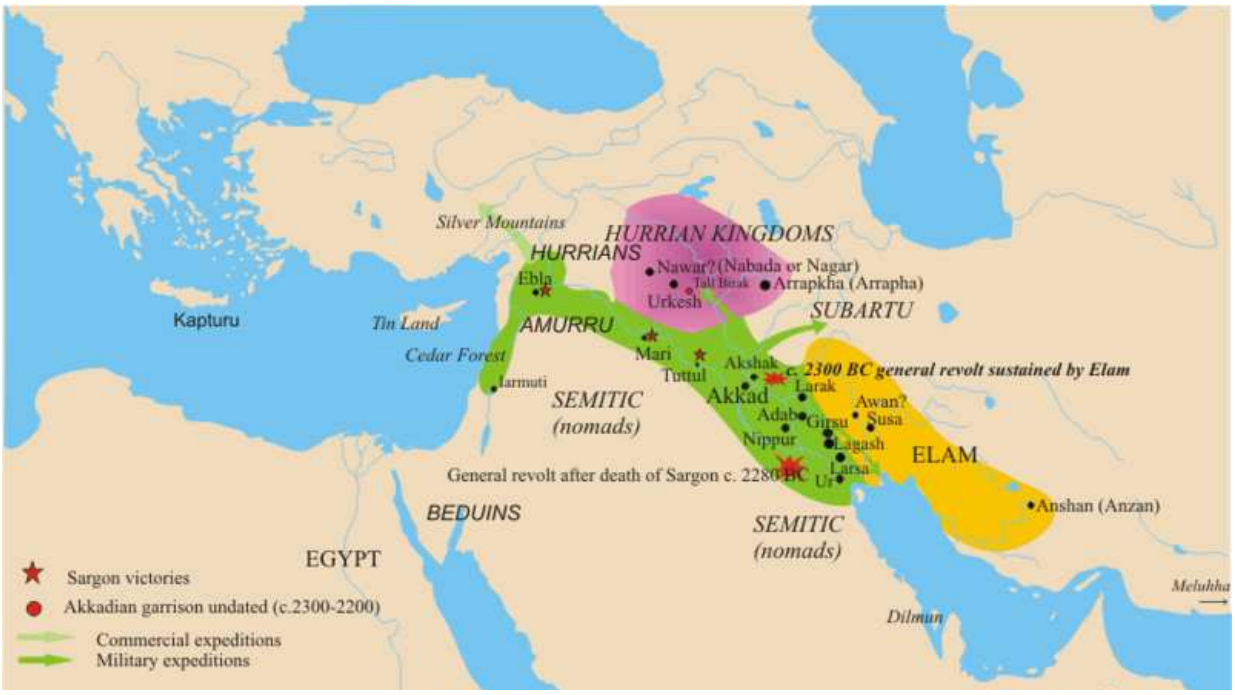
Lake Titicaca

The Voyage of the Tigris

In April 1978, Thor Heyerdahl completed a 4,200-mile voyage on a 60-foot reed ship he called **the Tigris**. Thor set sail from the banks of the Tigris River, and he and his crew navigated down the Persian Gulf to Oman and then eastward to the Indus Delta of Pakistan. Then they reversed direction and headed southwest back across the Indian Ocean in the direction of Egypt.

Heyerdahl's experiment, like his previous voyages, again proved that **early man could have successfully navigated immense distances across open seas thousands of years ago**, and could have established regular trade routes, exactly as they claimed. The Tigris, constructed of buoyant river reeds, was a fine sea-worthy vessel.

The Indus Valley civilization ruled by the Akkadian dynasty.
Dwarka has been recently rediscovered offshore under 60' of water.



Sargon's Akkadian Empire in Mesopotamia included Phoenicia, Harran and Urfa.

"*Today, quite the opposite extreme is the prevailing anthropological **orthodox dogma**; that is, that the indigenous peoples of the New World were solely responsible for the development of their complex cultures. No outside assistance or inspiration was necessary, as the peoples found there were as equally capable of cultural sophistication as the civilizations found in Asia or the West. Indeed, as is typically asserted today, it is **an insult** to suggest otherwise; and in academia, such ideas of foreign visitors to the New World prior to Columbus are considered **heresy**.*" http://www.plu.edu/~ryandp/RAX.html See John L. Sorenson www.sino-platonic.org

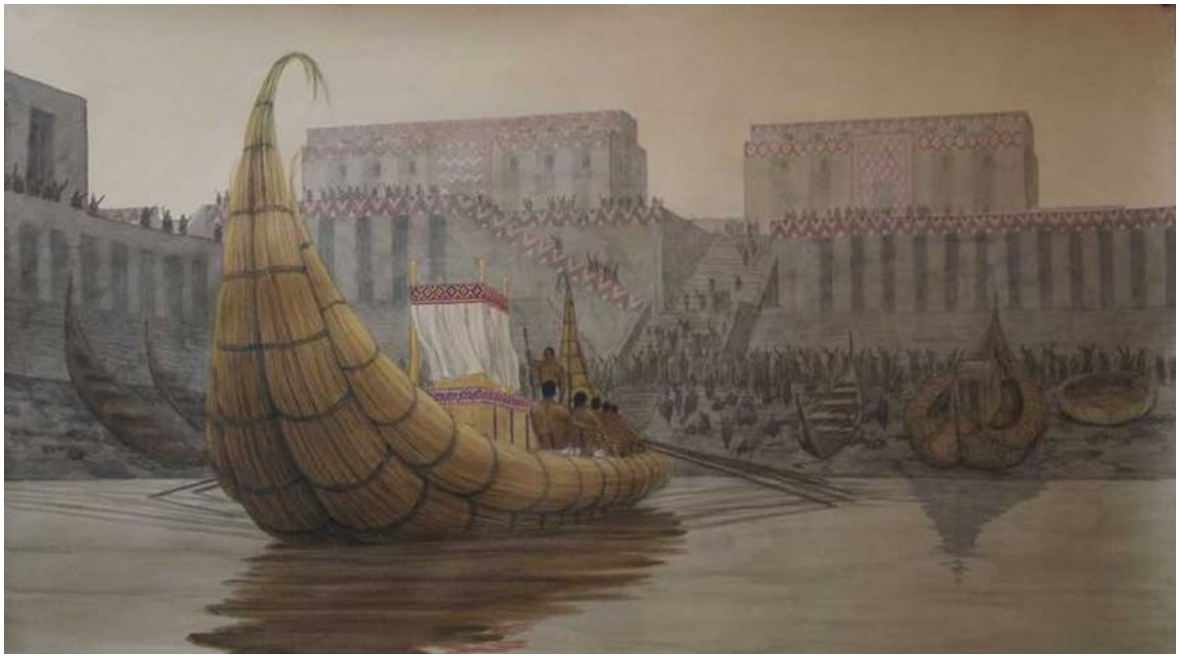
A major stumbling block that archaeologists face in envisioning the scope of this world-girdling empire is their general unfamiliarity with sailing. For them, **the sea is a great barrier**, not a viable avenue of transport. They are prepared to consider some short coast-hugging excursions, but no further. Yet, in reality, to men who know the sea and her currents and winds, **the sea is a vast highway** that goes everywhere and can be exploited to discover new resources and new opportunities. It is not a barrier, and it is safe when you know what you are doing. In fact, the places where it is least safe are the coastlines, where unseen reefs or rocks can wreck a ship. So **the reality is just the opposite** from the suppositions of landlubber archaeologists.

Sargon's Akkadians possessed the technology required to knit together such distant lands, and clearly the seaworthy reed boats were the basis of this extension. Heyerdahl's ground-breaking expeditions provided an opportunity to realize the scope of this world-girdling empire, but the landlocked archaeologists were unable to break out of their petrified paradigm. They refused to consider the abilities of the ancient sailors, nor the technology they possessed that made their voyages possible.

Crichton Miller rediscovered this device, based on the Celtic cross, and remarks:

Image credit: Crichton Miller

"***The ancients could find their position anywhere on the Earth within 3 nautical miles with this hand held device**. This instrument was probably the basis of geometry, mathematics, ancient astronomy, map making and time keeping. It was used in combination with a detailed knowledge of astronomy and monthly star positions, ecliptic and zodiac observations, so as to **locate the position of any star at any time over a location on the earth's surface.***" – Crichton Miller



Port of Eridu

The **flood of 3142 BCE**, caused when an asteroid impacted the Indian Ocean, permanently changed the Persian Gulf. Great damage was caused in the city-states north of the Persian Gulf, as **a massive tsunami** roared northward over the land. Excavations of Mesopotamian cities have discovered a deep mud layer, with polychrome pottery debris below and Akkadian debris above. The Sumerian King List claims that, after ten antediluvian rulers, the Flood swept over everything, after which kingship once again was re-established at Kish and the list of dynasties and rulers resumes. Gilgamesh, hero of his own famous epic, is listed as a king several rulers after the Flood. Losses were suffered on the west coast of India, when **Dwarka** of the Indus civilization was submerged. **It may be that an important part of the recovery strategy after the Flood was the idea of invading relatively untouched Egypt**, since Mesopotamia was covered in 10' of mud, and Dwarka was submerged. (See Appendix 7)

The question of dating remains to be resolved, since the archaeologists have pigeon-holed Sargon at c. 2300 BCE. Since his son Manis-tusu/Mizraim/Aha-Men/Menes was the conqueror of Egypt, uniting the two lands around 3100 BCE, **there is an 800 year adjustment needed in the conventional Sumerian chronology**. Many researchers are aware of the problem (such as David Rohl) and are working at syncing Egyptian, Hebrew and Sumerian histories, but they do this by attempting to shorten the Egyptian chronology to fit, as Waddell and Velikovsky did. **The problem actually comes from starting with a Hebrew chronology that is too short.**

Egyptologist David Rohl in his book **"*From Eden to Exile*"** says on page 66,

> **"***What **the Genesis author clearly did not appreciate** was that Babylon had no ziggurat or temple tower before the Old Babylonian period… The earliest mention of Babylon occurs in the reign of Shar Kali-Sharri [Shar Gani-Eri], descendant of Sargon the Great, founder of the Dynasty of Agade [Akkad]. However, **the Tower of Babel story originated from a much older incident which had taken place not long after the Flood – a thousand years** before the first mention of Babylon."*

As we shall see**, <u>the scribe was correct</u> and <u>it is David Rohl that does not appreciate</u> that the Dynasty of Sargon the Great has been moved forward in time some 800 years, from its <u>correct time in the years immediately following the Flood.</u>** First we shall look at a possible cause for the flood, then at the chronology.

7. Evidence of the Flood of Noah

The Torah describes a deluge lasting for 40 days and 40 nights that created a great flood while Noah and his family and an entire menagerie were enclosed in his Ark. The question arises: how long were they on the Ark? A close reading of the story in Genesis reveals **the interweaving of two different stories, which provide different lengths of time**. One version says they were on the Ark over a year, while the other says that they were there 40 days, followed by a week and then another week, for a total of 54 days (Genesis 8:6, 8:10, 8:12). It has long been suspected that the **Sumerian story is the original** and the Torah story is a later combination of versions. There is much evidence of the intertwining of separate stories into one in the Torah, such as the Sumerian gods Enlil and Enki being combined into Elohim (a plural word). This provides an ethical dilemma, where God the creator is also God the destroyer. In the Sumerian, there is no such problem, since Enlil seeks to destroy man, and Enki seeks to preserve his beloved creation.

In the Sumerian version, **a pillar of black smoke** on the horizon is seen before the sky went dark for a week. Then, a cyclone pummeled the Fertile Crescent and caused a massive flood. The legend tells about "the Seven Judges of Hell" who raised their torches, lighting the land with flame, and then a storm that turned day into night "smashed the land like a cup," and flooded the area. The legend says that the gods mentioned in talking amongst themselves beforehand that the flood will come from the south. What was the cause of this inundation? An **asteroid impact** in the Indian Ocean has been suggested recently.

In the case of waves generated by an asteroid impact in the ocean, the debris left in the wake of the resultant tsunami is believed to form gigantic, wedge-shaped sandy structures known as **chevrons**, which are sometimes packed with deep-ocean microfossils.

There are **dozens of chevrons** along shorelines and inland in eastern Africa and western Australia. The shape and size of these chevrons suggest that they were formed by waves emanating from the **impact of an asteroid slamming into the deep ocean off Madagascar, producing the 18 mile wide Burckle Crater.** Chevrons found 4 miles inland from the sea on Madagascar were formed by a wave that traveled along the coast, moving almost parallel to the shoreline. Preliminary results show a **c. 3000 BCE date.**

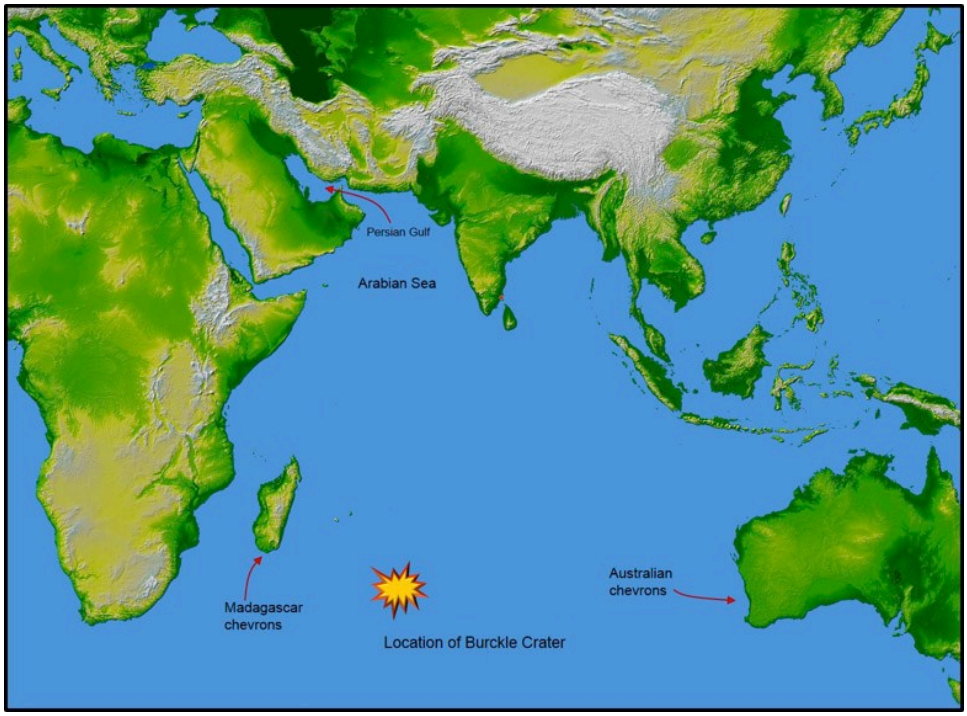
This series of enormous chevrons are on the east coast of Madagascar

So the chances of the flood being caused by a celestial impactor and the subsequent tsunami are high. The worldwide nature of Noah's flood, as opposed to Gilgamesh's more localized flood, could very well be due to **the telescoping of past events into one**. In this case, the catastrophic

ending of the ice age over 6500 years earlier was telescoped into the flood of Noah, and events of the earlier time attached to the later event. Telescoping makes it harder to get at the underlying story, because several events are amalgamated into one. (See Appendix 7).

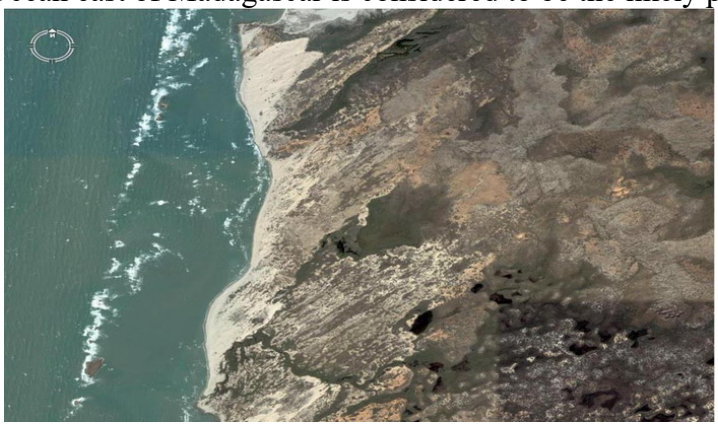
This process of telescoping was common in many of the old legends. It can be seen in the Torah where the genealogy of Moses displays telescoped historical events: there are only **three** ancestors for Moses listed in Exodus for the 400 years in Egypt; yet Joshua over the same time period has **ten** ancestors, as recorded in Chronicles.

Plato reports telescoping of flood legends in the Timaeus, where the Egyptian priest of Neith at Sais tells Solon that **the flood of Deucalion was preceded by three floods before it**, yet all the Greeks have retained in their memory is a belief in one enormous flood that drowned everyone on earth except for Deucalion and Pyrrha.



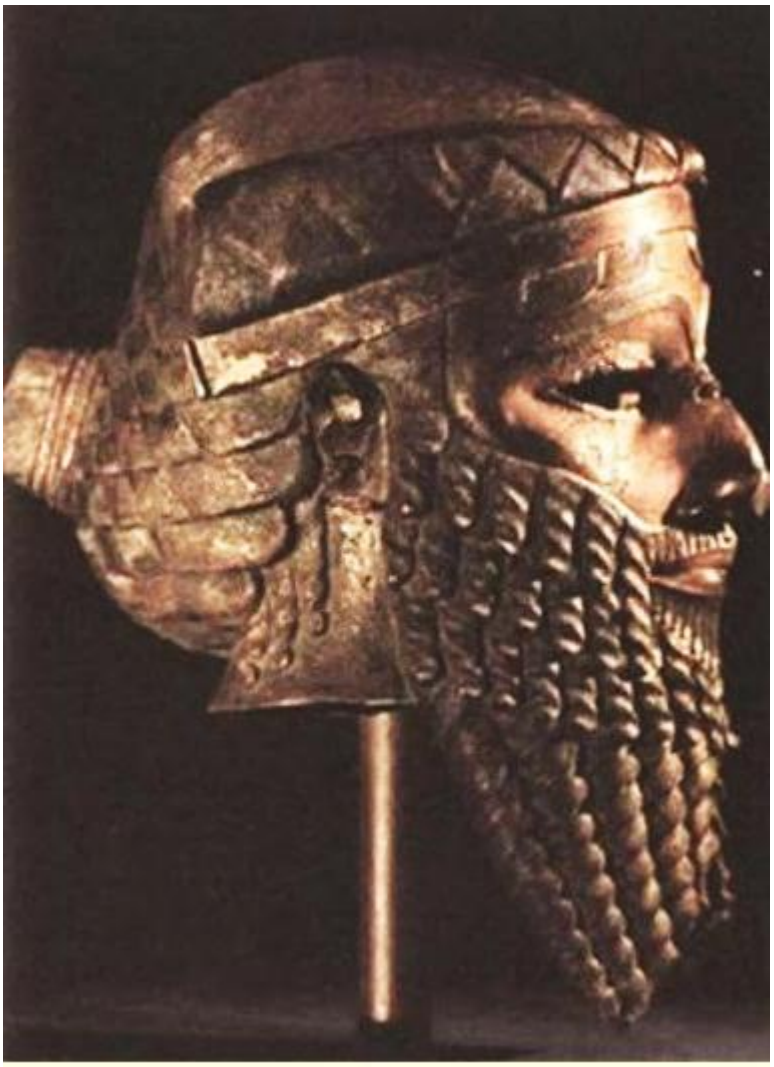
The Torah states that the Flood covered '***eretz***', which has been translated as 'the world'. But a better translation is '**the land**' as in '***eretz Yisrael***', 'the land of Israel', which is the way it is translated in over 400 other places in the Torah. So this flood covered the entire land for a couple of weeks, which is what a huge tsunami would do.

Rabbinic legends state that God caused the flood by **casting two stars to the earth**. The Burckle crater in the Indian Ocean east of Madagascar is considered to be the likely point of impact.



Tsunami chevrons on the west coast of Australia

8. Who Was Sargon the Great?



Sargon

- **The Sargon Legend**

"The Sumerian literature known as "the Sargon legend" is believed to be a text describing Sargon's life. However, most of the text is missing. The surviving fragments name Sargon's father as ***La'ibum****. After a missing section, the text skips to* ***Ur-Zababa, king of Kish****, awakened from a dream.* ***For unknown reasons****, Ur-Zababa then appoints Sargon as his cupbearer. Soon after this, king Ur-Zababa requests Sargon to come to his chambers to discuss a dream that* ***Sargon*** *had. Sargon's dream involved the favor of the goddess Inanna and the drowning of Ur-Zababa by the goddess. Deeply frightened, Ur-Zababa tries to get Sargon murdered at the hands of Belic-tikal, the chief smith, but Inanna prevents it, demanding that Sargon stop at the gates because of his being "****polluted with blood****."[?]*

*"When Sargon returned to Ur-Zababa, the king became frightened again, and decided to send Sargon to king Lugal-****zagg-esi*** *of Uruk with a message on a clay tablet to murder Sargon (the legend appears to be lost at this point; presumably it describes how Sargon becomes king). From the Sumerian king list: "In Agudu [Akkad], Sargon, whose father was a gardener, the cupbearer of Ur-Zababa, became king, the king of Agudu, who built Agudu; he ruled for 56 years."*

*"**Confusingly, Ur-Zababa and Lugal-zagg-esi are both listed as kings, but several generations apart**.*

*"The Assyrian king list calls him **"Sargon the Assyrian**," son of **Ikunum**, and reckons him as one of **their empire's founders**. A Neo-Assyrian text (seventh century B.C.E.) describes his birth and his early childhood:*

*'My mother was a high priestess, **my father I knew not**. **The brothers of my father loved the hills.** [?] My city is **Azupiranu**,[?] which is situated on the banks of the Euphrates. My high priestess mother conceived me, in secret she bore me. She set me in a basket of rushes; with bitumen she sealed my lid. She cast me into the river which rose over me. The river bore me up and carried me to Akki, the drawer of water. Akki, the drawer of water, took me as his son and reared me. Akki, the drawer of water, appointed me as his gardener. While I was a gardener, Ishtar granted me her love, and for four and 50 years I exercised kingship.'*

*"Sargon's early life as castaway baby predates the story of the biblical Moses. Sumerian legend also includes a great Flood. Lists of Sumerian kings record whether they reigned before or after this important event. While **it is unknown exactly how Sargon came to power**, he soon attacked Uruk, where reigned **Lugal-zagg-esi** of Umma. Lugal-zagg-esi was defeated, and brought to Kish. Sargon then attacked and crushed Ur, Lagash and Umma. He washed his weapons in the Persian Gulf, showing he had conquered Sumer in its entirety.*

"The governors chosen by Sargon to administer the main city-states of Sumer were Akkadians, not Sumerians. Akkadian became the lingua franca, the official language, of inscriptions in all Mesopotamia and of great influence far beyond. The former religious institutions of Sumer, already well-known and emulated by the Akkadians, were respected; his daughter Enheduanna, the author of several Akkadian hymns, was made priestess of Nanna, or Nanna-Sin, the moon-god of Ur. He also called himself "anointed priest of Anu" and "great ensi of Enlil."

*"Sargon defeated the four leaders of Elam, led by the king of Awan. Their cities were sacked; the governors, viceroys and kings of Susa, Barhashe, and neighboring districts became vassals of Akkad, and **the Akkadian language made official**. Sargon captured Mari, Yarmuti and Ebla as far as the Cedar Forest (Amanus) and the silver mountain (Taurus). Commerce routes were secured, and supplies of wood and precious metals could be safely and freely floated down the Euphrates to Akkad. The text known as "Epic of the King of the Battle" depicts Sargon advancing deep into the heart of Asia Minor to protect merchants from the exactions of the king of Burushanda (Purshahanda). It is also mentioned that Sargon crossed the Sea of the West (Mediterranean) and ended up in Kupara (Cyprus). Ancient writers saw Sargon as the king who had said: "Now, any king who wants to call himself my equal – wherever I went, let him try to go."*

"The many legends associated with Sargon ensured that his memory has been preserved. On the one hand, he is remembered for his military exploits. But it is said that no one in Sumer had to beg for food and that "widows and orphans were protected." The evidence contained in Sumerian records is that the Sumerians negotiated peace treaties whenever possible. Indeed, "The oldest known treaty, preserved in an inscription on a stone monument, is a peace treaty between two Sumerian city-states, dating from about 3100 [B.C.E.]."
http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Sargon_I

- **Problems with the story**

That is the legend of Sargon. There are a number of problems with it. His father is given as **La'ibum** at first; shortly after it is given as **Ikunum, the Assyrian**. In another source, it is given as **Itti-Bel.** Then it says he did not know who his father was. Then it says that his father's brothers liked the hills. Just who was his father? (Note that in Genesis 10:13, **Lehabim** is listed as a son of Mizraim.)

His mother is said to have been a temple prostitute, but no reason is given for her action in setting him afloat as a babe – certain death. The man that draws him from the water is Atti, variously described as a water-drawer or a gardener. How Sargon rose from that kind of background to be cup-bearer for the king is not known. It is also not logical.

> "*A **cup-bearer** was an officer of high rank in royal courts, whose duty it was to serve the drinks at the royal table. On account of the constant fear of plots and intrigues, a person must be regarded as thoroughly trustworthy to hold this position. He must guard against poison in the king's cup, and was required to drink some of the wine before serving it. His confidential relations with the king often gave him a position of great influence. The position of cup-bearer was greatly valued and given to only a select few throughout history. Qualifications for the job were not held lightly but of high esteem, valued for their beauty and even more for their modesty, industriousness and courage*." - wikipedia

So how does the orphaned stepson of a water-drawer/gardener become the royal cup-bearer?

The Assyrians said his city of birth was Azupiranu, and that his father was Assyrian, and that Sargon was the founder of the Assyrians. That city has never been located. In opposition to this, the Torah says Asshur (son of Shem) was the father of the Assyrians.

There is a hint in the legend that Sargon was an interpreter of dreams, and thus reaches royal notice, somewhat like Joseph much later. But, incongruously, it is Sargon's dream showing the death of the king that is interpreted. The 'king Ur-Zababa' is afraid and tries to have him killed. But Sargon is saved by Inanna, wife of Zababa, who stops him, saying he is 'polluted by blood'. What does that mean? Certainly he is not **yet** polluted by blood, although he soon will be.

The name Zababa is known to be the name of a **patron deity of the city of Kish, not its king.** The 'king Ur-Zababa' sends Sargon to king Lugal-zagg-esi of Uruk with a tablet asking that he be killed. '**Lugal**' means King, so he is **King Zagg-esi**. '**Zag**' is strength; '**esi**' is 'much'.

Waddell says that King Zagg-esi is a usurper of King Ziusudra, Sargon's father. Sargon overthrows the usurper Zagg-esi and then succeeds him to the throne of Kish. The first king of Kish after the Flood in one of the Sumerian King Lists after Ziusudra is **Gishur,** as I said earlier. 'Shur' or 'Shar' is 'King' in Sumerian (surviving to this day as Shah in Persia/Iran). So this is really King Gi ('gi' is 'reed'). Sargon was called Shar Gi. So this is strong evidence that this first king was Sargon, son of Ziusudra, restored to his rightful throne.

Sargon's name in Babylonian is **Ni-lu-ba-ni**. This means "**borne on the flood waters**". That would be a good description of Noah's sons. Ziusudra saves his sons from the flood, but unfortunately their names are not given.

If Ziusudra/Noah was Sargon's father, then **Sargon is Ham** (Kham). His sons would then be Cush (Kish), Mizraim (Manis), Phut/Pun (Libya) and Canaan (Canaanites). Since we have seen that **Mizraim = Menes**, then **Sargon = King Ka of Abydos**. He conquered Egypt, and then his rebellious son Manis/Menes re-conquered it and seized it for himself.

Sargon spent much of his time away from home on campaigns subduing the city-states and tribes all the way to the Mediterranean. His son Manis was equally ambitious. Sargon made his second son, Rimush, viceroy in Akkad, and sent his first son, Manis, to the Indus Valley to act as viceroy there, but Manis was not satisfied and after a couple of years, he left with 60,000 troops and sailed to the south Arabian coastal states. He defeated the coastal Arabian kings, sailed round the Arabian Peninsula into the west arm of the Red Sea, and then proceeded to bring his boats overland through the dry wadis to the Nile in Upper Egypt at Koptos. In a relentless campaign, he succeeded in re-conquering Upper and Lower Egypt and for the first time, uniting the two into one country with two crowns. The men that Menes led were called **the Followers of Horus**, and as we saw earlier, **Horus = Noah = Ziusudra**.

Sargon then moved into the Mediterranean to counterattack Mene's forces, but that battle never seems to have taken place. Eventually, Sargon died and was then buried at Abydos as King Ka, along with his queen, Ash-Nini. So there must have been some kind of reconciliation between Sargon and Menes to head off the encounter, and mend fences.

Modern scholars consider Sargon to be a Semite, that is, a descendant of Shem after the Flood. However, Waddell disagreed. If the identification of Sargon with Ham is correct, then obviously, **he would be a Hamite**, supporting Waddell's position. And, by the color of his skin, Sargon would be descended from Dravidians, who were the tribe now called **Ubaidians**. The Dravidians fused with Arians and proto-Elamite herdsmen in 5400 BCE to build Eridu, as the archaeological evidence shows.

Sargon was a cross between Azilian and Dravidian. He married the Azilian woman Ash-Nini, and thus his sons and grandsons were light-skinned.

See my book "***The Five Great Migrations of the Azilians***".

9. Chronology of the Torah Patriarchs

Patriarch	Born BCE	Age at birth of son	Length of life	Died BCE
Adam	5404	230	930	4474
Seth	5174	205	912	4262
Enosh	4969	190	905	4064
Kenan	4779	170	910	3869
Mahaleel	4609	165	895	3714
Jared	4444	162	962	3482
Enoch	4282	165	365	3917*
Methuselah	4117	187	969	3148
Lamech	3930	188	753	3177
Noah	3742	501	950	2792
3142 : The Great Flood happened when Noah was 600				

So now we have the date of the Great Flood:

3142 BCE

There were seven early civilizations at the time of Noah's Flood. They were located in: Sumeria, Indus Valley, Egypt, Crete, Anatolia, China and Mesoamerica. Archaeological records such as ruins of cities, tools, pottery, skeletons, weapons, and other artifacts support whatever written records survive:

The Akkadian empire was founded by Sargon the Great in	**3132 BCE**
The Indus Valley civilization has a history dating back well before	**3100 BCE**
Egypt's dynastic history starts with the uniting of Upper and Lower Egypt in	**3113 BCE**
The Minoans on Crete started making bronze about	**3100 BCE**
The Olmecs migrated from Africa to Mesoamerica (calendar begins)	**3113 BCE**
China's Longshan culture began about	**3100 BCE**

The pattern is clear.

If we look at what the **Masoretic text** shows for the Flood, we find the date of **2348 BCE.**
Sargon the Great's date is conventionally set at 2334 BCE (middle chronology**).**
This would mean that Sargon was actually king soon after the Flood.

But, the **Masoretic** Flood date is 3142 – 2348 = **794 years younger** than the date given in **LXX**.
Nearly 800 years from Adam to Noah has been dropped out of the original LXXa by the Masoretic changes and **nearly 800 years** has been dropped out of Sargon's date.
Restoration of the nearly 800 years allows identification of his son:

Menes is Mizraim

"The examination of names is the beginning of learning." – Socrates

10. Menes = Mizraim

Compare the two:

Mizraim	Menes
His father was Kham, after whom Egypt was named initially (Khem)	His father was Ka/Kad, after whom Egypt was named initially (Khem)
He had an older brother, Cush, whose descendants are still in the area	He had a younger brother, Rimush, who ruled in Kish before him
He lived after the flood of Noah, dated to 3142 BCE by the LXX chronology	He lived after the flood in Sumeria c. 2900 BCE (carbon 14 dating, 240 years too young)
He was the progenitor of the Egyptians, and his name Misr today still means Egypt	He conquered Egypt by dragging boats overland to the Nile, unifying it c. 3100 BCE
Horus was Noah, his grandfather	He led Shemsu Hor, the followers of Horus
He was known by many names in many lands	He was known by many names in many lands
He had a nephew Nimrod who succeeded him	He had a son Narmar who succeeded him

The testimony of the ancients:

- Herodotus called the first Egyptian king …… ***Menes***
- Sanchuniathon called the first Egyptian king.……..... ***Misor***
- He built the city of Memphis, called by the Turks ……. ***Mitzir***
- Ugaritic inscriptions refer to Egypt as ……. ***Msrm***
- In the Amarna tablets, Egypt is called.……. ***Misri***
- Assyrian records call Egypt ……. ***Musur***
- Babylonian records call Egypt ……. ***Musri***
- Manetho stated that the great spans of time which the later Egyptians boasted of had actually **preceded** the flood, and that **they were really descended** from …….. ***Mizraim***
- Medieval Islamic historians Sibt ibn al-Jawzi, the Egyptian Ibn Abd-el-Hakem, and the Persians al-Tabari and Muhammad Khwandamir, stated that the Giza pyramids had been built by the race before the deluge, but afterward the area was inhabited by **Noah's descendant called ……..** ***Mizr***

- **The Book of Sothis by Manetho**

The Book of Sothis is not accepted as a genuine tome from Manetho, but the grounds for that dismissal are tissue thin. There is a dedication phrase in the introduction that uses the word "august", which is an anachronism. But, it is common to have insertions by later translators and copyists, as has happened in Josephus. This is no reason to completely dismiss the rest of the contents. The monk that has transmitted it, George Syncellus, c.800 CE, is considered reliable in all other matters. Considerable portions of the original text of the ***Chronicon*** of Eusebius have been restored by the aid of George's reliable work.

Syncellus states that Manetho included information from monuments in "the Siriadic land" (Egypt, oriented to Sirius), that had been engraved before the Deluge, and afterward had been copied and stored in hieroglyphic books in Egyptian temples. Manetho says in his book that

Menes is Mizraim.

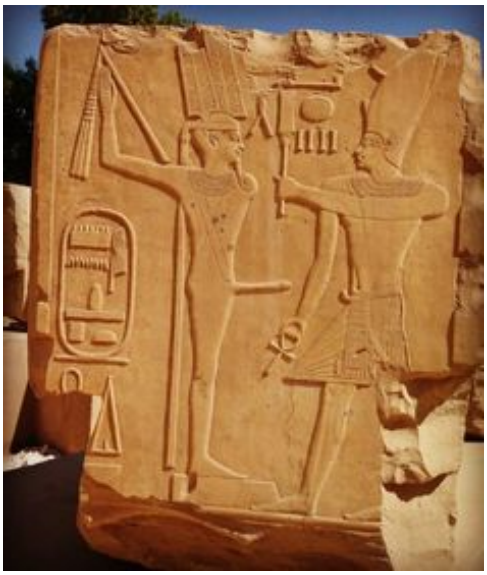
The argument that King Menes is also to be equated with **King Aha (Hor-Aha)** is put forth in the book ***Chronicle of the Pharaohs*** by Peter A. Clayton:

> "***Hor-Aha**, his [Narmer's] successor [*sic*], and therefore probably his son, possibly by Queen Nithotep, stood to inherit a unified kingdom, both by right and by conquest. He took the nebti name ... of **Men**, which means 'established', and this could be the origin of the later record of the first king as being called **Menes**. For present purposes we may look on **Hor-Aha as the first king of the 1st Dynasty**. An interesting piece of evidence is a small broken ivory label found in the tomb of Queen Nithotep at Naqada. Although schematically represented, the busy scene on this tiny piece seems to show two humans celebrating a ceremony called 'Receiving the South and the North'... The king's name, meaning 'Fighting Hawk' – an allusion again to Horus – indicates his Upper Egyptian origin and rule. His adoption of Men as his nebti name for ruling over both parts is indicated on the ivory label by the fact that his Horus name... **Hor-Aha, and his nebti name, Men**, appear side by side.*
>
> *Other similar small labels from Early Dynastic tombs indicate that his was not an easy reign. There were campaigns to be fought and rebels to be subdued in Nubia as recorded on a wooden label from Abydos; another label records his foundation of a temple to the **goddess Neith at Sais** in the Delta. Her warlike aspect was signified by a pair of crossed arrows and her worship continued into Roman times when she **was identified with Athena at Sais.***"

"*As crown prince of the Sumerian/Akkadian Empire, **Manis was made viceroy** and governor of the **Indus Valley**. As such, he controlled the local **Sumerian army** of occupation in the Indus, and **the great merchant fleet** plying between there and the port of Lagash. This fleet also voyaged to Magan (Oman) and Egypt via the Arabian coast and the Red Sea. Manis rebelled against his father Sargon, and Sargon installed **Uru-Mush**, his younger brother as **King of Kish** in his stead. In this rebellion, **60,000 of the troops of the Indus** followed Manis, and he re-conquered the lands along the coastline of the Arabian Peninsula, on his way to Egypt. The great ships were dragged overland through the dry wadis on rollers, and then launched into the Nile at Koptos in Upper Egypt. From there**, **Manis/Menes re-conquered Egypt**, **overthrowing his father's regime there,** uniting Upper and Lower Egypt, and setting himself up as the new pharaoh. At Koptos, there are the **oldest known statues in Egypt**, indicating the overland Red Sea route taken by the invaders. The statues are two 9' limestone figures of Min. They bear signs of Red Sea shells and swordfish. **This god Min is none other than the deified Manis.**" - L.A. Waddell, p. 54-55

Min with appendages restored

Nine foot tall statue of Min from Koptos



"*Min was a god of the Eastern Desert, and a patron of traveling caravans. A reference in the Pyramid Texts to* ***"the one who raises his arm in the east"*** *is thought to relate to Min. He offered protection to travellers and traders and was also worshiped by the miners and masons who worked around the Wadi Hammamat. In this area, he was known as "Min, the (foremost) Man of the Mountain". His association with the desert led to* ***an association with foreign lands.***

"*Min was closely associated with* ***fertility and agriculture****. In depictions of one of Min's festivals, the pharaoh hoes and waters the ground while Min watches. In another, the Pharaoh ceremonially reaps the grain. However, Min was not just a fertility god, but a patron of* ***male sexuality*** *who could help men to father children. When the pharaoh successfully fathered an heir, he was identified with the god. As he represented male virility, it is not surprising that it was he who presided over the Heb Sed festival, in which the pharaoh ran a course carrying ritual objects to rejuvenate him and to prove his virility*.

"*Min was generally depicted as a* ***mummiform human man with an ithyphallic (erect and uncovered) penis wearing a crown with two large feathers*** *(like that of Amon). In his left hand he holds his penis and in his right hand he holds a flail up above his shoulder. The flail represents Pharaonic power and fertility (it was used to thresh grain and remove the hull) and it is suggested that* ***the position of his arm replicates the stance associated with Orion****; and that the position of his arm in relation to the flail represents sexual intercourse (with the flail outline representing a vagina and his arm representing a penis). When he is* ***represented as the constellation Orion*** *he can be distinguished from Osiris because the three bright stars of Orion's belt are made to represent his erect penis. Nineteenth century scholars mistranslated his name as Khem*." [Khem was actually his father, Sargon]http://www.ancientegyptonline.co.uk/min.html

The Pharaoh Menes	**The God Min**

He looks white-skinned, which would mean that his father Sargon's wife, Ash-Nini, must have been Azilian. Acromegaly with its giantism and coarsening of features seems likely.

Min, the eternally priapic; Min/Menes (ruled 3113 – 3050 BCE)

"All gods were once men, whose real feats have been decorated and distorted by later fancy."
- Eumerus (316 BCE)

- **King Menes is the first of a very long line of depictions of the 'man with the upraised right arm', which are analogs of Orion, throughout history.**

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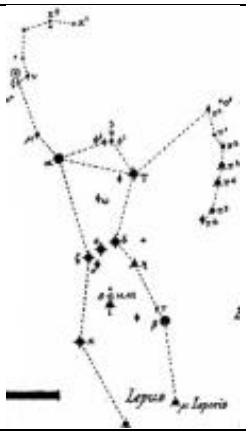
<tr><td>  </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td></tr>
<tr><td>Orion</td><td>Baal</td><td>Adad</td><td>Hittite weather god Teshub</td></tr>
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<tr><td>Herakles at Cerne Abbas</td><td>Pharaoh Sekhemket</td><td>Tarot</td></tr>
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- **Minos of Crete**

"*Some scholars see a connection between **Minos** and the names of other ancient founder-kings, such as **Menes** of Egypt, **Mannus** of Germany, **Manu** of India, **Meon** of Phrygia and **Maeonia** of Lydia, **Mizraim** of Egypt in the Book of Genesis and the Canaanite deity **Baal Meon**.*

*Thucydides tells us **Minos** was the most ancient man known to build a navy. He was the author of the Cretan constitution and the founder of its naval supremacy. Minos was a beneficent ruler, legislator, and suppressor of piracy. **The name Minos is not Greek in origin** and could have been a hereditary title of Minoan rulers*." - wikipedia

Minos of Crete	Min/Manis/Menes/Manja
Son of Zeus	Descendant of Zagg/Ziusudra
Priest of Zeus	Priest of Zagg/Ziusudra
Bronze age, replaced Neolithic	Bronze age, replaced Neolithic
Sea emperor of Mediterranean	Sea emperor of Mediterranean
Sailor and builder of fleets	Sailor with fleets of ships
Introducer of civilization	Introducer of civilization
Law-giver direct from Zeus	Law-giver direct from Zagg
Built a labyrinth	Built a labyrinth
His step-son was a Bull man (Minotaur)	His son was Narmar, "The Strong Wild Bull"
Writing on clay tablets in hieroglyphs	Writing on clay tablets in hieroglyphs
Used seal impressions on clay for sealing	Used seal impressions on clay for sealing
Culture and art generally of Sumerian type	Culture and art of Sumerian type
Funeral rites similar to Nile delta	Funeral rites of the Nile delta
Double axe emblem of Zeus	Double axe emblem of Zagg
Tragic death on a sea voyage in the west	Tragic death on a sea voyage in the west

The **Vinča** tribe lived in settlements left behind in Bulgaria by the migrating Arian/Azilians in 6000 BCE. They were skilled coppersmiths, the first in the world. Raiders from the northern steppes began to harass them in the years after the flood (3142 BCE). They were driven southwards until they were at the Adriatic. Menes heard of their plight and took his powerful fleet of tamarisk ships to the Adriatic shores and rescued them. He resettled them on Crete, where they became the producers of bronze for his empire, using tin from Bolivia and copper from Minnesota. He gave them a constitution. They called him Minos. Their language was used on Crete and has come down to us as the undeciphered **Linear A**.

Menes also took his fleet to Nigeria and transported the Olmecs to Mesoamerica around this time. Their calendar begins in 3113 BCE, his year of victory in Egypt.

The Dogon of Mali received information about Sirius A and B from Menes' crews at the same time.

So many of the loose ends of history are tied up with this information on the world emperor Menes/Manis/Manja/Minos.

- **The Manis-Tusu "Black Obelisk"**

"*One of the most famous and important of the monuments left by King Manis-Tusu is his famous "**Black Obelisk**" now on display in the Louvre. Its record is a striking illustration of the **very advanced constitutional government which King Manis-Tusu administered**; and discloses him as **a most enlightened ruler and respecter of the rights of private citizens**. The text records the purchase of several large estates in the neighbourhood of **Kish, his capital city**, which he required for his official buildings and for the estate of his son. Instead of confiscating the necessary land and buildings already occupied, he purchased it legally at its full market value, by silver, with additional lavish gifts for the goodwill of the people who were dispossessed, **just as if he were a private citizen himself**. The precise area of each estate is given, and its value is reckoned in standard measures of grain and then converted into its equivalent in silver. **An***

additional one-tenth of the purchase price *was paid to each owner in* ***cattle, garments, vessels****, etc. for good will. All the names of the sellers with their addresses are duly recorded. And the names and duties of the forty-nine government overseers entrusted with the administration and cultivation of the lands are detailed closely*." – L.A. Waddell, p.53

Manis-tusu "Black Obelisk"

- **Menes' exploits:**

"*Manis-Tusu,* ***King of Kish*** *(Cush) City, when Anshan (Persia) and Shu-Edin-hum (****Indus Valley****) he had smitten, the Lower Sea (Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea) in ships he crossed it.* ***Thirty-two kings of cities on the other (****west****) side of the sea*** *had rallied to battle and he defeated them, and their cities he smote, and their lords he cast down and he destroyed the whole country as far as the Silver Mines. The mountains beyond the sea, their diorite stones he cut, and he fashioned his statue and dedicated it to Lord Sakh. Whoever should destroy this inscription, may Lord Sakh and the Sun god Utu tear out his foundations (testicles?) and destroy his seed*."

This is a record of his attack on the eastern Arabian peninsula coastal states after he had left Indus **on his way to invade Upper Egypt**. This was a re-conquest of the lands within his father's empire.

The Ebony Labels found in the tomb of Menes in Abydos contain an account of Menes' tragic accidental death during a voyage by sea to Britain. The Labels state that the tablet of wood laid in the tomb was only a cenotaph. The inscription is in Sumerian, as Waddell has shown. Menes is described as "***King Manash, the Pharaoh of Egypt, the Land of the Two Crowns"*** and "***the son of the Great Sha-Gana, of the Sun Hawk race, the Pharaoh***". "***The Commander-in-Chief of Ships, Pharaoh Manash, completed his trip to the end of the Sunset Land, and built there a holding in Urani Land. At the Lake of the Peak of the Far Western Land****,* [Cornwall], ***the King of the Two Crowns***" met his death through the sting of a wasp.

This account is confirmed in Egyptian inscriptions of later times which state that after a glorious reign of 62 years, the great King was killed by a 'kheb' which came forth from the waters of the

Nile. Previously, 'kheb' was translated as 'hippopotamus', but Waddell points out that there is another translation of that same word, and it is '**wasp**'. He shows that the pictogram for 'kheb' is indeed a wasp.

Waddell identifies the land '**Urani**' as Erin, or **Ireland**. Further, he states that Menes and his men created **Newgrange** in the Boyne Valley, as well as **Knock-Many** in County Tyrone. (Of course that is Knock-Mene.) At this site, Waddell translates Sumerian pictograms that include the words 'Urani', and 'Kheb'. Waddell reports that the inscriptions were removed by caustic chemicals and vigorous scrubbing in 1928, ostensibly to remove lichen overgrowth. But he shows photographs taken by a Mr. Welch before the damage was done, in order to provide proof of his claims. The **spirals and cup marks** were also made by these Akkadian/Egyptians, and also feature on Menes' cenotaph inscription at Abydos.

"Newgrange was constructed about 3,200 B.C. Newgrange is now recognized to be much more than a passage tomb. **Ancient Temple** is a more fitting classification, a place of astrological, spiritual, religious and ceremonial importance. The amount of time and labor invested in construction of Newgrange suggests a well-organized society with **specialized groups** responsible for different aspects of construction."
http://www.newgrange.com/

Engraved front stone at Newgrange

The spirals are psychic defense shields. Also seen at Tarxien, Malta.

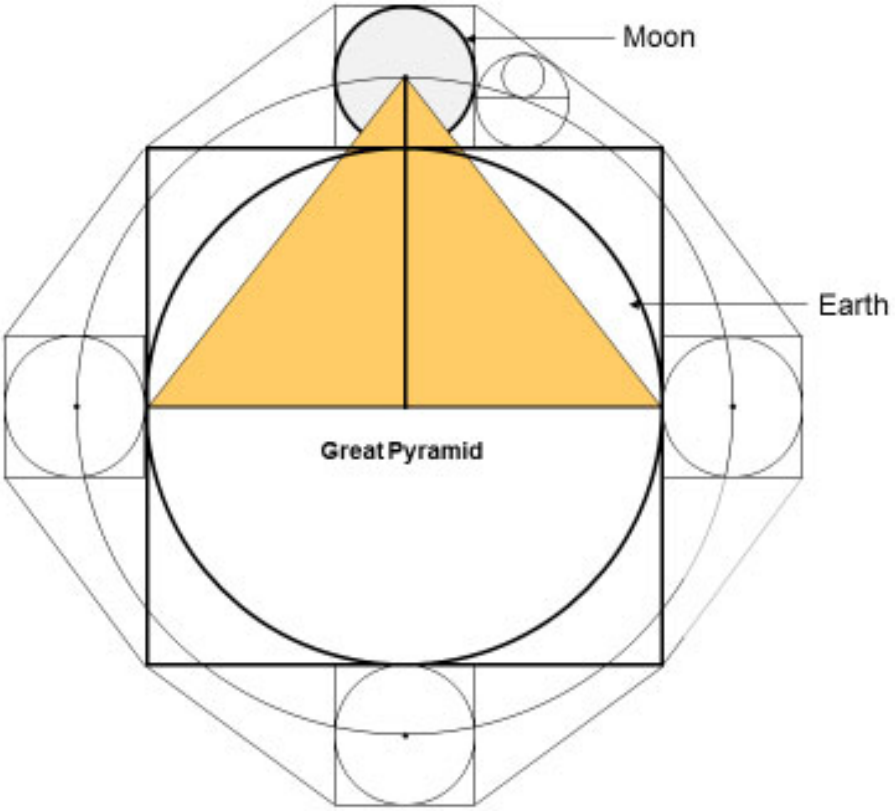
The latest information on Stonehenge has it being built around 3100 BCE, which is exactly our time frame.

The marvelous design and its utility as a marker of the seasons and the movement of the sun and the moon and eclipses mark it as an achievement of high culture. There are Minoan daggers carved on one stone, showing that Minoans were in Menes' crew.

Minoan daggers carved on a Stonehenge pillar	**Minoan dagger**

From Giza to Newgrange
The angle shown here is the special angle of the exterior casing of the Great Pyramid

The Great Pyramid was built 700 years before Menes conquered Egypt in 3113 BCE



When the Moon sphere is brought into proximity to the Earth sphere
and the center of the Moon is connected with the ends of the earth's diameter,
a special angle is created, which was used by the builders
for the slope of the exterior.
Egyptian legend attributes the construction to Thoth,
equivalent to Enoch (4282 - 3917 BCE).
Enoch was taken up bodily and communicated from on high with
his son Methuselah on Earth,
who acted as the foreman for the construction, completed in 3813 BCE.

11. Narmar/Naram-Enzu/Nimrod/Karam-Ba/Mino-Taur (ruled 3049 – 2993 BCE)

Narmar

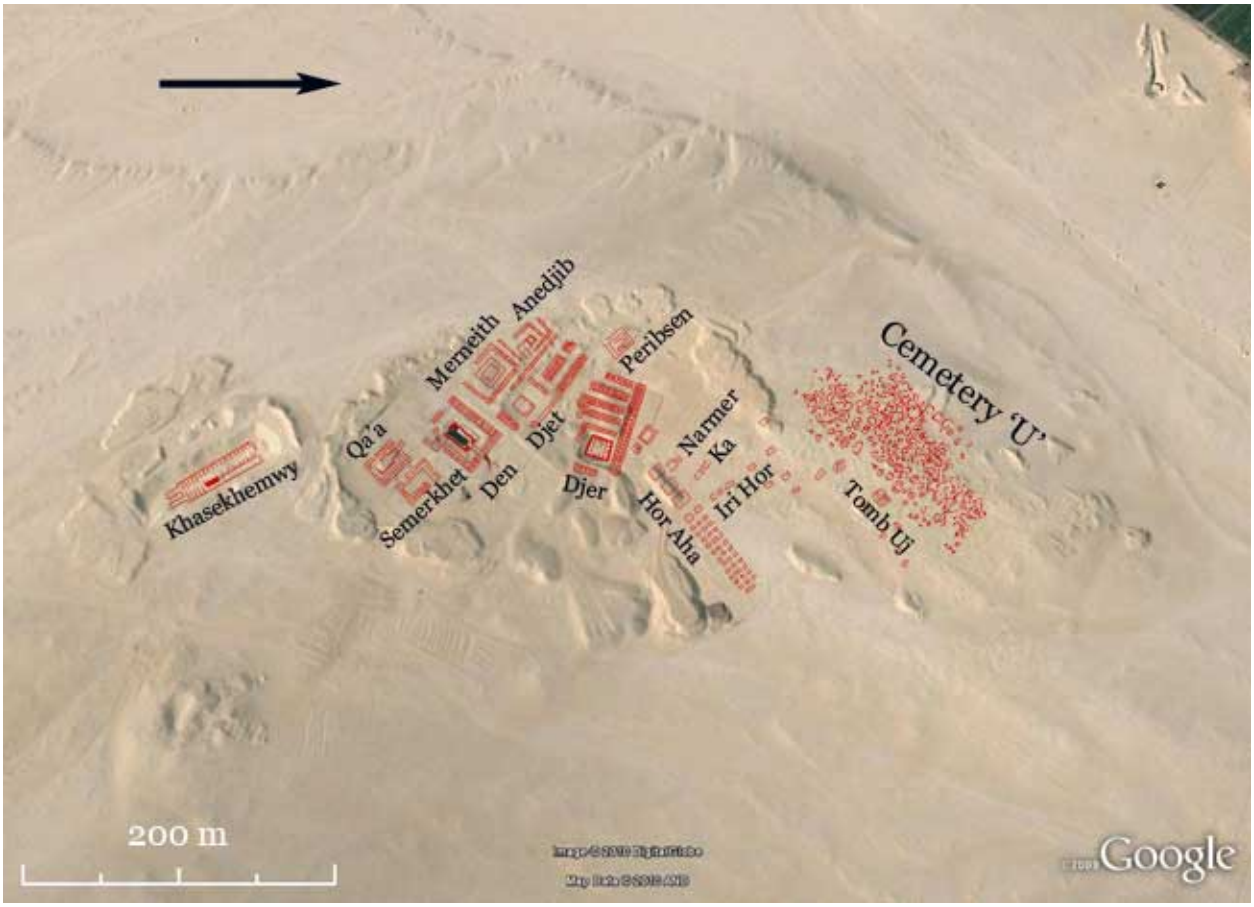
King Narmar referred to himself as "King of the Four Quarters of the World". On his Egyptian palette, Sumerian cuneiform proclaims him "The One King of the Land of Akkad, Kish and Ur" and "King of the Western Sunset Land and Tyana". (The **western sunset land is Britain**, and **Tyana** is southeastern Anatolia). On his standards, he is also called "The Great Sea-Lord of the Lands and Waters, Pharaoh of the Sun-Hawk Line" and "The Great Sea-Lord of the Lands of the Seven Seas".

Egyptian hieroglyphs are a modified form of the Sumerian diagrammatic picture-writing which came into use during the rule of Menes and the 1st Dynasty pharaohs; they have the same phonetic values as their parent picture-signs in the Sumerian.

Note that in all depictions, Naram-Enzu/Narmar is always shown as much larger than the humans around him. Conventionally, this is thought to be artistic licence showing the great importance of the king. But, it is actually because **he was an acromegalic giant, like his father**.

12. The Tombs at Abydos

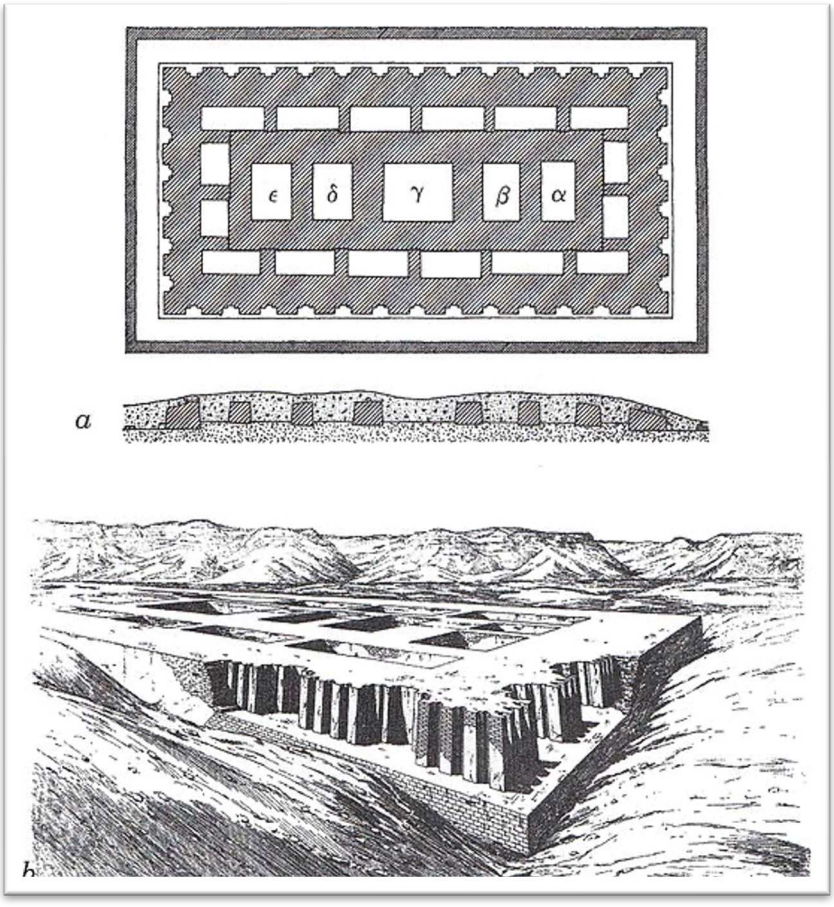
The Egyptian tombs provide solid evidence reinforcing the information from Sumer. The tombs exhibit the names of Sargon (Ka), Menes (Hor-Aha/Aha-Men) and Narmar (Naram-Enzu).



Ka/Kad/Kat/Kham/Sargon	Hor-Aha/Aha-Menes/ Mizraim/Manis	Narmar/Naram-Enzu/Nimrod

The names of the Dynasty 1 Sumerian kings found at Abydos.

In 1991 David O'Connor uncovered a fleet of tamarisk (salt cedar) boats buried in enormous graves at Abydos. There were 14 ancient boats, each buried in its own brick-lined tomb adjacent to Aha-Men's enclosure. The boats, which measured up to 75 feet long, were expertly crafted and had been fully functional when buried. They proved to be the world's oldest surviving boats built of planks (as opposed to those made of reeds). They were manned by Menes' 60,000 man Dravidian army that set sail from the Indus in 3114 BCE.



The Sumerian-style tomb of Menes/Aha-Men/Hor-Aha in Abydos

The Sumerian City of Ur
showing the same architectural style as the Abydos tombs

The Sumerian City of Uruk

13. Trade Routes, Mining and Technology

The Isle Royale area around Lake Superior has had an estimated 500,000 tons of copper ore removed. Intense heat was used to heat the rocks to high temperatures and then they were doused with water. The rock would split, and then stone hammers would break it into sizes that could be lifted out. **The technique they used for applying heat at the temperatures required in the bottom of the pits is unknown** at this point. The huge numbers of stone hammers employed were marvels of craftsmanship, unsurpassed by modern hand manufacture**.** A sophisticated irrigation system was also installed in the pits to supply the water. Legends of the natives credit the effort to **the Marine Men, fair-skinned sailors who arrived from over the sea.** Dating for the beginning of this mining period has been set at about 3000 BCE, which is our date of interest. Genetic studies of the Algonquin people of this area show they have haplogroup X in 25% of their gene pool, strong evidence of contact with European visitors.

A man carrying a copper 'oxhide' ingot in Crete.

The standard shape made them easier to handle

- **Copper Mining in Minnesota**

"Located in Lake Superior in northern Michigan, Isle Royale is one of the most interesting ancient sites in America. Because of a freak volcanic event that twisted the copper-bearing bedrock above the water line, thus allowing all the sulfur impurities to burn away in the open air, the copper at Isle Royale is the purest found anywhere in the world. The entire region is scarred by ancient mine pits and trenches up to twenty feet deep. Carbon-dating of some wood fragments found in association with the pits have yielded dates up to 5000 years old.

The most conservative estimate calculates that over 500,000 tons of copper were taken from the mines. At the other end of the spectrum is a 1961 estimate of 1.5 billion pounds of copper mined. There is copper in American mound graves but not in this kind of immense volume.

Traditional researchers have refused to analyze European bronze for its Michigan copper signature. It is therefore not possible to absolutely state that the copper was exported to Europe. What researchers have determined is a continuous history of mining activity that began perhaps as early as 3000 BCE, and then abruptly ended about 1450 BCE, contemporaneous with the enormous volcanic explosion of the Cretan isle of Thera (Santorini) which wrote finis to the Minoan culture. Since rock-cut pictures of Cretan trading vessels have been found in the Isle Royale area, this lends credence to the Minoan connection to North America as far back as 5000 years ago."

- "*The Ancient Giants Who Ruled America*" – Richard Dewhurst, 2014

Ore found on a sunken vessel near Cyprus (Uluburun) tested as high purity with a small amount of silver in it. Those are the hallmarks of Isle Royale copper.

Native copper mass in situ on Isle Royale

Cargo reconstruction of Uluburun shipwreck
off the coast of Turkey, carrying Isle Royal copper and Bolivian tin

14. Bolivia

The *Fuente Magna* of Pokotia, Bolivia

The *Fuente Magna* bowl was found near Lake Titicaca about 75 km from the city of La Paz, Bolivia. The *Fuente Magna* is beautifully engraved in earthen-brown both inside and out and bears zoological motifs and anthropomorphic characters within.

A controversy arose about the cuneiform script on the *Fuente Magna*. Dr. Alberto Marini, translated it and reported that it was Sumerian. After a careful examination of the *Fuente Magna*, linear script Dr. Clyde A. Winters determined that it was probably Proto-Sumerian, which is found on many artifacts from Mesopotamia. An identical script was used by the Elamites called Proto-Elamite.

Winters gave the following translation:

"(1) Girls take an oath to act justly (in this) place. (2) (This is) a favorable oracle of the people. (3) Send forth a just divine decree. (4) The charm (the *Fuente Magna*) (is) full of Good. (5) The (Goddess) Nia is pure. (6) Take an oath (to her). (7) The Diviner. (8) The divine decree of Nia (is) , (9) to surround the people with Goodness/Gladness. (10) Value the people's oracle. (11) The soul (to), (12) appear as a witness to the [Good that comes from faith in the Goddess Nia before] all mankind."

" (1) Make a libation (in this) place for water and seek virtue. (2a) (This is) a great amulet/charm, (2b) (this) place of the people is an area of the deity [Nia's] power. (3) The soul (or breath of life). (4) Burn much incense, (5) to justly, (6) make the pure libation. (7) Create the pure libation as a witness to (8) Divine good in the presence of the deity's power."

This decipherment of the inscriptions on the *Fuente Magna* indicates that it was used to make libations to the Goddess Nia to request fertility, and to offer thanks to the resources in the area that made it possible for these Sumerian explorers to support themselves in Bolivia.

It was a libation bowl used by a priest onboard one of the many sailing ships that the Akkadians used to cross the Pacific to retrieve tin ore from Bolivia and copper ore from Isle Royal, Lake Superior. These were highly skilled sailors in seaworthy ships. – SP

15. **The End of the Early Bronze Age**

Not long after Abraham migrated from Harran into Canaan, he was involved in a series of skirmishes with powerful Mesopotamian kings. He sent his 300 men to attack at night guerilla-style and slayed Hammurabi's troops as they sleep. This is reminiscent of the Sicarii (dagger men) who would haunt the Romans 2000 years later.

"The dating for Hammurabi was originally prompted by information contained in an inscription of **Nabonidus**, the last king of Babylon, who reigned in the sixth century until the conquest of his land by Cyrus. Whereas his son and co-ruler, Belshazzar, occupied himself with the administration of the land, Nabonidus indulged in an avocation: he showed a marked interest in archaeology, and excavated the foundations of ancient temples, looking for old inscriptions.

"In the foundations of a temple at Larsa, Nabonidus found **a plaque** of King Burnaburiash. This king is known to us from the **el-Amarna** correspondence in which he participated. On that plaque Burnaburiash wrote that he had rebuilt the temple erected **seven hundred years before by King Hammurabi**. The el-Amarna letters, according to conventional chronology, were written about 1400 BCE. Thus, if Burnaburiash lived then, Hammurabi must have lived about 2100 BCE." http://www.varchive.org/ce/hammurabi.html

<u>The Corrected Chronology Shows</u> **Hammurabi's reign is 2082 – 2040 BCE, and** **Akhenaten's reign is 1381 – 1364 BCE** **2082 – 1381 = 701 years** **The plaque is correct and Hammurabi's time is anchored.**	 **Stele of the code Hammurabi**

The LXXa version of the Torah gives the name of the Elamite king in the battle as Chodor Logomor. His name in the discovered tablets is given as Kudur-Lagamar. Close enough – only the unnamed vowels are different.

What other event in Abraham's life might align with Hammurabi's reign? There was the utter **destruction of Sodom** when Abraham was 100 years old, in **2040 BCE.**

Recently, there has been speculation that the events described in the story of Sodom and Gomorrah referred to a meteorite shower of great intensity. A multi-disciplinary conference held in England in 1997 heard evidence drawn from various expeditions that have discovered what are believed to be materials resulting from meteorite strikes in many locations in the Middle East, along with evidence of great conflagrations caused by air bursts as meteors exploded. This data provides evidence confirming the accounts of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah and other cities by 'fire and brimstone from heaven'. The religious attribution of this cataclysm to divine displeasure need not concern us, since all such events were 'explained' by the priesthood in such a manner, in an effort to increase their grip on the people. But the confirmation of these events at this time further cements **the association between Abraham and Hammurabi**. This confirms the re-dating of the Hebrew and Mesopotamian tribes.

Iraqi impact crater dated to 2040 BCE

Cloudy with a chance of fireballs….

16. Conclusions

From the preceding information we can now state:

1) The Dynastic Race Theory is proven. Menes and his followers, the Shemsu Hor, entered Egypt dragging their ships overland and conquered the nomes, unifying the country.

2) The Sumerian/Akkadian Dynasty quickly re-established itself following the Flood and controlled Sumer/Akkad, Indus Valley cities, Egypt, Crete and Britain. A worldwide seafaring and trading culture exploited the resources of the planet. Maps were made, copper and tin were mined, and sea voyages went to the Indian, Pacific, and Atlantic Oceans. The Akkadians were allied with the Egyptians, the Phoenicians, the Libyans and the Cretans in these voyages. When the Akkadian Dynasty fell to the Gutians, the others continued, supplying the vital bronze industry with copper and tin. The ores were smelted in Crete into bronze.

3) The bearded white culture-bringers of Mesoamerica were the sailors, traders and miners of the worldwide Akkadian empire.

4) The occurrence of Noah's Flood in 3142 BCE as an Indian Ocean event is now established, with the impetus being a celestial impactor. Much of the worldwide impact of the earlier impactor at the end of the Ice Age in 10,900 BCE was telescoped onto Noah's time, as Plato points out in *Timaeus,* when the Egyptian priest says, *"you remember one deluge only, and there were many of them."*

5) Noah is the equivalent to Ziusudra, Horus and Zeus. The sons of Noah are the progenitors of Middle Eastern kingship, through the descendants of Ham and Shem.

6) Ham is the illustrious Sargon the Great of Akkad. His tomb is at Abydos.

7) Mizraim is the great Menes who unified Egypt, commanding the Shemsu Hor. His tomb and his boats are at Abydos. Early Egyptian architecture and Egyptian hieroglyphs are Sumerian.

8) The Akkadian Dynasty was a worldwide empire for over 200 years following the Flood.

9) Menes built Newgrange and other sites in Ireland, Stonehenge in Britain, and Maltese temples as well. Menes was Minos on Crete, and his son Narmar was Mino-Taur.

10) Menes was deified and worshipped as Min in Egypt. His cult center was at Koptos, where he brought his ships on rollers through the desert to the Nile c. 3100 BCE.

11) Early Peruvian architecture has Egyptian roots. Mummification was taught to the Peruvians and cocaine and tobacco were trade goods sent to Egypt, along with tin, silver and gold. Tiahuanaco and Ollantaytambo display the Egyptian Benben symbol.

12) The history books in our schools are full of fairytales, evolutionary claptrap and buried evidence. Meanwhile the folly of the fundamentalists presents the only opposition. Both sides are wrong, in the light of the evidence herein revealed.

Now it is time to rewrite the history books.

Appendix 1

Mummy DNA Proves Ancient Egyptians Descended From Ham, Son of Noah

Adam Berkowitz June 22, 2017

In a scientific first, DNA taken from Egyptian mummies has been decoded, producing unexpected results about the true origins of the Egyptian people. These results confirm a controversial theory that traces the First Egyptian Dynasty back to Biblical Ham, as described in the Book of Genesis.

Scientists have long been baffled by the origins of the Egyptian people. Until now, there was no empirical data to clarify the issue. The study of Egypt's population history could only draw on literary and indirect archaeological references, and inferences made from genetic studies of present-day Egyptians. Based on these sources, most researchers believed that ancient Egyptians came from nearby northern Africa. Egyptians today exhibit a significant sub-Saharan genetic influence.

This scientific belief long contradicted the Biblical account, which designates the forefather of Egypt as being Mizraim, a son of Ham.

Of these were the isles of the nations divided in their lands, every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations. And the sons of Ham: Cush, and Mizraim, and Put, and Canaan. Genesis 10:5-6

According to the Bible, Mizraim settled in Egypt whereas Cush settled in Africa, establishing two distinct and separate nations that did not share a common heritage. The scientific theory implies the origins of Africa and Egypt were the same.

A recent study of the DNA of mummies, led by Johannes Krause of the Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History, has shed some light on the subject, and his findings support the Biblical narrative.

Previous attempts to study the DNA of mummified remains were inconclusive. The hot climate of Egypt combined with the embalming process practiced by ancient Egyptians destroyed most DNA. For this study, researchers sampled 151 mummies from Abusir el-Meleq, about 60 miles south of Cairo. Their samples spanned 1,300 years of ancient Egyptian history, from about 1388 BCE to 426 CE.

The researchers were able to collect 90 samples of mitochondrial DNA and three samples of genomes, the total of an organism's DNA. The surprising results showed that ancient Egyptians were more closely related to populations from the Near East and southwest Asia, and not from northern Africa as previously thought.

"In the ancient Egyptians, we don't find much at all sub-Saharan African ancestry," Krause told *CBC News*. "They look very Near Eastern and have almost zero sub-Saharan African ancestry." The study revealed that the African influence on Egyptians is relatively recent, entering into the gene pool after Roman times.

These new findings fit in with the **Dynastic Race Theory** of Flinders Petrie, lately espoused by archaeologist David Rohl. Rohl's theory is that the ancient Egyptians arrived over sea

from Mesopotamia, conquered the Nile Valley, and established the first Egyptian dynasties. This is in direct contradiction to the conventional theory that the first Egyptian rulers and much of the population arrived by a land route from Africa.

Rohl based this theory, which he explained in his book *Legend – The Genesis of Civilisation,* on the Biblical account of Ham, the son of Noah. According to Rohl's theory, Ham and his people moved from Mesopotamia to settle in Egypt after the flood. Rohl explains that this is the basis for Horus, one of the most significant Egyptian deities, who was, in fact, Ham. The name 'Horus' means "the distant one", implying that he came from far away.

To confirm his theory, Rohl led an expedition in 1988 into Wadi Hammamat, a dry river bed in Egypt's Eastern Desert that is the main desert route from the Nile to the Red Sea. Rohl studied ancient wall carvings and drawings depicting boats that had been discovered fifty years earlier by archaeologist Hans Winkler. Over 100 of these carvings depicted long boats with as many as 70 oarsmen.

These images conformed to Rohl's theory that a sudden period of cultural and technological development during the First Dynasty in Egypt was the result of an influx of Mesopotamian elite who arrived in Egypt by sailing around the coastline of the Arabian Peninsula into the Red Sea and dragging their boats across the desert to the Nile.

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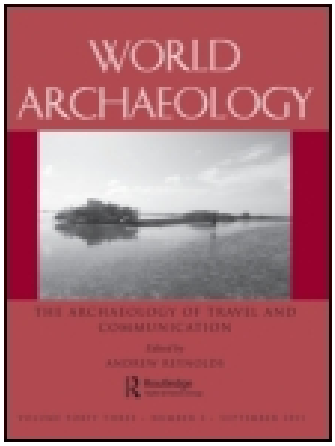

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Patterns of trade in third-millennium BC Mesopotamia and Iran

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T. F. Potts

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The past twenty-five years have witnessed a series of discoveries on the eastern fringes of the Near East from Turkmenia and Afghanistan in the north to the Arabian/Persian Gulf in the south, which have revolutionized previous views on the origin and development of early civilization in these regions. Excavations during the 1960s and 1970s at late fourth–third-millennium sites across Iran (notably Godin Tepe, Tal-i Iblis, Tal-i Malyan, Tepe Yahya, Shahdad and Shahr-i Sokhta) brought to light urban centres of a previously unsuspected size, richness and technological sophistication, demonstrating that the conventional Childean picture of southern Mesopotamia and the Indus valley as isolated poles of early urbanism separated by a cultural backwoods in the intervening highlands was no longer tenable. With the closure of Iran to foreign expeditions in 1979, a number of archaeological teams moved south to the Arabian side of the Gulf, building on the pioneering work of the Danes on Bahrain and Umm an-Nar islands. The ensuing excavations, from Failaka island to the Oman peninsula, gradually made possible the definition of a sequence of local cultures and allowed archaeologists to document the crucial economic role which this maritime corridor was known from textual sources to have played, both as a source of metals and stones and as an intermediary in trade between Mesopotamia and the Indus.

Meanwhile, Soviet archaeologists working at Altyn-depe, Namazga-depe and other sites in southern Turkmenia and adjacent Margiana were revealing Central Asian cultures with many of the features of complex society in Mesopotamia and the Indus (Masson and Sarianidi 1972). The 'Namazga civilization', as the Turkmenian complex became known, was initially assumed to have been distantly derived from these 'primary' riverine civilizations, but subsequent radiocarbon datings led to a higher chronology which brings the development of Central Asian urbanism more in line with the early cities of Sumer, the Indus and Iran while also emphasizing its achievement as essentially different and independent (Kohl in Kohl (ed.) 1981; Kohl 1984). No less surprising were the results of recent tomb robbing in southern Bactria (northern Afghanistan), which brought to light a culture closely related to those of Turkmenia and Margiana dating to the late third and early second millennia, notable especially for its elaborate metalwork and stone carvings (Pottier 1984; Sarianidi 1986; Amiet 1986; Ligabue and Salvatori (eds) n.d.). Unfortunately, torn from context in illicit excavations, these Afghan finds have become the

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'Luristan bronzes' of the 1980s, assigned a place in space and time largely on the basis of dealers' hearsay. Finally, the local background to the Harappan civilization of the Indus – a much longer sequence than previously realized – has been greatly expanded and clarified by recent French excavations at Mehrgarh near Quetta and at other sites in Pakistan (Jarrige 1981; Jarrige et al. 1988).

This vastly expanded data base has given rise to radical reassessments of the development of urban culture in Iran and Turan, as the eastern periphery of the Near East has been called (Tosi 1982; cf. Kohl 1984a; Lamberg-Karlovsky 1986). Recent reconstructions now give prominence to the long pre-urban development that can be traced in Iran and the Kopet Dagh piedmont of Turkmenia, and emphasize the distinctive character of the urban cultures which evolved in these and adjacent regions in the third millennium, setting them apart from their counterparts in Mesopotamia and the Indus.

One of the most striking features to emerge has been the extent of trade and other cultural contact between the early societies of southern Turkmenia, Bactria, the Indus, Iran and the Arabian Gulf. Proto-Elamite texts and other distinctive bureaucratic records of around 3000 BC, first encountered in large numbers at Susa, can now be traced as far east as Seistan, showing that the culture on Sumer's eastern border itself extended to, or maintained direct links with, the fringe of the Proto-Harappan world. Likewise in the mid- and late third millennium, metalwork, stonework and glyptic in distinctive 'Trans-Elamite' and 'Bactrian' styles occurs at widely separated sites from Bactria to Baluchistan and even Susa, where decorated metalwork long assumed to be of local manufacture must now be fitted into this broad network of exchange and diffusion reaching over 1,000km to the north-east (Pottier 1984; Tallon 1987).

The closure of Iran to foreign expeditions brought a number of very fruitful research projects to an abrupt halt but has also provided an opportunity to assess the significance of what was quickly becoming an overabundance of new and novel material. Using the newer stratigraphical sequences it has been possible over the past twenty years to reassess material from the older excavations at Susa, Tepe Sialk and Tepe Hissar and thereby to establish a broad cultural and chronological context in which the increasing quantities of 'prestige' metalwork and stonework from illicit excavations may be placed. A recurrent theme of this research, culminating in P. Amiet's recent synthesis *L'âge des échanges inter-iraniens 3500–1700 avant J.-C.* (1986), has been the circulation of materials and goods within Greater Iran and the cultural cross-currents which flowed in their wake. It is to these that we now turn.

Late Uruk and Proto-Elamite trade

Evidence of an early literate culture on the eastern border of Sumer first came to light almost a century ago in the French excavations at Susa (summarized in Amiet 1986). The primitive nature of the early excavation and recording techniques at Susa (usually consisting of simply measuring absolute levels below the variable top of the mound) prevented the establishment of a reliable stratigraphy and hindered appreciation of the vacillating Mesopotamian and Iranian orientation of Susa's material culture. This pattern – what Amiet (1979) has called Susa's 'alternance and duality' – was elucidated as far as

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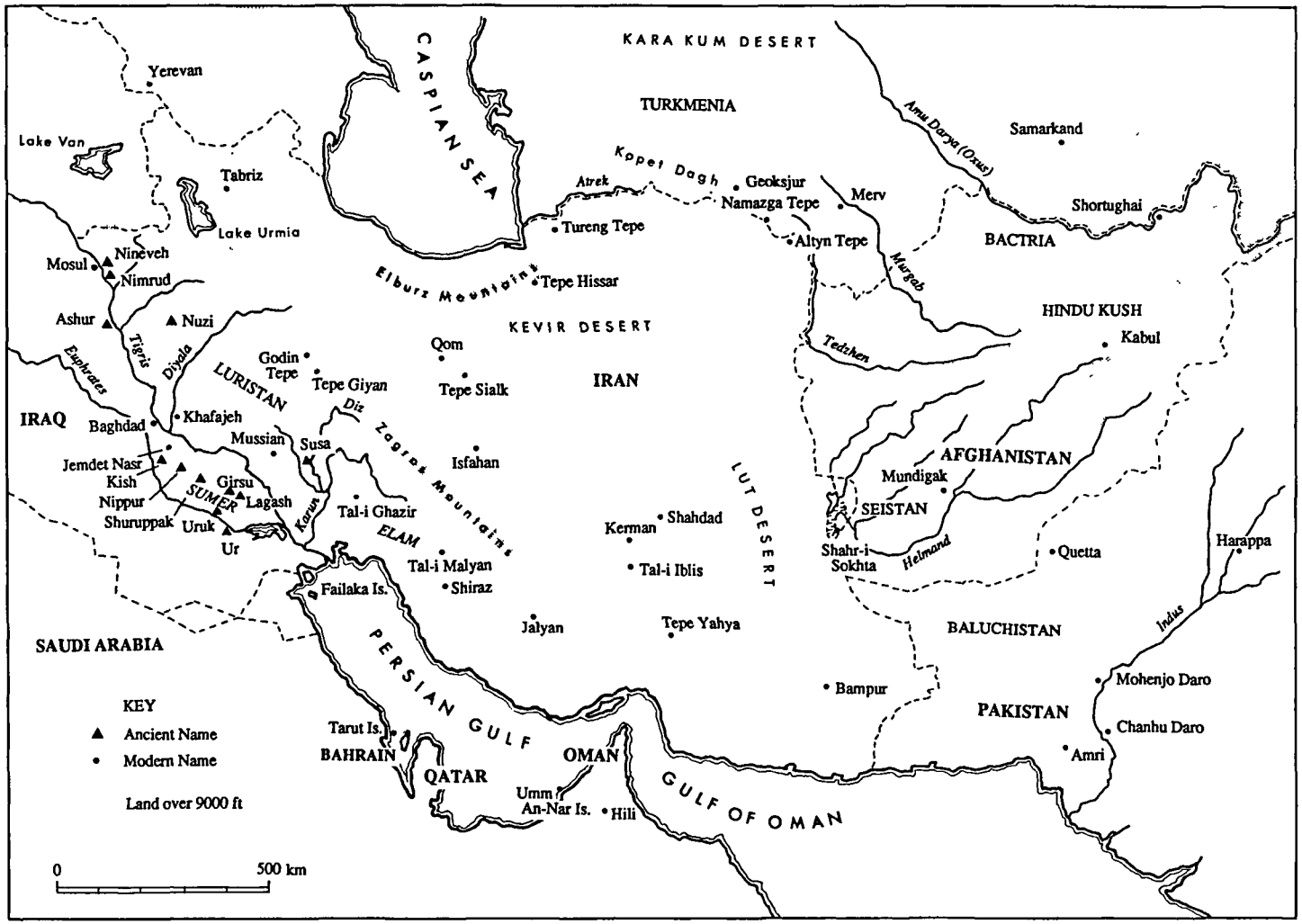

Figure 1 Map showing principal third-millennium sites.

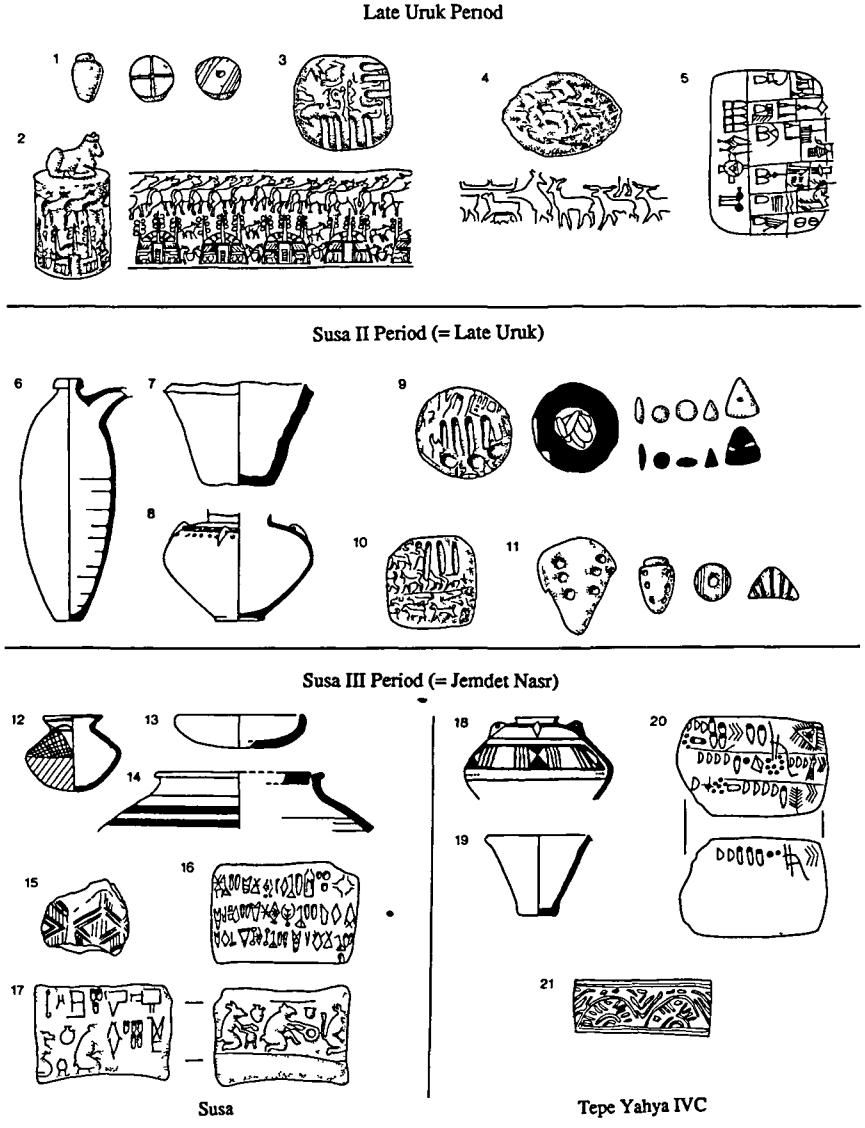

Figure 2 Late Uruk period assemblages from Sumer (2,5), Habuba Kabira (1, 3, 4) and Susa (6–11). Proto-Elamite assemblages from Susa (12–17) and Tepe Yahya (18–21). Not to scale.

existing evidence allowed by Le Breton in 1957, but could not be defined on a sound stratigraphical basis until the renewed excavations under Perrot and others in the late 1960s and 1970s (summaries in *Paléorient* 4, 1978; Carter 1984; Amiet 1986; 1988a). These confirmed Le Breton's observation that Susiana had been a virtual extension of Sumerian culture throughout most of the fourth millennium (Late Uruk/Susa II), the period which witnessed the rise of full-scale urbanism in southern Mesopotamia. Administrative devices in particular, identical to those of contemporary Uruk, constitute important evidence of shared organizational practices, including clay counters or 'tokens' representing agricultu-

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ral commodities, bullae (clay envelopes for containing tokens), clay sealings from doors, jars, bales, etc., and 'numerical' tablets (i.e. tablets with impressed numerical signs but no pictographs), all except the tokens typically bearing the impressions of cylinder seals used to identify the supervising authority and deter pilfering (Fig. 2: 1–4, 9–11). After a stratigraphic break of uncertain duration (Canal 1978; Le Brun 1978), the Susa III period (= Jemdet Nasr to Early Dynastic II in Mesopotamia) saw the appearance of tablets bearing the Proto-Elamite script (Fig. 2: 16–17) – the earliest Iranian writing which was almost certainly inspired by, though it shares few direct links with, contemporary Sumerian cuneiform – together with new architectural elements and ceramic and glyptic assemblages (Fig. 2: 12–15, 18–19, 21) which no longer relate to Sumer but rather look eastwards to highland Iran, in particular to Tal-i Malyan (site of the later Elamite capital of Anshan) in Fars.

The discovery in the 1930s of a similar assemblage, including numerical and Proto-Elamite tablets, lowland-type ceramics and glyptic, at Tepe Sialk (Ghirshman 1938–9; Amiet 1985) remained for many years an isolated testament to the penetration of this Sumerian/Susian culture onto the Iranian plateau, which the excavator R. Ghirshman attributed to the lowlanders' desire to exploit the rich nearby copper deposits of Anarak. In subsequent decades, however, further concentrations of Uruk/Jemdet Nasr-related material, some clearly representing intrusive colonies or outposts, were discovered widely scattered around the highland periphery of Mesopotamia on the Iranian plateau (Godin Tepe, Tal-i Iblis and Tepe Yahya (Fig. 2: 18–21)) and along the upper reaches of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers in northern Iraq and Syro-Anatolia (Fig. 2: 1, 3, 4; evidence reviewed in Algaze 1989; J. Oates this volume), a phenomenon unmatched in the archaeological record of earlier times or indeed in the historical Sumero-Akkadian period. Recent reports of further Uruk-related material from the Nile Delta at Buto (clay cones from wall mosaics etc.) suggest that early contacts with Egypt too probably fit into this broader pattern of Mesopotamian cultural (and economic?) expansion during the late fourth millennium (Moorey 1990).

The Uruk-related sites vary significantly in size and in the range of lowland-type-artefacts and architectural features present, suggesting a hierarchy of settlement types from distant trade partners and outposts to full-scale colonies (Algaze 1989). The political dimension of this phenomenon can now be little more than speculation but its economic effects are traceable in the archaeological record, and these suggest that the Uruk expansion was at least partly motivated by the desire to channel raw materials – especially metals, stones and probably also timber – from the surrounding highlands into the Sumerians' expanding urban agglomerations. The wide variety of exotic stones – notably coloured marbles, chalcedonies, agates, schists and steatite – which are now found in sacred and burial contexts at Uruk (Heinrich 1936; Limper 1988; T. F. Potts in press (2)) provide a gauge of Uruk's broadening economic horizons. The locations of many of the Uruk outposts on major watercourses – the Tigris, Euphrates and their tributaries – underlines the strategy of establishing a Sumerian presence along the major arteries of bulk transportation.

The Uruk network of trade satellites seems to have collapsed at the end of the Late Uruk (Eanna IV) period around 3200 BC. The Sumerians of the succeeding Jemdet Nasr and Early Dynastic periods, however, were not deprived of foreign goods by this disruption, if

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such it was. A considerable range of metals and stones – albeit less extensive than before – continued to be imported, as the archaeological and, later, textual sources attest. What seems to have changed are the mechanisms of trade and, in particular, the extent of direct Sumerian involvement in the extraction and procurement processes.

The fall of the Late Uruk network was followed closely (perhaps with some overlap?) by the establishment of a similar and even more widespread network of exchange. This time, however, it had a more eastern focus which served a different culture – that of the Proto-Elamites – and indeed excluded Mesopotamia altogether. According to the generally accepted chronology (which admittedly leaves considerable scope for adjustment), the old and new networks overlapped only in Susiana and perhaps at Sialk (Amiet 1985). Susa, at the junction of the two worlds, provides the clearest chronicle of the changeover from the Sumerian regime (Susa II) to that of the Proto-Elamites (Susa III), for whom this lowland city was now their westernmost outpost (Fig. 2). Other sites which have produced distinctive Proto-Elamite artefacts (pottery, glyptic, tablets, bullae, sealings, etc.) include Tal-i Ghazir and Chogha Mish in Khuzistan; and Tepe Sialk (IV_2), Tepe Yahya (IVC_{1-2}), Godin Tepe (V), Shahr-i Sokhta (I) and Tepe Hissar (II) (one possible Proto-Elamite tablet) on the Iranian plateau (summaries in Carter 1984; Amiet 1986).

The Proto-Elamite tablets and other bureaucratic devices commonly recovered from these sites seem to relate to the accounting of local agricultural produce rather than long-distance trade (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1986: 208–11; Damerow and Englund 1989: 61–4). Yet their appearance over such a broad geographical expanse represents an unprecedented diffusion of highly specific bureaucratic practices – and the movement of people familiar with this technology – far beyond its original homeland, whether this was in Fars (Malyan) or in Susiana. As in Late Uruk Sumer, the political developments underlying this phenomenon and its relationship to the earlier Uruk colonies are now very difficult to divine, but it is again plausible to suppose that a primary motivation for what must have been a major logistical undertaking was the need to distribute the valuable natural resources of the Iranian plateau within the Proto-Elamite realm. It is often assumed that the Proto-Elamites also supplied highland commodities to Sumer, filling the gap left by the collapse of the Late Uruk colonies. At least as regards copper, this may be supported by trace element analyses of Early Dynastic I metalwork from the Hamrin basin to the north-east of Baghdad, which suggest the use of the same Anarak ores which had long been used at Susa and in highland Iran (see below). The Gulf too may already have been drawn upon for its extensive copper deposits in Oman, as is suggested by the discovery of Sumerian pottery of Jemdet Nasr to Early Dynastic II date in Omani burials (D. T. Potts 1986a), and by Archaic texts from Uruk mentioning 'Dilmun(-type?) copper (objects?)' and 'Dilmun(-type?) axes' (Englund 1983: 35), though the identification of this toponym as the Dilmun of later times has been challenged (Michalowski 1988: 100f.; Glassner in press).

Patterns of trade in the mid- to late third millennium BC

Evidence for the traffic of goods between mid/late third-millennium Mesopotamia and

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Iran comes principally from raw materials; artefacts of foreign manufacture are relatively rare, although account must always be taken of recycling and other factors which have distorted the archaeological record.

(i) Stones and stonework

Aside from limestone and its light-coloured derivatives calcite and gypsum, which are available from outcrops in western Sumer and along the Tigris and Euphrates rivers north of Baghdad (T. F. Potts 1989: 123, n. 2), southern Mesopotamia is largely devoid of stones. The darker more durable 'common stones' used in Sumer for sculpture, cylinder seals, vessels, doorsockets, sculpture and so on – principally diorite, dolerite, schist, serpentine, steatite/chlorite and olivine-gabbro – all had to be imported from abroad. Many of these materials are widely available in the broad mountainous arc surrounding Mesopotamia from Anatolia in the north-west along the Zagros mountains to Kerman and across the Gulf to Oman in the south-east. Establishing a more precise origin for the stones used in Mesopotamia, however, is very difficult in the absence of textual evidence specifying sources. Source provenance analysis through mineralogical 'fingerprinting' has been undertaken only for steatite/chlorite, from which the Iranians carved plain and decorated vessels which were widely circulated throughout the Near East (Kohl 1975). This has revealed a variety of stone profiles, none of which can yet be definitively located, and which has therefore proven of limited use in identifying the origins of vessels from sites in Mesopotamia (Kohl et al. 1979).

The vast majority of Early Dynastic votive statuary and other stonework recovered from

Plate 1 Early Dynastic light stone statuettes from Khafajeh, c. 2500 BC.

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Plate 2 Akkadian dark stone stele found at Susa, Iran, c. 2300 BC.

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sacral contexts in Sumer and Akkad as well as related sites in Syria (Mari, Khuera) and at Susa (Amiet 1976a) was carved from locally available light-coloured limestones and calcites (Plate 1). The hard, dark igneous and metamorphic stones which were particularly prized for their lustrous effect when polished began to be used for sculpture on a regular basis only in the Akkadian period. Sargon's 'diorite' stele from Susa (Amiet 1976: no.1) evinces a predilection for this and similar exotic materials which was shared by later Akkadian and Post-Akkadian rulers (Plate 2), most famously by Gudea, ensi of Lagash, c. 2100 BC (Johansen 1978). These heavy, dark diorites, dolerites and olivine-gabbros clearly possessed a prestige value which made them particularly appropriate for temple dedications and other royal monuments (T. F. Potts 1989: 143f).

Old Akkadian royal inscriptions on statue dedications (and Old Babylonian copies of other lost monuments from Nippur) for the first time furnish direct evidence of where these stones were obtained. Manishtushu (c. 2269–2255 BC), Sargon's son and second successor, relates how, after defeating the Elamites of Anshan (Tal-i Malyan) and Sherihum, he 'crossed the Lower Sea (Arabian Gulf)' and 'mined their dark stones', which he then shipped back to Agade and made into statues (Kienast and Gelb 1990: Manishtushu 1, C1). Manishtushu's successor Naram-Sin (c. 2254–2218 BC) and the later Sumerian ruler Gudea likewise relate how they mined stones in the Gulf, and their origin is now explicitly given as Magan, a region firmly identified with modern Oman (ibid.: Naram-Sin 3; Gudea Statue A, ii: 6–iii: 3 (Pettinato 1972: 137, n.818); cf. D. T. Potts

1990: 133–49). The material of the Akkadian statues – called **na$_4$ esi** in their inscriptions – has been shown by mineralogical analysis to be olivine-gabbro rather than diorite, the previous visual identification (Heimpel 1982). Such gabbros are available in Oman (i.e. Magan) but occur also in Iran; indeed, Manishtushu's inscription associates the source of esi-stone with mines of 'silver/precious metal (**kù**)', which is so far reliably reported only on the Iranian side of the Gulf (Moorey 1985: 111), although such negative evidence cannot be regarded as decisive.

Of finished stonework, vessels provide the only substantial evidence of eastern imports into Mesopotamia. Large numbers of vessels in a variety of hard, dark igneous and altered igneous stones, have been recovered widely in Sumer-Akkad from burials of the Jemdet Nasr to Early Dynastic II periods, notably at Ur, Kish, Girsu (Tello), Shuruppak (Fara), Abu Salabikh and Khafajeh (Vértesalji and Kolbus 1985; T. F. Potts in press (1)). The large numbers in which they are attested, many from otherwise quite humble burials, suggests a context of general availability which was probably supplied in large part by trade. Iran is the nearest and most likely source, although a sub-conical bowl from Tepe Hissar (Schmidt 1933: 423, pl. CXXXIX: H391; cf. Woolley 1955: pl. 35: U19241; Watelin 1934: pl. XXII lower) is so far the only close typological parallel which provides a hint as to their possible area of manufacture.

From the Early Dynastic III period onwards, dark stone vessels tend to be replaced in tombs (and increasingly also in religious contexts) by vessels of a distinctive banded yellow-white calcite (T. F. Potts 1989: 137f). The commonest shapes are illustrated in Figure 3. The same types are also found at Susa (Amiet 1986: 127). More surprising is that close parallels for these vessels, identical both in form and type of material, occur over a wide area of highland Iran, including Shahdad, Shahr-i Sokhta and for some types also Bactria (T. F. Potts 1989: 129f., 133, n. 39, 137f). Most importantly, there is evidence of production of some of these and other forms using local calcite deposits at Shahr-i Sokhta and Mundigak (Ciarla 1979; 1981; Tosi 1984).

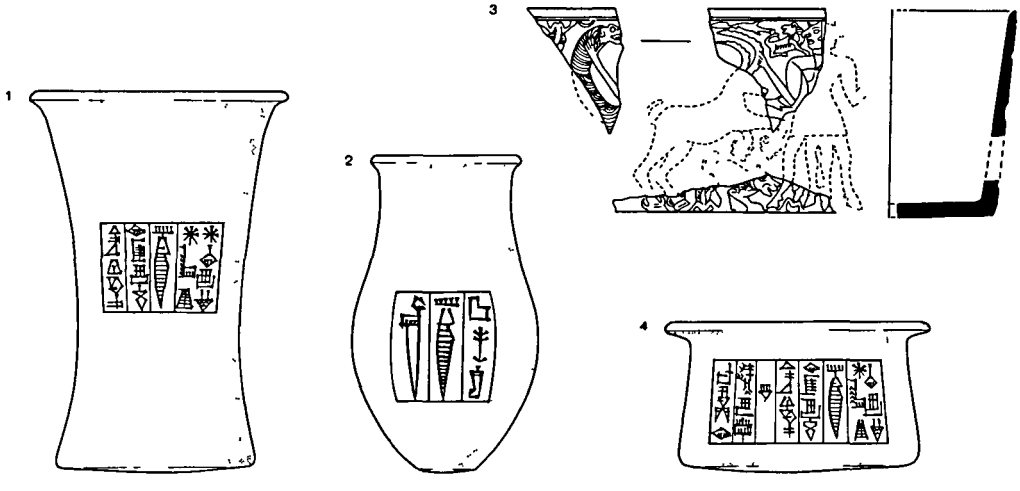

Figure 3 Booty vessels of Rimush (2–3) and Naram-Sin (1, 4) from Elam and Parahshum (2–3) and Magan (4, ?1). 1–2, 4 calcite; 3 steatite/chlorite. Found at ?Drehem (1), Girsu (2) and Ur (3) (4 unprovenanced). Not to scale.

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That the Mesopotamian examples did indeed come from the east is confirmed by the Akkadian inscriptions which some of them bear celebrating the conquests of eastern lands and sometimes describing the vessels as booty from those campaigns (Fig. 3; T. F. Potts 1989). Inscriptions of Rimush (c. 2278–2270 BC), Sargon's son and successor, describe the vessels of these types as 'booty of Elam' taken in a campaign which, as Rimush relates elsewhere (Gelb and Kienast 1991: Rimush C6), was fought 'in the midst of Parahshum', an important highland Iranian state of uncertain location (Steinkeller 1982; 1989 [Kerman]; Vallat 1985 [Baluchistan]). Naram-Sin dedicated similar pieces (and one Omani chlorite vessel of the *série récente*) 'from the booty of Magan' (Fig. 3:4). From archaeological evidence it is clear that vessels of these kinds, manufactured on the Iranian plateau and Oman, were widely exchanged within and between these regions. Iranian calcite types are found along the Arabian littoral and vessels of the Omani *série récente* have occasionally been recovered from highland Iran (T. F. Potts 1989: nn. 41, 48). Captured among the spoils of Elam, Parahshum and Magan by conquering Akkadian kings, they were taken back to Agade and dedicated as offerings to the gods.

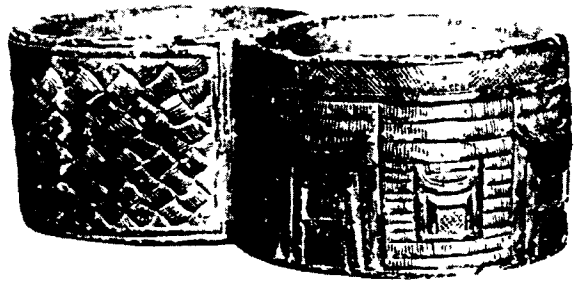

Plate 3 Steatite/chlorite vessel of the *série ancienne* from Susa, late third millennium BC.

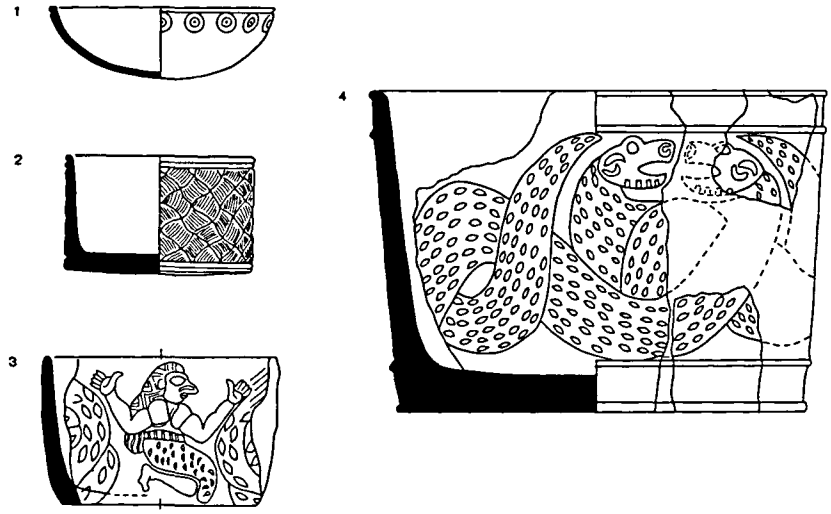

Figure 4 Steatite/chlorite vessels of the *série ancienne* (2–4) and *série récente* (1) from Susa (1–2) and Tarut Island (3–4). Scale 1:4.

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Among the vessels inscribed 'Rimush, king of Kish, conqueror of Elam and Parahshum', but not explicitly described as booty from that campaign, are two fragments of steatite-chlorite bowls decorated in low relief with figurative designs (Fig. 3:3; T. F. Potts 1989: table 1, C1a, C2a). Such vessels – known as the *série ancienne* (Miroschedji 1973) or Intercultural Style (Kohl 1975; 1979) – have been widely reported across the Near East from Mari in the west to the Indus Valley in the east, with heavy concentrations (mostly Early Dynastic III-Akkadian) in Mesopotamia (Plate 3; Fig. 4: 2–4; Kohl 1975; 1979), Tarut Island in the Gulf (Zarins 1978) and at Tepe Yahya in Iran (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988). Stylistic judgements that these vessels are non-Sumerian were confirmed in the late 1960s and 1970s by the discovery of manufacturing debris from a mid–late third millennium workshop at Tepe Yahya (Kohl 1975). Rimush's inscriptions make it highly likely that the vessels of this type recovered from Mesopotamia, including the many more uninscribed examples, came there (like the calcite types) as booty from the east.

Among Naram-Sin's vessels from the 'booty of Magan' is one example of a second steatite/chlorite series – the *série récente* (Fig. 4: 1; Miroschedji 1973) – characterized by simple geometrical designs, especially concentric dotted circles (T. F. Potts 1989: 133f., fig. 10; D. T. Potts 1990: 140). Excavations in the Gulf have established that this series, which dates from the mid-Akkadian period to the early second millennium, was produced in Oman (Kroll in Weisgerber 1981: 212–14, Abb. 46, 47). Besides booty, other examples seem to have arrived in Sumer with merchants engaged in the Gulf trade between southern Mesopotamia, Bahrain and Magan (e.g. Amiet 1986: fig. 88; Miroschedji 1973: 28 n. 116). The small flasks which contained unguents and scents may represent genuine articles of trade (Amiet 1986: 164; Miroschedji 1973: 33), but the common hemispherical bowls were probably incidental acquisitions, picked up as momentos by merchants engaged in the economically primary trade in copper and other raw materials. Tarut Island seems to have been a major consumer and probably also an entrepôt for the distribution of both the *série ancienne* and the *série récente* along the Gulf (Zarins 1978).

(ii) Semi-precious stones

Along with gold, the semi-precious stones carnelian and lapis lazuli were the most highly prized and widely exploited materials for jewellery and luxury inlay work in third-millennium Mesopotamia. Unlike lapis, carnelian is widespread in Iran and on the periphery of the Indus region, the largest nodules being found in Gujarat (Tosi 1976–80: 448f). Evidence of local working in Mesopotamia has been discovered at Larsa (Chevalier et al. 1982) and Uruk (Aue 1985), although imported heat-treated ('etched') beads of Harappan manufacture are also found (Reade 1979). Third-millennium and later cuneiform documents confirm that the Sumerians obtained carnelian from the east, especially Meluhha, i.e. the region of the Harappan civilization (e.g. Reiner 1956: 133; Attinger 1984: 13; Jacobsen 1987: 408, 437). From Akkadian times on, when sea-borne commerce between the Indus and Sumer is amply attested, this trade may be assumed to have been transacted by boat. In the earlier third millennium, however, the possibility of a more significant overland trade in this low-volume commodity must also be considered.

The source and trade routes of lapis lazuli have been much discussed in recent years. Since Herrmann's seminal study (1968), most discussions have accepted her conditional

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proposition that the nearest source of Mesopotamian lapis was Badakhshan in Afghanistan. That this lapis was indeed mined in the third millennium has been corroborated by the discovery of a Harappan lapis procuring colony north of the Badakhshan mines at Shortugai on the Oxus river (Francfort and Pottier 1978).

Herrmann posited an overland Iranian route between Badakhshan and Mesopotamia following the 'Great Khorasan Road' across northern Iran via Tepe Hissar and along the Diyala river to Akkad. The discovery of lapis working debris at Shahr-i Sokhta later raised the possibility of a southern route along the Helmand River and thence through Seistan, Kerman and Fars debouching onto the lowlands near Susa (Tosi 1974; 1984). There can be no doubt that lapis was indeed transported along these or similar routes within Iran, since it was consumed in substantial quantities not only at Shahr-i Sokhta but also at Shahdad, Tepe Hissar and elsewhere. It is an open question, however, whether this was a side effect of overland trade directed towards Mesopotamia or evidence of a primarily Iranian network satisfying local demand.

In the first place, aside from the tendentious narrative poem *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* (S. Cohen 1973; Jacobsen 1987: 275–319; Michalowski 1986: 133), which describes lapis being sent from Aratta to Uruk, the Mesopotamian textual evidence suggests that lapis was acquired principally from Meluhha (e.g. Gudea Cyl. B xiv: 13; M. Cohen 1975; Pettinato 1972: 78, 135), with which trade was conducted by boat along the Gulf. Contemporary documents from the second half of the third millennium give no indication of overland trade in stones with Iran. Sea trade with the Indus, on the other hand would tie in well with the evidence for Harappan procurement at Shortugai (although a problem remains in the rarity of lapis on mature Indus sites; Ratnagar 1981: 132–5).

There are occasional references from the Achaemenid period to modern times to sources of lapis in Iranian Mazanderan, Kerman and Azerbaijan (Herrmann 1968: 27f.). While none of these has been confirmed by modern reconnaissance, neither can they be dismissed. An indication of how small outcrops may easily escape attention is provided by the recent discovery of lapis near Quetta on the Iran–Pakistan border (Berthoud et al. 1982: 41 n. 21). A further problem is that there are other materials (azurite, sodalite, etc.) virtually indistinguishable from lapis by eye which may exist in Iran and may have been exploited in antiquity alongside lapis.

(iii) Metals

Lacking any local supplies, Sumer was entirely dependent on external sources for the metals which were an essential requirement of urban life, providing the raw material for tools, weapons and utensils, as well as artistic pursuits such as sculpture and jewellery. Evidence for the origin of Mesopotamia's metals comes from textual references (royal inscriptions, literary compositions, lexical lists and administrative records) and source-provenance pinpointing through trace element analysis. A recent programme of analyses on a wide range of Iranian and Mesopotamian metalwork in the Louvre provides a much improved basis for discussion (Berthoud et al. 1982; Tallon 1987), although its conclusions need to be regarded as provisional in view of methodological and analytical questions which have been raised (Seeliger and Pernicka 1985: 643 n. 74; Hauptmann et al. 1988: 34).

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As would be expected, for copper the settlements of highland Iran seem to have depended on the major plateau mines of Anarak-Talmessi and, less extensively, Bardsir-Sheikh Ali (Berthoud et al. 1982; Malfoy and Menu 1987). Susa too drew heavily on these supplies throughout the late fourth to mid-third millennium (Susa I–III periods). Less evidence is available for Mesopotamia, but the Early Dynastic I sites of the Hamrin in northern Akkad likewise seem to have received copper from Anarak (Berthoud et al. 1982: 43; Amiet 1986: 35).

Both Susa and Sumer show a shift from Iranian to Omani copper (characterized by higher iron content) in the second quarter of the third millennium (Amiet 1986: 126; Malfoy and Menu 1987: 364f.; Cleuziou 1986: 145; Moorey 1985: 12, 14). In Early Dynastic III and later periods, down to Old Babylonian times, there can be no doubt but that much of Sumer's copper came from Oman, for lexical and economic texts are explicit in citing Magan as the source of the copper regularly acquired by Gulf merchants, Dilmun acting as the major entrepôt.

The usual alloying material used for hardening copper in Mesopotamia and Iran at this time was arsenic, for which the principal Near Eastern source was Anarak. (Other reports of usable arsenic mineralizations, e.g. in Armenia (Muhly 1976: 90), remain unconfirmed.) Early arsenic-rich coppers of the fifth and fourth millennia were no doubt natural alloys resulting from the use of Anarak copper ores, which typically contain up to 1 per cent arsenic. However, higher levels of between 1 per cent and 3 per cent, which become common in the Early Dynastic III and Akkadian periods, almost certainly indicate some degree of intentional alloying. There is no textual evidence for how the additive may have been traded (no Sumerian or Akkadian word for arsenic has been identified), whether overland directly to Susa and Mesopotamia, or south to the Gulf and thence by boat to Sumer. The presence of arsenical coppers in Oman may indicate some movement along the latter route.

Tin bronze, although occasionally attested from the late fourth millennium, does not appear as a consistent feature of Mesopotamian metallurgy until the Early Dynastic III period, and only replaces arsenical copper as the staple alloy around the turn of the second millennium. (The most abundant analytical evidence comes from Susa, which may be used as an approximate guide to Sumer: definitively intentional bronzes of over 5 per cent tin are still very rare in the Akkadian period (Susa IVB), and represent only 10 per cent of the tested sample in Ur III (Susa VA); they become widespread only in the early second millennium (Susa VB), when 48 per cent of the sample contains over 5 per cent tin (Malfoy and Menu 1987: 333, 361, table D)).

The source of Near Eastern tin has long been one of the outstanding problems of ancient metallurgy. Mesopotamian texts indicate that, like carnelian and lapis, tin came primarily from the east, but the evidence is patchy and inconclusive as regards specific locations. The more reliable documents – historical and administrative texts – cite Meluhha (Gudea Cyl. B xiv: 13) and Dilmun (Pettinato 1983: 77 (Ebla)), the latter presumably an entrepôt. Transactions involving tin (of unspecified origin) were made at Susa (Scheil 1913: no. 35) and tin was issued at Lagash to the ensi of the Elamite border town Urua (Lambert 1953: 65). This suggests that tin may have changed hands as part of the Gulf trade, although it is not cited as such among the surviving trade texts from Ur (Oppenheim 1954; Leemans 1960). Literary and lexical texts also cite Aratta (S. Cohen 1973: ll. 17–19, 415),

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Magan (M. Cohen 1975: 28 l. 144), beyond Mt Ebih (Hamrin) (Muhly 1973: 288 n. 341; cf. Heimpel 1982: 67 n. 21), Zarshur (Leemans 1960: 7 l. 25), [Za]rha and BAR-gungunnu (Reiner 1956; Leemans 1960: 8 ll. 23f.) while royal inscriptions mention tin as booty from Zabshali/Shimashki (Sollberger and Kupper 1971: IIIA4e) and probably Anshan (Davidović 1984: 186f., 200). In the second millennium, tin was traded by caravan from Ashur to Cappadocia, and was exchanged in transactions (though from which sources is unclear) at Susa and Shemsharra (Larsen 1976: 87–9; 1982: 40; Leemans 1960: 123f.; Muhly 1973: 292ff.).

The first confirmed report of a plausible tin source has recently come from western Afghanistan (Berthoud and Cleuziou 1983: 24ff.). Evidence of 'protohistorical' workings near the Misgaran mines (Berthoud et al. 1982: 49) lends support to the view that Afghan tin was indeed exploited in antiquity, perhaps as early as the third millennium. Evidence of an alternative source in the Bolgardagh region of the Taurus mountains in Turkey (Yener n.d.; Yener and Özbal 1987) is accumulating (but cf. Muhly et al. 1991). On the other hand, earlier reports of usable tin deposits in Iran, the Caucasus and Turkey remain unconfirmed (Muhly 1973: 248–61; 1985; Franklin et al. 1978; de Jesus 1980: 53ff.; Berthoud et al. 1982: 49). The dearth of tin bronze in highland Iran (Berthoud et al. 1982: table C; Moorey 1982: 87f.; Tallon 1987: 335; Beyer 1989: 118) strongly suggests that any Afghan tin traded with Mesopotamia travelled south through the Indus and up the Gulf by boat, rather than overland across the Iranian plateau. Such a sea route would account for the Mesopotamian tradition of tin from Meluhha, Magan and Dilmun, and for the occasional occurrence of tin bronze in Oman (Berthoud et al. 1982: 47, 50). It is also supported by the fact that the use of tin in the Indus region reaches a peak in the Harappan period (Ratnagar 1981: 83; Agrawal 1984: 164).

The precious metals silver and gold are both widespread in Iran, Anatolia and elsewhere, and were probably obtained from various sources at different times. In the second millennium, Mesopotamia obtained silver from the nearest and richest mines, those of the Taurus mountains. However, while Sargon refers to the 'silver mountain' (= Bolkardagh) near the 'Upper Sea (= Mediterranean)' (Kienast and Gelb 1990; Sargon C2: 34f.), there is no textual evidence for silver arriving from this direction in the third millennium. Rather, what indications exist again point to the east. Some documents – mainly literary and lexical texts – allude to the silver of places believed to lie in highland Iran (e.g. S. Cohen 1973: 18f., 39; Reiner 1956; Gudea Cyl. A xvi: 18f.), as well as Dilmun and Meluhha along the Gulf (M. Cohen 1975: 31, 149f.; Pettinato 1972: 123). On the other hand, the receipt of silver in transactions along the Mesopotamian-Iranian border at Der (modern Badra), Urua (eastern Khuzistan?) and Elam (here probably Susa) (Lambert 1953: 61 (DP 513), 63 (Nik 292); Michalowski 1978: 48) reflects its use as a medium of exchange and so cannot be used to plot sources. More significantly, the Akkadian king Manishtushu relates how, after conquering Anshan, he crossed the Lower Sea where he engaged the enemy as far as the 'silver mines (*hu-rí kù*)' (Kienast and Gelb 1990: Manishtushu C1: 29). This itinerary suggests Oman (Magan) but since silver is not attested in substantial deposits there (Moorey 1985: 111; cf. Tosi 1975: 202) the possibility must be considered of a source in southern Iran. (A land 'across the (Lower) Sea' is not necessarily in Arabia; in Assyrian times this expression could be used to refer to Iran and Glassner (1989: 186) has argued that it should be understood in this way also in texts of the

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Akkadian period). Wherever it lay, Manishtushu's silver mine was accessible by boat and its produce could therefore have been traded by the sea-borne Gulf merchants.

Gold too seems to have come primarily from the east. Lexical and literary documents mention a number of gold sources which can be placed with varying degrees of confidence in Iran (Aratta, [H]arali, Hublul, Zarshashum, Hahum), as well as Meluhha (S. Cohen 1973: ll. 39, 124, 618f.; Attinger 1984: 13; M. Cohen 1975: 31; Pettinato 1972: 79 n. 235, 154–6; Gudea Statue B vi: 33–5). Of these, only Meluhha is confirmed by an 'historical' source, the inscriptions of Gudea (Statue B vi: 38–40, Cylinder A xvi: 19f. (Pettinato 1972: 146, 166ff.; Jacobsen 1987: 408)). References to gold taken as booty from Shimashki, Elam, Parahshum, Susa, Awan and Adamdun are unfortunately no guide to original sources (Kutscher 1989: BT4 v: 5–8, vi: 19–33, ix: 12–20; Kienast and Gelb 1990: Rimush C6: 138f.; Sollberger and Kupper 1971: IIIA5b–c; for locations see Edzard and Farber 1974: s.v; Stolper 1982; Steinkeller 1982; Vallat 1985).

Some gold may also already have come from Anatolia. Gudea cites gold from a Mt Hahum, which probably lay between Diyarbakir and Elazig (Groneberg 1980: 85f.) or in the Elbistan plain (Garelli 1963: 109). In a very damaged text the fourth king of the Ur III dynasty Shu-Sin (c. 2037–2029 BC) refers to the mining of gold and silver, apparently in the vicinity of [Mar]daman (= Mardin; Edzard and Farber 1974: 118) and Ha[bura] (= the Habur) (Kutscher 1989: BT4 vi: 1–18). Northern mines became the primary source of Mesopotamian gold in the second millennium (Moorey 1985: 73f.), although some may still have come via Dilmun (Leemans 1960: 120f.). After a promising start, trace element analysis has not so far shed much additional light on this picture (Ogden 1977; Meeks and Tite 1980).

(iv) Finished metalwork

If there is ample evidence for the flow of raw metals into Mesopotamia, finished metalwork of eastern origin is conspicuous by its absence. A number of distinctive elaborately decorated Iranian and Bactrian-related types, including axes with 'winged' butts (Fig. 5), occur widely in the Iranian highlands from Khinaman and Shahdad westwards across the plateau and onto the lowlands at Susa, but there they stop (Pottier 1984; Amiet 1986; Curtis 1988). Only a handful of pieces from southern Mesopotamia may plausibly be classed as Iranian imports, and there are none from further afield (Carter 1990; T. F. Potts in press (2)). Aside from the most simple undiagnostic utilitarian forms, metalwork of Mesopotamian type is similarly scarce in the Iranian highlands, indicating that movement from the lowlands eastwards was equally rare. Among the few suggested links are a type of gold earring (Maxwell-Hyslop 1987: 22) and a group of 'harpe-swords' (Pottier 1984: nos 23–6; cf. Collon 1986: 28f., 52), both reportedly from Bactria.

Documentary evidence presents a very different picture. Sargonic and Ur III royal inscriptions indicate that substantial quantities of metalwork were taken as booty from Elam and elsewhere in Iran, and the fact that this has not survived no doubt reflects the prevalence of remelting. Recycling alone, however, would hardly account for the dearth of Iranian metalwork in Sumer-Akkad if the irregular taking of booty had been supplemented by any substantial traffic of trade. The archaeological *argumentum ex silentio* is corroborated by a similar gap in the textual sources concerning commercial exchange.

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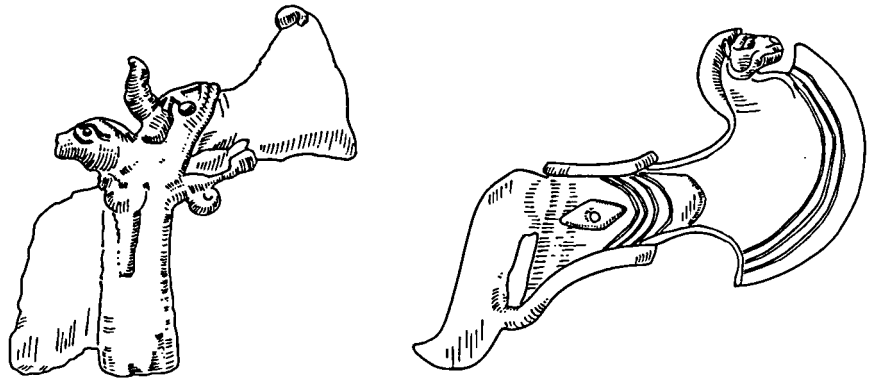

Figure 5 Iranian/Bactrian-style copper axes. Found at Susa (1); (2) unprovenanced. Not to scale.

Account texts of the later third millennium deal commonly in raw copper and other metals, but are virtually silent with regard to finished metalwork. Likewise lexical and other canonical references to metalwork of foreign origin are extremely rare (e.g. the 'Dilmun(-type) axe (?)' [**dilmun tùn**] in the Archaic metals list from Uruk (Englund 1983; Nissen 1986: 338), and a *za-hum* from Magan (Limet 1972: 14; Glassner 1989: 187)).

A large part of the explanation is no doubt logistical. Metal travels most conveniently and with least risk of damage as ingots. Unlike raw stone blocks, much of which would be wasted in working, all of the ingot could be used, and used according to local tastes and requirements.

Conclusions

Plausible evidence of overland trade (as distinct from booty taking) between Mesopotamia and Iran is surprisingly scarce – primarily the hard, dark stone vessels of Jemdet Nasr to Early Dynastic II burials, and Jemdet Nasr to Early Dynastic I (arsenical) copper from Anarak-Talmessi in Iran. For the rest – semi-precious stones like carnelian and lapis lazuli; copper, tin and gold; and exotic woods – textual evidence, as far as it goes, suggests that they arrived chiefly by sea via the Gulf, a conclusion confirmed in the case of mid- to late third millennium copper by analyses indicating the use of Omani ores. The dearth of Elamite and other highland Iranian artefacts from Mesopotamia is all the more telling in view of the Indus seals and other Harappan artefact types which occur in Sumer-Akkad (Ratnagar 1981) and at Susa (Amiet 1988).

Present evidence thus suggests an increasing dependence on sea-borne trade at the expense of overland links with Iran, hinging around the Early Dynastic III period. Hints of an even earlier start to the Gulf trade ('Dilmun copper' in Archaic Uruk texts and Jemdet Nasr to Early Dynastic II pottery in Oman) suggest that this might be less a matter of a shift to the Gulf than a falling away of the earlier (supplementary?) overland trade. Such a state

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of affairs would find a ready explanation in the historical evidence of increasing Mesopotamian–Iranian hostility from Early Dynastic III on (Stolper 1984; T. F. Potts in press (2): ch. 3). From very early times, the procurement of raw materials seems to have been a complex matter involving disparate sources in various directions, the relative prominence of a particular region depending on political developments and other factors which were only partly under Mesopotamian control.

A feature which emerges with new emphasis is the importance of booty-taking as against trade in accounting for those conspicuously exotic finished products (principally stone vessels) which have been found on Mesopotamian soil. Historical inscriptions of the Akkadian and Ur III periods record large quantities of metalwork and stonework, along with various perishable items, taken as booty in campaigns against the eastern lands of Elam, Parahshum, Shimashki and Magan (T. F. Potts 1989: tables 1–2; Kienast and Gelb 1990; Rimush C6: 138–47, Manishtushu 1: 31–6, Naram-Sin 3: 37–43, Ur C2: 48–57; Pettinato 1982; Davidović 1984). It is not surprising, therefore, to find manifestly foreign stone vessels of the *série ancienne*, or calcite vases of east Iranian/Bactrian type, bearing inscriptions celebrating these victories, some explicitly labelled as booty. Nor was such booty of merely propagandistic significance. In a society where tribute and 'diplomatic gifts' were essential expressions of complex political relationships, and where temples and palaces were both the chief beneficiaries of institutional patronage and the primary repositories of stored wealth, the looting of a major highland capital was not only a political landmark but also an economic event of major importance. While the taking of booty was by nature unpredictable and could never have replaced regular trade as the basis of Mesopotamia's staple needs, neither should the economic importance of war in times of aggressive imperialism be underestimated.

This raises a point of more general interest. Trade and other modes of exchange are all forms of economic reciprocity, i.e. transactions in which each party gives and receives something to and from the other. While models which take their starting point from modern economic analogies tend to assume that this covers the field well enough, such a perspective leaves out of consideration a whole other class of phenomena: viz. non-reciprocal movements where goods flow – typically under duress – in one direction only. The principal mechanisms of this type, well documented in historical periods, are booty-taking and the extraction of tribute, where goods are taken by right of conquest or suzerainty without any *quid pro quo*.

Much attention has been devoted to the study of trade in the Near East and the ancient world generally, so that 'down-the-line trade', 'trickle trade' and various other mechanisms of reciprocal exchange form standard elements in every archaeologist's explanatory tool kit. And these have generally been the explanations of choice when artefacts of foreign material or manufacture are encountered on archaeological sites. To the extent that other options are explored, these too tend to be forms of reciprocal exchange, albeit of a less 'commercial' or market-driven kind (e.g. Renger 1984). Rarely is serious attention given to the possibility of some kind of non-reciprocal movement of goods.

Yet it is clear from historical sources that this was often a major – perhaps at times the principal – mechanism by which foreign materials and goods moved from resource-rich extraction and manufacturing areas to more powerful but resource-deficient imperial states. The Akkadian, Ur III and Neo-Assyrian empires are only the more obvious

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instances in Mesopotamian history. The evidence outlined above suggests that such may have been the case to some extent also in earlier times, especially as regards finished goods.

The two explanations differ in some important respects. While trade is an essentially economic postulate, to suggest that foreign goods arrived at their place of discovery by some non-reciprocal mechanism is to imply that that region exercised military or political dominion over the source area. Furthermore, while neither is more probable than the other *a priori*, the circumstances in which political suzerainty can justifiably be postulated are narrower (or so it has generally seemed) than for trade. It is a natural assumption that most regions – whether central or peripheral, powerful or weak – engaged to some degree in trade with surrounding peoples. By contrast, to judge by historical evidence, relatively few regions were able to dominate their neighbours to the extent of being able forcibly (i.e. non-reciprocally) to extract the goods and materials they desired.

Against the very limited scale of direct Mesopotamian–Iranian overland trade must be set the evidence for a wide-ranging network of exchange within greater Iran documented by Amiet (1986). Metalwork, stone vessels and other items, many of distinctive, highly elaborate types, are found in closely analogous forms over vast distances from Bactria through Baluchistan and Kerman to Susa in south-western Iran. Contacts extended also across the Gulf to the Arabian peninsula, as is demonstrated by the occurrence of late third-millennium Omani pottery and stone vessels in Iran, and Iranian forms in Arabia. Clearly, the logistical difficulties of overland trade did not seriously inhibit exchange within the Iranian-Turanian highlands and even onto the lowlands at Susa. The failure of these types to penetrate further west into Mesopotamia is therefore doubly striking. One inhibiting factor was probably the cultural discontinuity which separated the Sumero-Akkadian lowlands from the eastern highlands, where Elamites, Parahshians and other non-Sumerian, non-Semitic peoples predominated. The more elaborately decorated highland artefacts embody a rich mythology which the Mesopotamians would have been little better equipped to appreciate than we are today.

The more immediate explanation for Mesopotamia's exclusion from the Iranian-Turanian circuit, however, is probably economic – viz. the greater speed, facility and economy of transporting substantial quantities of goods by boat as opposed to equid caravans. The raw materials which fed the Gulf trade came primarily from the Arabian side of the Gulf (Oman for copper and olivine-gabbro) and the Indus (lapis, carnelian, timber, gold, ?tin). None of the known commodities came exclusively from Iran and none of the known staging posts on this route was on the Iranian coast (unless Magan extended over both shorelines). Thus the opportunity for acquiring finished Iranian products was largely restricted to materials which had been transported overland to the Iranian coast and then shipped across the Gulf to entrepôts such as Bahrain and Tarut. Trade in finished goods along this route seems, in any case, to have been relatively limited, and was clearly dependent on the regularized exchange mechanisms structured around the economically primary trade in raw materials, especially metals. Many of the *série ancienne* and *série récente* vessels and other eastern exotica (including Gulf/Indus seals, cubic weights 'etched' carnelian beads etc.) which have been found in Sumer and at Susa were probably acquired casually, not to be traded or bartered but as curiosities to be kept as momentos or perhaps dedicated to an appropriate deity in appreciation of a safe return.

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Abstract

Potts, T. F.

Patterns of trade in third-millennium BC Mesopotamia and Iran

Southern Mesopotamia's lack of most raw materials made it dependent to an unusual degree on trade and other forms of procurement from foreign lands. The appearance of wide-ranging trading networks extending far into the surrounding highlands of Anatolia and Iran may be traced in the archaeological record of the late fourth and third millennia. From the mid-third millennium, the archaeological and textual evidence combine to suggest an increasing dependence on maritime exchange along the Arabian/Persian Gulf at the expense of overland trade with Iran. Finished goods of eastern manufacture are conspicuously rare in Mesopotamia. Among those that do occur, some stone vessels are identified by their inscriptions as booty rather than objects of trade. Evidence is reviewed which suggests that such non-reciprocal mechanisms of procurement may have been more significant than has previously been recognized.

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Mountain Goddesses in Ancient Thrace: The Broader Context

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Mountain Goddesses in Ancient Thrace: The Broader Context

The ancient writers often connect the cult of Phrygian Cybele with mountains and rocky highlands. The goddess was even called Μήτηρ Ὀρεία or 'Mountain Mother', as attested in both literary sources and epigraphic evidence. However, other records give us information that similar religious ideas were not confined to Asia Minor and two female deities in ancient Thrace were also associated with mountains, similarly to Cybele. And although there is no written source testifying that these Thracian goddesses were called 'Mount Mother', some evidence might support the conclusion for their appearance as a mountain.

Most important here is the cult of the goddess Ῥησκυνθίς associated with Greek Hera, who was celebrated on the sacred mountain Ῥησκύνθιον close to the mouth of Hebros in Southeastern Thrace, as attested by Nicandrus and his scholiast[1]. This mountain goddess was worshipped together with her male companion Ζηρύνθιος (Zerynthius), called Apollo by the Greeks, and this took place in a temple located on Mount Rheskynthion[2]. The cult of Rheskynthis and Zerynthios was obviously related to the worshipping of another female deity – the goddess Ζηρυνθία known from a number of ancient literary records and identified with Hecate, Aphrodite or Rhea[3]. She was a chthonic deity who was honored with dog sacrifices that were performed in a sacred cave called Ζήρυνθον (Ζηρύνθιον, Ζήρινθον), located by the ancient authors in two different places – on Samothrace or in the opposite mainland near the mouth of Hebros[4]. Similar conflation between the names of the female deities, the sacred mountain and the cave reminds us of the information of Hesychius who explained Κύβελα like "a mountain in Phrygia, and caves and graves"[5].

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1 Nicandr., *Ther.* I, 459-462 Gow-Scholfield; *Schol. in* Nicandr., *Ther.*, I, 459-462 Gow-Scholfield.

2 *Ibid.*; T. Liv., XXXVIII, 41, 4 Müller.

3 The main sources on Zerynthia are collected in: D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, Wien, 1976², p. 184-185; *cf.* also Lycophr., *Alex.*, 72-80 Scheer; Nicandr., *Ther.*, I, 462-463 Gow-Scholfield; *Schol. in* Aristoph., *Pax*, 277-278 Koster; Nonn., *Dion.* XIII, 400 Keydell.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Hesych., *s.v. Kybela* Alberti.

The second deity in Thrace who was associated with a mountain is the goddess Γανηα known from a votive inscription on a small altar dated to the Roman Imperial period[6]. It was dedicated to the goddess by Apollonios son of Seuthes, obviously a man of Thracian origin considering his father's name[7]. It is most significant that the altar was found exactly in the region of Γάνος[8] – the famous sacred mountain in Southeastern Thrace, called Ἱερὸν ὄρος by the Greek writers and first attested by Xenophon in the beginning of the 4th century B.C.[9] In this case the goddess and the sacred mount have identical names again, which supports the conclusion for a mountain aspect of the female deity. At the same time, the important nature of the site is attested by Demosthenes[10] and Aeschines[11] who described a residence and treasury of the Odrysian kings Kotys and Kersebleptes located in Hieron Oros. And even more: in a later period Strabo[12] wrote that the local people worshiped the sacred mountain. This information probably reflects the cult of Ganea.

Actually, a couple of literary records give clear information about other mountains in ancient Thrace that were known as sacred highlands where different cult activities took place. Amongst the most famous ones is Kogaionon, a sacred mount in Northeastern Thrace where the male deity Zalmoxis was worshiped[13]. Another important mountain was Pangaion located in Southwestern Thrace, strongly related to the cult of Orpheus and the Edonian mythical king Rhesos[14]. Of special interest also is Saon (Saos, Samos, Saoke), the high mountain of Samothrace where the mysteries of the Great Gods were celebrated besides other deities that were worshiped on the island[15]. The list of mountains related to different cults in ancient Thrace

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6 A. DUMONT, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie*, Paris, 1892, p. 420, n. 88a.

7 On the Thracian personal name Seuthes, *cf.* DETSCHEW, *o.c.* (n. 3), p. 434-437.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 99 with the sources on the mount Ganos and the surrounding region called Ganiada; on Ganiada and a settlement called Ganos *cf.* XENOPH., *Anab.*, VII, 5, 8 Masqueray and AESCHIN., *Kata Ktesiph.* III, 82, 6 Blass.

9 XENOPH., *Anab.* VII, 1, 14 Masqueray; *cf.* also N. THEODOSSIEV, "The Sacred Mountain of the Ancient Thracians", in *Studia in honorem Alexandri Fol*, Serdicae, 1995 (*Thracia* 11), p. 371-384.

10 DEMOSTH., *Contr. Aristocr.*, 104 Blass; *Philip.*, III, 15 Croiset.

11 AESCHIN., II. *Peri tes parapresb.*, 90 Martin-Budé.

12 STRABO, VII, fr. 56 Meineke.

13 DETSCHEW, *o.c.* (n. 3), p. 273 on Kogaionon mount and p. 173-175 on the cult of Zalmoxis.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 349-350 on Pangaion mountain and p. 395-397 on Rhesos; *cf.* also [EUR.], *Rhes.*, 963-973 Ebener on the cult of Rhesos in Pangaion and AESCHYL., *Bass.*, fr. 83 Mette on Orpheus celebrating Helios-Apollo in Pangaion.

15 N. LEWIS, *Samothrace. The Ancient Literary Sources*, New York, 1958 (*Samothrace* I), p. 4, n. 7, p. 7, n. 16-18, p. 18-19, n. 39, p. 20, n. 42, p. 21-22, n. 45-46 and p. 38-39, n. 83 on the mount Saon and *passim* with ancient literary records on the cults of Samothrace; on the mysteries of the Great Gods see: S.G. COLE, *Theoi Megaloi. The Cult of the Great Gods at Samothrace*, Leiden, 1984, *passim*.

could be prolonged, but there is not any clear information that they were directly associated with female deities. So, one can only speculate that these mountains might represent aniconic images of mountain goddesses similarly to Rheskynthion and Ganos. In the context of all these written sources, very significant is the great number of Thracian sanctuaries located in mountains and rocky highlands that clearly show the sacred nature of the places[16]. Also, it is possible to suppose that the numerous tumuli of ancient Thrace might symbolize sacred mountains and if so, these burial constructions could be related to some cults of mountain goddesses besides their funerary functions[17].

Similar religious ideas in ancient Thrace should be studied in a broader context. Of course, the closest parallels might be found in the cult of the Phrygian Great Goddess Cybele, usually identified with a Mountain bearing the same name[18]. In a number of epigraphic records from Asia Minor dated to the 4th – 3rd centuries B.C. and to the Roman Imperial period the goddess was called Μήτηρ Ὀρεία[19]. Diodorus also testified that Cybele was known as 'Mountain Mother'[20] and he described a mountain called Κύβελος while the goddess was named after this mount[21]. Κυβέλοι Mountains are reported in *Orphei Argonautica*[22], besides that Herodianus described Κύβελα like a "*polis* in Phrygia and ὄρος ἱερόν"[23] and mentioned the sacred mountain of Κυβέλοι[24], too. Later on, Herodianus' information was repeated by Stephanus Byzantius[25] and Hesychius explained Cybele like "a mountain in Phrygia, and caves and graves"[26], as cited above. All these sources clearly show the mountain aspect of the goddess.

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16 M. Domaradzki, "Sanctuaires thraces du IIe – Ier millénaire av. n.è.", *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* 25 (1986), p. 89-100; *id.*, "Les lieux de culte thraces (deuxième moitié du IIE – Ier mill. av. J.-C.)", *Helis* 3, 1 (1994), p. 69-108.

17 For such a possibility, *cf.* Theodossiev, "The Sacred Mountain" (n. 9); *id.*, *North-Western Thrace from the Fifth to First Centuries BC*, Oxford, 2000 (*BAR Inter. Ser.* 859), p. 53-55.

18 C. Brixhe, "Le nom de Cybèle", *Die Sprache* 25 (1979), p. 40-45; L. Zgusta, "Weiteres zum Namen der Kybele", *Die Sprache* 28 (1982), p. 171-172.

19 M.J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque. I. Asia Minor*, Leiden, 1987, p. 79, n. 242 from Calchedon; p. 186-187, n. 616-617 and p. 188-189, n. 625, 627 from Ephesus; p. 214-215, n. 723 from Apollonia Salbake; p. 217, n. 729 from Oinoanda; p. 218, n. 731 from Nisa; p. 226-227, n. 751, 754 from Ariassus; p. 230, n. 764 from Bağlü.

20 Diod. Sic., III, 58, 3 Vogel.

21 *Ibid.*, III, 58, 1 Vogel.

22 *Orph. Argonaut.*, 21-23 Abel.

23 Herodian., *De prosod. cathol.*, I, 381 Lentz.

24 *Ibid.*, I, 322 Lentz.

25 Steph. Byz., *s.v. Kybeleia* Meineke.

26 Hesych., *s.v. Kybela* Alberti.

Following these ideas, some epithets of the Great Goddess in Asia Minor are also important. Strabo wrote that on a hill close to Lampsakos there was a sanctuary of Meter Theon called Τήρεια[27]. At the same time, the mountain of the goddess Tereia was located near Kyzikos, being known to Homer[28] and described again by Strabo[29]. Later on, Hesychius wrote that Tereia was a mountain in Troas[30]. Very clear evidence comes from some epigraphic records, too. Thus in numerous inscriptions Meter Theon was called Σιπυληνή[31], obviously a name that originated from Sipylos mountain, and in a similar way the Great Goddess was called with another mountain epiclesis: Δινδυμήνη[32] coming from Dindymon (Dindyma). Actually, this way of giving the goddess a name derived from different mountains in Asia Minor is well described by Strabo[33].

All these testimonia concerning the cults of mountain goddesses probably reflect some relations between ancient Phrygians and Thracians, and even may show that the origins of the Phrygian people lay in the Northern Balkans, as attested in literary records and recently confirmed in archaeological material from Gordion[34]. On the other hand, the Phrygian Μήτηρ Ὀρεία seems to influence strongly Greek literature and cult, most clearly attested in the image of goddess Rhea being called 'Mountain Mother'. A similar syncretic process could be traced back in the literary works of the late 5th century B.C. Thus Aristophanes[35] and Euripides[36] described Rhea (associated with Cybele) as Μήτηρ (Μάτηρ) Ὀρεία and in another Euripides' tragedy the goddess was called Ὀρεία Μάτηρ θεῶν[37]. In fact, the literary image of Rhea as a 'Mountain Mother' was probably created in the interaction zones of Asia Minor, where the idea had been borrowed from the

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[27] STRABO, XIII, 1, 17 Meineke; *cf.* A.B. COOK, *Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion.* II, Cambridge, 1925, p. 697.

[28] HOM., *Il.* II, 828-830 Ameis-Hentze.

[29] STRABO, XII, 4, 6; XIII, 1, 10 et 17 Meineke.

[30] HESYCH., *s.v. Tereia* Alberti.

[31] VERMASEREN, *o.c.* (n. 19), p. 31, n. 80 from Geveze; p. 161-163, n. 543-546, p. 164-165, n. 549-551, p. 167, n. 555, p. 169,n. 564, p. 171-172, n. 571, p. 172-173, n. 575-576, p. 174-175, n. 580, p. 175-176, n. 582-584 from Smyrna.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 81, n. 251 from Apamea Myrlea (?); p. 96, n. 290 from Cyzicus; p. 230-231, n. 765 from Çarik Saray; p.238-239, n. 791 from Laodicea Combusta; *cf.* . HERODIAN., *De prosod. cathol.*, I, 333 et 382 Lentz and STEPH. BYZ., s.v. *Dindyma* Meineke.

[33] STRABO, X, 3, 12 Meineke.

[34] L.E. ROLLER, "The Phrygian Mother Goddess and her Thracian Connections", in *Eight International Congress of Thracology. Thrace and the Aegean* (Summaries), Sofia – Yambol, 2000, p. 76-77; O.W. MUSCARELLA, "The Iron Age Background to the Formation of the Phrygian State", *BASOR* 299-300 (1995), p. 91-101.

[35] ARISTOPH., *Ornith.*, 746 Hall-Geldart.

[36] EUR., *Cret.*, fr. 472 Nauck²; *Hippol.*, 143-144 Nauck.

[37] EUR., *Hel.*, 1301-1302 Kannicht.

non-Greek people. A similar proposal might be supported by a scholion to Apollonius Rhodius[38], referring to a sanctuary of 'Ορεία Μήτηρ at Sangarios, which was described by the Greek logographer Xanthos from Lydia who lived in the 6th-5th centuries B.C. The literary image of the 'Mountain Mother' survived into the Roman Imperial period, as attested by Antistius[39]: 'Ορεία Μήτηρ θεῶν, and in the Orphic Hymns[40] where Rhea is described as Μήτηρ 'Ορειομανής. It is interesting that in another Orphic Hymn[41] Gaia was also considered in a similar way: Μήτηρ 'Ορέων, and in a later period Eusebius[42] called the goddess Παμμήτωρ 'Ορέων.

At the end of this paper, another epigraphic record should be mentioned. On a Late Hellenistic silver bowl from Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman Collection a brief inscription is incised: Κοτεους Μητρὸς 'Ορέας – in translation "Koteous [son/servant] of Mountain Mother"[43]. And although the provenance of the hoard is unknown, it is possible to suppose that the vessel comes either from Asia Minor or from ancient Thrace. In both cases however, this inscription is remarkable evidence for religious ideas and cults related to the mountain appearance of the goddess. A future comparison between the written sources mentioned here and the archaeological material may help to define more clearly the cult of the mountain goddesses in ancient Thrace and their relationship to other female deities worshiped in Asia Minor and Greece.

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38 *Schol. vet.* in Apoll. Rhod., *Argon.*, II, 722 Wendel.

39 Antist., *Ep.*, 1-2 Waltz.

40 *Orph. Hymn.* XXXI. *Hymn. curet.*, 5 Quandt.

41 *Orph. Hymn.* XV. *Dios*, 4 Quandt.

42 Euseb., *Praep. evang.* III, 9, p. 100a-105d Dindorf.

43 *A Passion for Antiquities. Ancient Art from the Collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman*, Malibu, 1994, p. 229-231; *cf.* a detailed study of the inscriptions in N. Theodossiev, "ΚΟΤΕΟΥC ΗΛΙΟΥ and ΚΟΤΕΟΥC ΜΗΤΡΟC ΟΡΕΑC", *Hermes* 129, 2 (2001), p. 279-283.

Bn. 1. 60.

THREE PUNIC INSCRIPTIONS

RE-DISCOVERED IN MALTA

EDITED WITH TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

BY THE

Rev. EMMANUEL MAGRI, S.J.

WITH THREE PLATES.

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I

Introduction

On the 5th of May 1899 I came across three inedited Punic Steles at Mgr. Canon George Falzon's residence in Floriana.

No record has been kept of the place of their original discovery. They were acquired by the Canon's brother, the late Rev. Francis Falzon, who died in 1869.

These Steles belong to the well known Tanit series, found almost so exclusively at Carthage, that the compiler or the "*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*" considers those discovered at Hadrumetum and Utica as doubtful.

The circumstances connected with their appearance at Floriana are shrouded in complete darkness, beyond the fact that Mgr. Caruana Dingli, a nephew of the late owner, positively states having seen them at home all his life. This statement, which covers the period of more than fifty-three years, would appear to throw a side light on their origin. Fifty years ago excavations for antiquities could scarcely have been undertaken by private enterprise at Carthage, as the Steles are found either buried deep in the soil, or forming part of underground constructions. The first Tanit Stelesknown to have been discovered were dug out at Malga (Malka) in 1817. Their exportation into Europe began in 1831; but there is no evidence of its having been effected, except by known antiquarians and amateurs, or by gentlemen holding official appointments from European Governments.

Before Mr. Nathan Davis discovered in 1856-58 at Byrsa, and on the spot occupied by the temple of *Juno Cœlestis* the large collection now at the British Museum, they were extremely rare. Even subsequent discoveries and respective places of preservation are carefully traced up to the year 1864. It is therefore hard to conceive how so highly valued articles could, *at the time pointed out by Mgr. Caruana Dingli*, have found their way from Carthage into an unassuming private collection at Floriana. Certainly the present owners had no idea of their value. At a later date the Tanit tablets became at the hands of the Tunisians an object of research for trading purposes, and even local collections in the Regency were partially disposed of.

On the other hand the special worship paid in Malta to the "Great Goddess" according to the common National religion of Carthage, and the Colonial connection with the Libyan continent might be urged in support of their Maltese origin. Moreover traces of "gypsum" (plaster of Paris) have been found on the back of some of the Carthaginian series (*Cor. Inscr. Semit.* 1 & 3; pag. 288); whilst on one of the Floriana tablets mortar, very like the special mixture largely used in these islands, is distinctly visible. Still, as no strictly conclusive evidence can be adduced on behalf of the latter supposition, I do not classify them for the moment with the Maltese Phœnician Inscriptions.

The Floriana Stelesare votive. They belong to that class called by the Phœnicians *Matsbat*, in Malta *Natsab* (Cf. the Maltese *nasab*, he placed, and *nasba*, a pedestal), a cippus, or pillar consisting in a stone ex-voto ("anathema") offered to the gods in token of their having "heard" the donor's prayer. (1) In this respect they do not differ from the symbolical stones found at Marsascirocco and at Rabat dedicated respectively to Baal Tsor, and to Baal Hammon. (2)

(1) A "*gift.*" See *Cor. Inscr. Semit.* No. 192.

(2) Under the form—not of a candelabrum—but of a cippus or pillar (Herodotus II, 44) was represented the deity. The "statues of Baal" set up by the idolatrous Jews are mentioned in Holy Writ by the name of Matsboth. Cf. II. Kings passim; Mich. V. 12.

POSTSCRIPT

NOTE TO PAGE 17 ON CERTAIN PASSAGES IN THE GREEK VERSION OF HANNO'S PERIPLUS

Kluge in his Notes to Hanno's Periplus (1) gives a different version of the origin of the five cities mentioned in the text.

According to the learned critic Hanno *built* only one town, Thymiaterium, and planted a colony in the isle of Cerne; the Phœnician cities named The Fort of Caricon, Gytta, Acra, Melita, and Arambys were simply *colonised* by the Liby-Phœnicians, having existed long before the great Carthaginian expedition.

It cannot be denied that Kluge's translation of the passage relating to the "foundation" of the five cities on the Atlantic is more accurate and in keeping with the verbal propriety of the Greek version, than the older one; on the other hand, I think, it will be granted, that the meaning of a previous passage in the same Greek version, viz.: "It was decreed that Hanno ... ... should *found* (i. e. build, raise, πόλεις κτίζειν) cities of the Liby-Phœnicians" must be wrestled from its natural sense in order to avoid an opposition between the avowed official object of the expedition, — the "founding" of cities of the Liby-Phœnicians, and its alleged accomplishment, viz.: the planting of a single colony (not a town), and the building of only one city, stocking others already existing with fresh colonists. In other words the Senate would never have meant to raise new cities, but simply to lodge the Liby-Phœnicians in the preexisting Phœnician stations on the Atlantic.

Moreover, another passage in the same text, "We founded the *first* city, Thymiaterium," (2) has for a similar reason to be explained away. For the adjunct "first" in this case appears to be merely an ordinal.

Nevertheless Kluge's version has been readily followed by Movers (*Phœn. II.* 2), C. Müller (*In Geog. Græc. Minor.*, Vol. I, p. 3) and Vivien de St. Martin (*Le Nord de l'Afrique dans l'antiquité grecque et romaine*). From the standpoint of these eminent authorities the explanation given above on the origin of Melita on the Atlantic is untenable. For, if Hanno's settlers found Melita, a city inhabited by their Phœnician kindred, they certainly cannot be said to have named it in honour of the mother-country of Achulla. Moreover, although the patronymic Liby-Phœnicians is strictly applicable to the Achullitans; still, in this case, we would lack a positive reason for asserting that the latter actually took part in Hanno's expedition. Thus, so far, the question of the origin of Melita would remain unsolved.

But, at all events, the case is not hopeless. That the earlier Phœnicians, crossing the Straits of Gibraltar, had established on the western coast of Mauretania cities of their own is admitted by classical and modern geographers. The event is vaguely attributed to the period of Tyre's or, even of Sidon's hegemony. The name of Melita, one of these Phœnician cities on the Atlantic, points out to a national and parental connection with the homonymous "Phœnician Colony" in the Libyan Sea (Malta), the half-way station of the Phœnician vessels bound for "Tharshish and the outer sea". Sidon claimed Malta as her own "daughter", and, later on, Tyre spread equally over her the imperial sway or protection. Consequently the origin of the city, or colony on the Atlantic may for obvious reasons be referred to Malta either thriving under Tyre's protection, or under Sidon's. In the latter case the date of its foundation would be of a very remote antiquity, ranging from the unknown period of the earlier settlements in western Mauretania to about the XI cent. B. C., when Sidon's supremacy was superseded by Tyre.

---

(1) Kluge's Ed. of *Peripl. Han.*, pag. 22 et seqq.

(2) Ἐκτίσαμεν πρώτην πόλιν.

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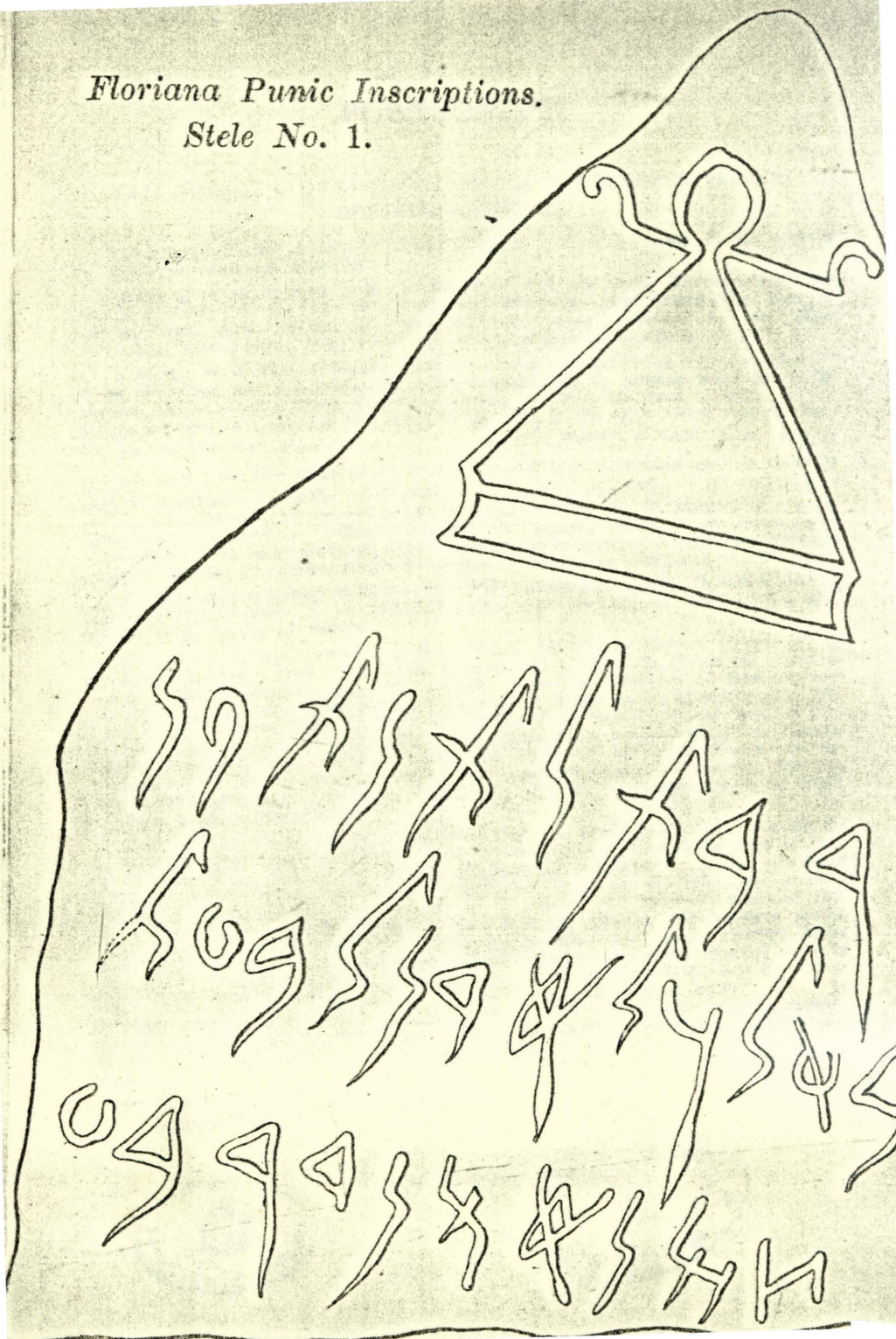
Floriana Punic Inscriptions.

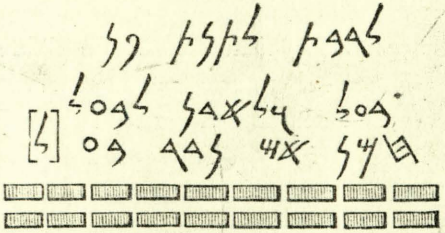
Stele No. 1.



II

Text with Translation and Notes

Stele No. 1 is 8½ in. high and 6⅝ in. at the base, about ¾ in. thick, tapering to a point at the top. But it is only a fragment broken all round, composed of a compact limestone thinly streaked with veins of purple. The front, which bears the inscription, is checkered all over, giving to the surface a wave-like appearance; whilst the sides and the back are simply hammer-dressed. On the upper part is engraved, rather carelessly, the sacred symbol of Baal; under it in three lines are thirtytwo Punic large letters in good style, and neat execution. A flourish is appended to the letter tau (as in the Gozo inscription) and to the lamed. The reading is plain and presents no difficulty. It is here rendered in the Phœnician and Hebrew letters commonly adopted by scholars, and followed by an English translation. The letter within brackets is an obvious restoration.



לרבת לתנת פן
בעל ולאדן לבעל
חמן אש נדר בע[ל]

* * * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * * *

To the Lady, to Tanit, the countenance of
Baal, and to the Lord, to Baal
Hammon, (the vow) which (1) vowed Baa [l]
* * * * * * *
* * * * * * *

רבת, (Rabbath) corresponds to Lady. Literally it means *great*, an epithet equally bestowed upon mortal women, and upon the goddesses.

תנת, (Tanith, or Tanit) is the Cathaginian deity identified with the "Juno Cœlestis," or "Virgo Cœlestis" of the Latin authors. She differed *only in name* from the female divine principle, which together with Baal her complement, or counterpart constituted the Godhead worshipped by the Phœnicians and other nations of Canaan. Considered in his sideral aspect Baal is the Sun: "Baal Shemesh"; hence his indivisible mate, the Moon, (2) was aptly called his "face" or "countenance".

The Phœnicians gave local geographical names to their common deity. Tanit is believed to be one of them. Still it cannot be said to be exclusively Carthaginian. An inscription raised at Athens over the tomb of a Sidonian, called Abdtanith *(the servant of Tanit)*, shows her worship to have been extended to Phœnicia proper. Ancient authors mention also temples dedicated to her in different places. (3)

The Greeks, who as a general rule, translated into their own language Semitic proper names, in dealing with the different aspects of the Phœnician godhead were obliged to call into contribution their exuberant myths. Hence Astarte, the female divine principle, was by them identified with Hera (Juno), and with the Eastern Artemis (Diana, or Virgo Cœlestis), a virgin goddess armed with the thunderbolt, (4) or with the lance and shield. Latin authors followed the same system. St. Augustin, a native Carthaginian, distinctly says: "Juno without any doubt is called Astarte by the Carthaginians". (5) The same identifies her with the Roman Ceres, Vesta and Venus. (6)

(1) Or what vowed ("quod vovit").
(2) Apulejus, *Metamorph.* XI, pag. 257.
(3) Cf. Trebell. Poll. in *Cels. Athen.*, XII, 58; Aristot. *Mirab. auscult.*, c. 99.
(4) See coin of Carthage struck under Septim. Severus.
(5) *Quæst. XVI in Jud.*
(6) *De Civit. Dei*, IV., 10.

Lastly on an inscription found by Sainte-Marie at Carthage, (1) she is styled "Mother," a title most fitting to Astarte, the nature-goddess, the "queen of increase and fecundity."

Juno's, i. e. Astarte's temple in Malta enjoyed a world-wide renown. A cursory glance at the autonomous coins of these islands will convince any one that the sympathies of the inhabitants lay with the "Queen of heaven" (Jer. VII. 18). Her image, either crowned and veiled, or represented as Isis, (2) bearing on her head the sacred Uraei, and the royal feathers, (3) recurs on nearly all the Maltese types, irrespective of the language of the corresponding legend; whilst Gozo delighted in representing her armed with the helmet, shield and lance, (4) and associated with her distinctive symbols, the crescent and the star.

Tanit's name in ancient monuments occurs on votive steles, and on the famous inscription from the Necropolis near St Monica's, close to Borj Djedid in Carthage. Nevertheless it has been often remarked, that allusion to her is made in the fragments of Phœnician theogony by Philo Byblius, or of Gebal, preserved by Eusebius in his *Præparatio Evangelica*. According to Philo the *Titanides (Tanitides?)* were daughters of *El* and his sister *Astarte*. Philo, a Phœnician of the I cent. of our era, wrote in Greek, presumably only translating from his native language a very ancient work by Sanchuniathon, said to have flourished long before the fall of Troy. It is however obvious that Philo treats his subject according to the later Greek Euhemeristic theory (5) on the origin of the gods. Hence the Godhead and His different names, or attributes which in the course of time came to be recognised as distinct deities, are by Philo represented as men and women, who lived in Phœnicia. *El*, one of the names of God common to all the Semites, sank, by the introduction of Polytheism, into an inferior rank. This system could not consistently conceive him without a wife. Accordingly "*Ashtaroth*" was admitted into the Phœnician

---

(1) *Corpus. Inscrip. Semit.* No. 195.
(2) One of the myths of Isis is connected with Phœnicia. See coins of Byblus.
(3) See also coins of Cossura (Pantelleria).
(4) Dr. Mayr (*Die Antiken Münzen der Inseln Malta, Gozo und Pantelleria*, Munchen, 1895) is of opinion that the figure on the reverse of the Gezo coins is a male divinity.
(5) Euhemerus flourished in the IV cent. B.C.

Pantheon as his consort, whether she be an import from Babylon, (1) or an exponent of the Canaanite idiosyncrasy of the time. (2).

Philo, as has been observed, relates that Astarte bore to El the Titanides (Tanitides ?); at the same time we find the latter (though in the singular) identified, with a slight variation in orthography, with their own mother, among the Persians, Armenians, and other nations in the East. Pausanias speaks of *Artemis Anaïtis* (3) worshipped by the Lydians. Zela was one of the chief seats of Anaïtis. Her temple is represented on an imperial coin of Septimius Severus, a Carthaginian native of Leptis Magna well known for his enthusiastic admiration for whatever is connected with Phœnicia. Clement of Alexandria (4) on the authority of Berosus relates that Artaxerses II introduced into his states the veneration of images instead of fire-worship; setting up the idol of "*Aphrodite Tanaïs* at Babylon, and other cities, and causing her to be adored by the Persians, Bactrians, and the people of Damascus and Sardes.

From Strabo may be gathered (5) how extensively the worship of the goddess had prevailed in the East.

Sallust, (6) on the authority of a Carthaginian work by king Hiempsal, relates that the Phœnicians were preceded on the continent of Libya by Medes, Persians and Armenians, who eventually settled in the country. "They mingled with the Gætulians by means of marriages, and called themselves Numidians" (7). If this account is reliable, (8) the Phœnicians found the worship of Tanaïs already established in the land close to their future metropolis. (9)

Indeed Tunis in Punic is written in the same manner as Tanaïs (תנת, Tnth), the final th being pronounced, as is often the case, as an s.

---

(1) Ishtar.

(2) The Jews call this goddess Ashtoreth, and her statues Ashtaroth; the latter word however is also used as a common noun. See in the *text* of Deut. VII, 13; XXVIII, 4, 18, 51 the equivalents of the words translated by "the flocks of thy sheep."

(3) Bk. VII. c. VI, 4.

(4) Protrep. V.

(5) XVI, 1, 4.

(6) Bell. *Jugurth.*, § 18. (7) Loc. cit.

(8) Movers rejects it altogether.

(9) "The Numo-Numidæ.... possessed that region, which being close to Carthage is called Numidia". Sallust. *ibid.*

No considerable trimming was required on their part to honour in the Lydian, or Median deity their own Ashtaroth. In fact the chief characteristics are common to both deities, Tanaïs being identified with Aphrodite and Artemis, as has been remarked before. Thus the Phœnician Baal gave up none of his rights: he remained supreme. His feminine aspect was unchanged, whether it was styled Tanith, or Ashtaroth. In both cases, it was merely his "countenance," or his "name." (1) Thus also, strictly speaking, his two aspects, the masculine and the feminine, cannot be said to have been split up into two distinct deities. And this is what puzzled foreigners, and gave rise to the formula handed down by Macrobius: "If it be a god, or if it be a goddess, under whose protectorship is the people and the city of Carthage." (2)

Astarte and Tanit have been generally taken as one and the same till the finding in 1898 of the dedicatory inscription recorded in pag. 7. From its heading, "To the goddess Ashtaroth and to the [goddess] Tanit of Lebanon, two new sanctuaries," it would appear that they were considered as two distinct deities. Hence it is that M. Philippe Berger is of opinion that they correspond respectively to Demeter and Persephone, and M. Clermont-Ganneau before him, identified two deities mentioned on a Carthaginian ex-voto with the two Greek goddesses to whom the Carthaginians raised sanctuaries in their capital in B. C. 396.

But enough has been said to enable us to come to the conclusion that this distinction is nominal. Tanit is "the face of Baal Hammon," or of the National godhead in his solar aspect. Her characteristic attributes are those of Baal's companion. The philosophical conception of Baal was too deeply rooted in the Phœnician mind to be easely affected by Hellenism. In fact the Phœnicians pretended to be superior to the Greeks "in all divine things" Poets and popular usage might indulge in local, or apparently personal distinctions, in different titles, or

(1) "Ashtaroth shem Baal." Eshmunazar's Inscription.
(2) *Saturnal*, III. 9.

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adaptations to foreign conceptions, and even in different shrines within, or round the same temple; (1) but that the Carthaginians should in latter times have given up the notion which underlies the National religious system by splitting up in two the "Great Queen of heaven," or by substituting the daughter for her mother (see pag. 7) is hard to conceive, or reconcile with the authorities quoted above.

No doubt polytheism is inconsistent; still when allied with pantheism and symbolism, it can weave anything out of the same substance, or explain away its productions, (2) as the case may be, without affecting the nature, or singleness of the same. (3)

פן בעל, *face of the Lord.* פנה, *Phaneh* is the outward appearance of things, also self, and the human face. In the first sense, "Baal's face," or "countenance" may be rendered: his external manifestation, and in the sideral meaning, his reflection. Thus Apulejus of Madaura, an African philosopher (4) cited above, addresses Tanit: "Prima Cœlitum, deorum, dearumque *facies* uniformis....cujus numen unicum, multiformi specie..... nomine multijugo totus veneratur orbis." (5)

In the third sense is used in Holy Writ in composition with El as a local name in Palestine: "And Jacob called the name of the place Phanuel, (6) saying: I have seen God face to face" (7). Two men called Phanuel are also mentioned in I. Chron.

בעל, *Baal* means lord, owner and husband. But preeminently "The Lord" is the god of Phœnicia. His name in full seems to have been: "Melkarth, Baal Tsor," that is: the King of the earth, lord of Tyre. (8)

---

(1) "Apud Africam Carthagini *Cœlestis* inesse ferebant templum nimis amplum, *omnium deorum suorum aedibus vallatum.*" St. Prosper Aquitan., Op. III. This temple was completely destroyed in A. D. 421.

(2) A man from Sidon told Pausanias (Bk. VII. 24) that according to the Phœnician belief Asclepius is the *Air*... "Apollinem igitur *qui sol ipse sit* jure patrem Asclepii perhiberi, quod accommodatum anni temporibus cursum peragens *aeris salubritatem* (Hygeia) impertiat." *Ibid.* loc. cit. Didot's Edition.

(3) Thus Apulejus (*Metamorph. XI*, loc. cit.) addresses the national deity: "Rerum natura parens, elementorum omnium domina, sæculorum progenies initialis, *summa numinum*, regina manium."

(4) "Nobilis philosophus." St. Augustin, *De Civit. Dei.*

(5) Loc. cit.

(6) *Phnuel*, God's face.

(7) Gen. XXII, 30.

(8) Malta Inscriptions, I. (Nos. 122, 122 bis, *Corp. Inscr. Sem.*)

אדן, *Adon* is lord, master.

בעל המן, *Baal Hammon* is Baal in his solar aspect (1) to whom according to *Sanchuniathon:* "When great drought came, they stretched forth their hands to heaven, towards the sun; for him they thought the only god and lord of heaven, calling him Beelsamon, (2) which in Phœnician is lord of heaven, and in Greek Zeus." (3).

Under the title of Hammon he was especially honoured in North Africa and in the Western Colonies. Two stelae dedicated to him have been found in Malta.

איש, *Ish* is a pronoun.

נדר, *Noder* is vowed. The Phœnician crew in Jonah's ship, besides sacrificing victims, *made vows* to the Lord in gratitude of having been saved from shipwreck. (4)

"Baal" is the donor's name, or most likely only a prefix to it; for the inscription ends here. Its incompleteness is greatly to be regretted as it precludes the possibility of knowing those particulars which are generally expressed on votive stelae, viz; the donor's pedigree and social position, and at times, even the motives of his oblation. A deprecatory formula generally expressed by such words: as—

כשמע קלא
תברכא
כשמע קלא

"Ubi audiverit ejus vocem, ei benedicat," (5); or "Lors qu' il a entendu leurs voix, il les a benis;" or simply, "Ubi audiverit vocem ejus," (6) is always appended to these inscriptions.

This inscription was engraved before the fall of Carthage. Its epigraphy bears unmistakable evidence of the halcyon days of Punic calligraphy: prolonged legs elegantly curved, the flourish on the lamed and tau, bold and neat execution. The extreme limits of the use of the latter Phœnician alphabet, properly so called, are from 350

(1) Hammah, poetically is the sun. See Job XXX, 28; Cant. VI, 10.
(2) Baal Shamin.
(3) "*History of Phœnicia*" Op. cit. apud. Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* Lib. I.
(4) Jon. I, 6.
(5) Gesenius, *Monum. Phœn.* passim.
(6) M. de Saulcy on the twin Maltese cippi.

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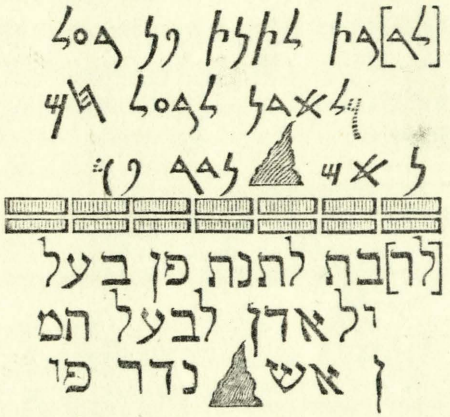
to 150, or 100 B.C. It is not easy to determine how much longer it lingered in the colonies.

Stele No. 2 is also a fragment of the same checkered material as the preceding, measuring $6\frac{5}{8}$ in. by nearly 5 in. at the base, and $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. in thickness. The letters are smaller, neatly engraved, and disposed in three lines. Its contents are:



* * * * * *
* * * * * *
* * * * * *

Which may be rendered in English :

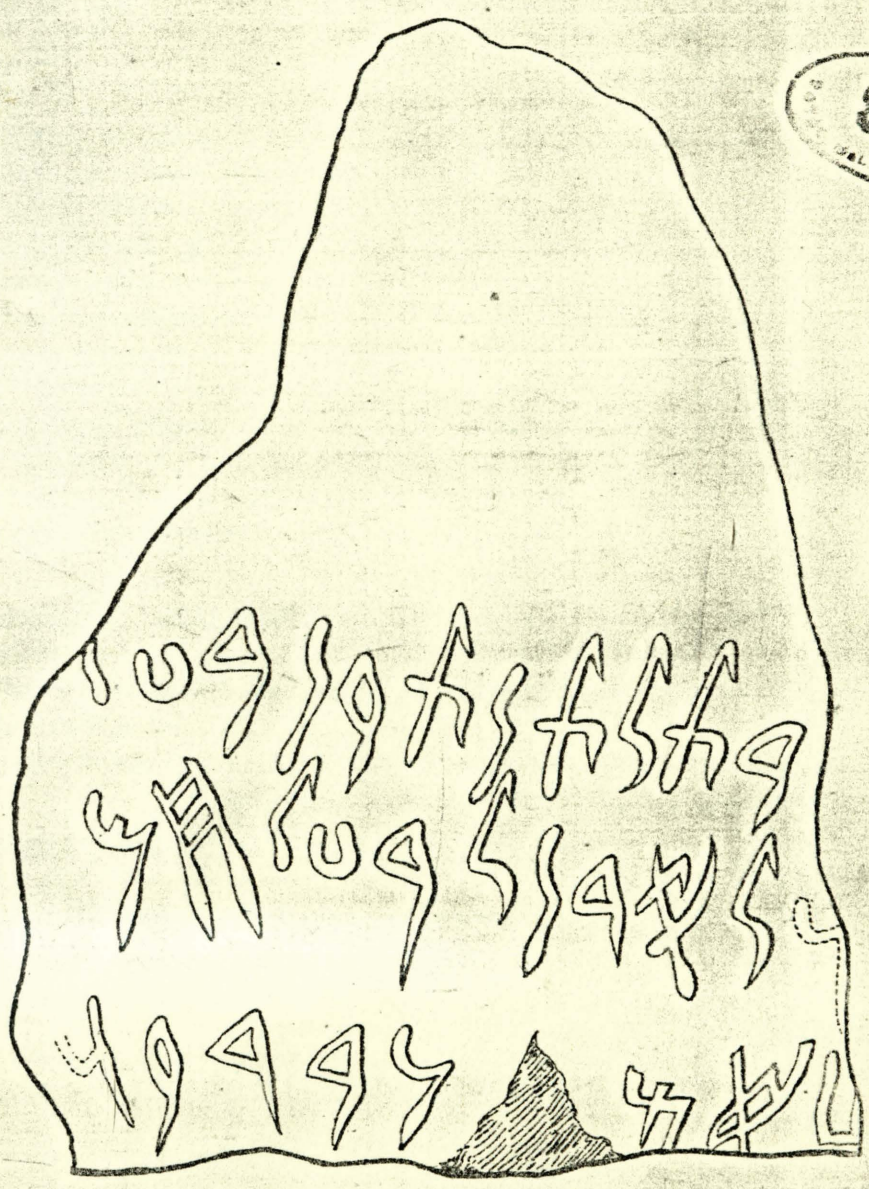
[To the La]dy, to Tanit, the countenance of Baal,
And to the Lord, to Baal Hamm—
on ? (the vow) which vowed Py...

* * * * * *
* * * * * *
* * * * * *

At the end of the second line the letters heth and mem are certain; they should be followed by a nun to complete the word Hamon (Hammon). It is practically certain that the nun was engraved at the beginning of the next line, although what appears on the stone is only a faint representation of the upper portion of an almost straight letter bent at its centre towards the right. According to general usage the latter would correspond to a lamed, and not to a nun. This objection may be heightened by the consideration that the engraver distinguishes with the utmost care his nuns from the lameds, and gives to all his

Floriana Punic Inscriptions.

Stele No. 2.



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letters a slanting position. If then the letter in question is a lamed, the reading should be altered thus :—

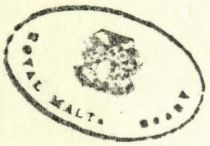
. . . . . to Baal Hamm [on]

To Esh (?) (1).....vowed Py.....

* * * * * *

* * * * * *

* * * * * *



Nevertheless a) the upper portion of a nun is sometimes unduly prolonged, and what is still visible on the stone running to the right may be an arc (2) of the curve required to complete the middle portion of a nun; b) the space between the word אש (which) and נדר (vowed) obviously has been left void by reason of a depression on the stone ; the more so that there is not the slightest trace of engraving to the right of the depression, what would almost be an impossibility in the contrary supposition, as on the space covered by the depression the two letters aleph and shin ("which"), absolutely required by the context, could not have been engraved, at least to a size in keeping with the rest. Consequently the former reading, in conformity with the stereotyped formula of the Tanit inscriptions, ought to be retained.

The donor's name is expressed only by two letters. The rest is wanting. The former letter is a pe; of the latter only a long stroke is clearly discernible: the remainder looks like the complement of a vau. Consequently we have: Py.... It may be restored, and derived with Gesenius from Phomat, rendered in Greek: Pymatos. A man of Citium, a Phœnician settlement in Cyprus, bore that name.

This tablet is only the upper portion of a Stele broken on all sides. As this kind of steles is at the utmost about 20 in. high, the missing portion possibly measured 13 in. in length. (3) Their upper part either terminates in an acute angle, or in an pedimental form with elevations at the corners ("Acroteria").

---

(1) Fire, brightness of fire; (whole-burnt sacrifice). See Numidian Inscriptions, Gesen. VI & VII.

(2) Or a straight line. The middle portion of a nun is often a straight line.

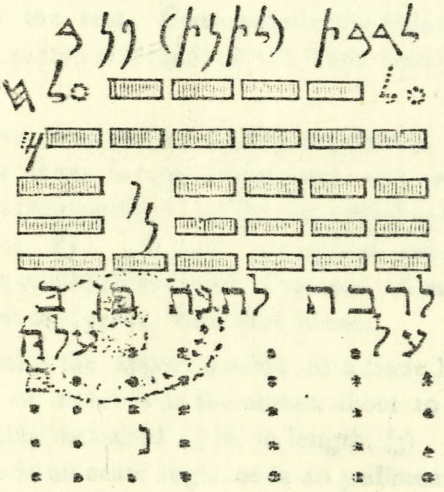
(3) Other steles vary in size generally from 5 to 12½ in. in height; from 4 to 7 in. in width, and from 1½ to 4 in. in thickness.

The remarks made on the age of the previous inscription apply with greater reason to the present.

Stele No. 3 consists of a fine limestone 12 in. high (at the back $14\frac{1}{8}$ in.) by 5 in. at the base, varying in thickness from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 in. The top of the upper part which terminated in a pedimental form with acroteria at the corners is mutilated, and the remaining surface has partially peeled off, leaving however in a state of almost perfect preservation a winged globe flanked by two uræi, the Phœnician sacred symbol of the divinity. Under it within a panel, was engraved with the utmost neatness and precision the inscription. But the stone within the panel has also peeled off, with the exception of the upper portion of the first line, and of a few odd letters. The remainder of the tablet is ornamented with heart mouldings. The base is also mutilated.

The remaining contents of the inscription may be restored, the letters within bracktes being visible on the stone only in part.

Read accordingly :



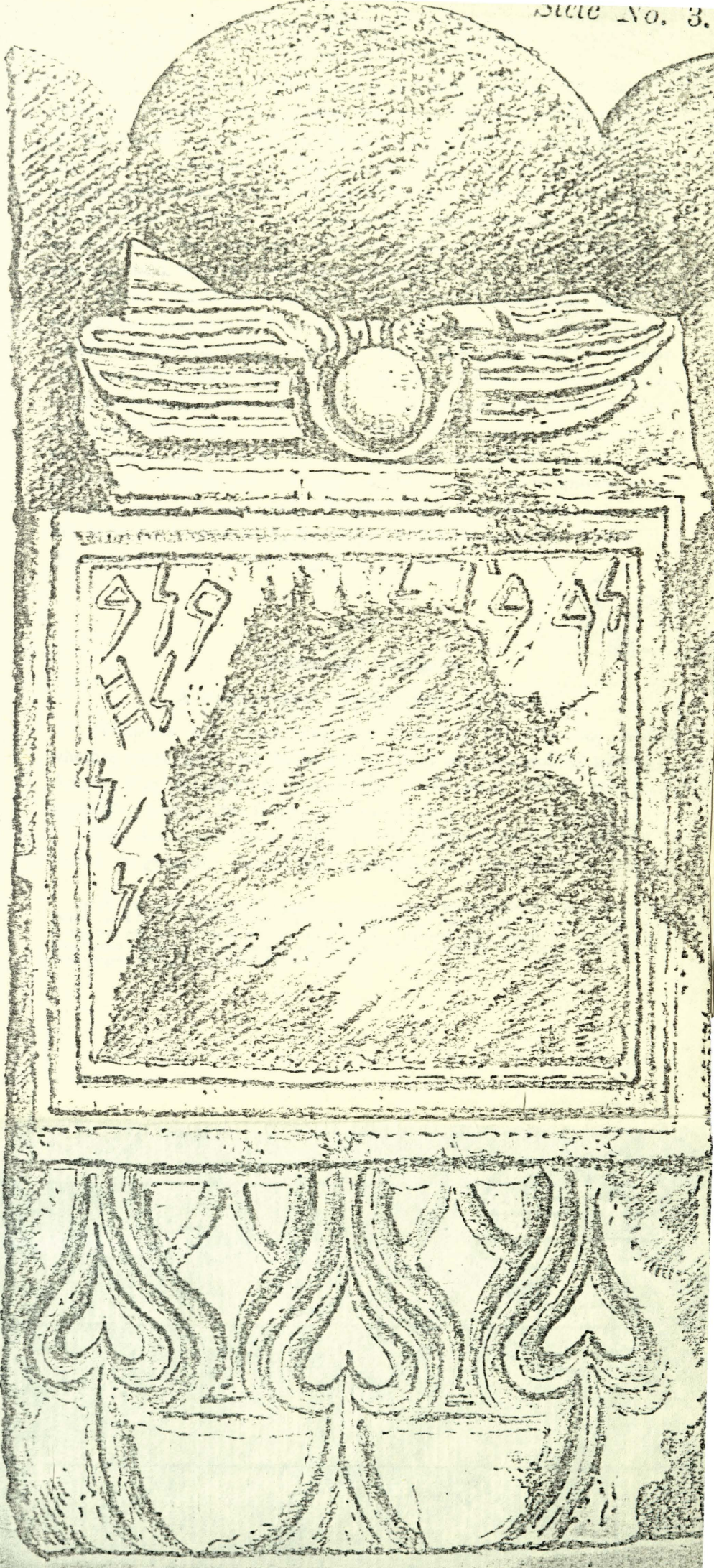
Which may be translated :—

To the Lady, to Tanit the countenance of Ba-

[al] * * * * [Baa] l Ha-

[mon ?] * * * * * * m

* * * * * * *



There can be no doubt on the nature of this tablet. The heading of the inscription is identical with the preceeding two; but the total loss of the sequel is greatly to be regretted, as this stele is not only one of the best specimens of Punic paleography, but in its ornamental mouldings bears evidence of a taste very rarely to be met with in works of this kind. Art in votive Carthaginian steles remained uncouth and stationary to the very last; whilst epigraphy and its neat workmanship rose and sank with the fortunes of the nation.

Votive sacred art therefore is not a test of Carthaginian skill. In civil art the daughter of Tyre was second to none. Her glorious relics, which escaped the savage rivalry of Rome, now grace many Museums. We have suffered, and still suffer our share—and it was a prominent one —(1) to be scattered to the winds. Only to quote one example, about four years ago a lady hailing from Malta called upon the manager of the Museum of Palermo to show him a Phœnician Inscription. The gentleman was absent. As soon as the fact came to be known, every possible research was made by the Directors of the Museum to find the lady; but it proved unsuccessful. It may be taken for granted that the stone has not found its way back to Malta.

III

Historical Remarks

A Continental Dependency of Malta

Whatever may have been the origin of the Floriana Steles, whether they were set up in a local, or in the metropolitan temple of Astarte, they belong to the time of the Punic wars, one of the most eventful periods in the history of these islands.

Our historians have touched very lightly upon the Carthaginian period in general. In fact they appear to have completely overlooked

(1) Cf. *Descriptio Melitæ* by Br. Quintin, Secretary to Grand Master Villiers de l' Isle-Adam. *Manos. Inediti No. XVII*, at the P. Lib., Valletta.—The image of Juno (Astarte) in solid gold, weighing over 200 French lbs., and the two crystal sphinxes resting on balls of polished jasper, placed at the sides of it in the great temple of Malta, were carried away with the treasure of the temple by Gader, a pirate. Cf. A. Thevet, *Cosmographie Univ.*, C. XII, pag. 25, Paris 1575.

two leading events illustrative not only of the political, but also of the religious and national relations of Malta with the Liby-Phœnician continent and the State of Carthage.

As they both bear upon the subject of this paper, I will detail them as briefly, as possible.

The first is the planting of a Maltese colony and state on the shore of the Byzacene province of Africa in "Syrtica" "between Thapsus (1) and Ruspæ (2)" (Ptolomy), or "not far from the Syrtis, 120 stadia (15 miles) from Salipota" (3), corresponding to 35° 6′ or 8′ N. lat. (circ.)

The Greek and Latin classics called it Acholla, or Acola, or Cholla, or Achilla, or Acilla, and even Aquila; but on coins is undoubtedly Achulla. Scholars do not agree as to its real Phœnician name, whether it be *Kir* (a city, a fortified place), or *Aclah* (provisions, such as wheat), or *Agulla* (round); whilst the appellation of *El 'Aliah* (4) (high), by which its extensive ruins are at present styled, although very likely preexisting to the Arab invasion, still is far from being a clue for settling the question.

It is Stephen of Byzantium who handed down that "Acholla is a colony of the Maltese." (5) Although Stephen wrote his *Ethnica* and *Dictionary of Geography and History* as late as the end of the fifth cent. A.C.; still he is justly held to be the faithful exponent of the geographical and historical lore of the ancients. Müller, treating on the coins of Achulla, (6) endorses his authority; and Mr. Barclay-Head in his standard work on Greek Numismatics, wrote: "Achulla, a colony from the island of Melite." (7) The same countermark on the coins of Achulla and Hadrumetum, (8) both struck during the Roman dominion, show that our colony had a special and political connection

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(1) A city now in ruins, not far from Bekalta, about 8 miles from Medea (Mehdiah, or Africa) in the Regency of Tunis.

(2) Now Sbeah, a little way from Kapoudia. The quotation from Ptolomy, and the following authority refer only to the respective distance from the capital city.

(3) *Stadismos Magni Maris*, No. 100. The latter city is Alipota ('Alphth), and not Salipota.

(4) Also: *Kasr el 'Aliah* (Ghalia).

(5) Ἄχολλα Ἄποικος Μελιταίων (s.v.) Stephen's works are lost; but we have still a valuable synopsis of them by Hermolaus, a Greek grammarian of the times of the emperor Justinian.

(6) *Numismatique de l'Afrique Ancienne*, II, p. 43.

(7) *Historia Numorum*, pag. 736. Oxford, 1887.

(8) The capital of Byzacene, situated about 82 miles from Carthage.

with the chief city in the province of Byzacium. Thus Malta, owing especially to a custom strictly adhered to by the Phœnicians, was placed, even under the Romans, in close touch with the land where Tanit was honoured. For the colonies ever kept a dutiful, religious and permanent communication with the parent state. In our case vicinity and a brisk trade contributed to tighten such mutual relations.

What is known of the history and ruins of the city and state of *Achulla* will be related in another paper.

The second historical fact mentioned above is recorded in *"Hanno's Periplus."* "Hanno, commander of the Carthaginians", thus he writes in his "Voyage round parts of Libya beyond the pillars of Hercules":— "It was decreed by the Carthaginians that Hanno should sail beyond the Pillars of Hercules (the Straits of Gibraltar), and found cities of the Liby-Phœnicians. Accordingly he sailed..... and a multitude of men and women to the number of 30,000, and provisions and other equipment".

.....

"After we had gone..... beyond the lakes (north of Wady Draa in Mauretania), we founded cities near the sea, of which the names were The Fort of Caricon, Gytta, Acra, Melita, and Arambys."

Hanno's Periplus exists only in a Greek MS. in the Library of Heidelberg, and it was first published in 1533.

Bochart was of opinion that the names of the cities mentioned in the MS. are Phœnician "parce detorta"; but it is generally held that they are Greek translations, (1) or in some cases adaptations, that of Melita, with which the Greeks at the time of the event were already familiar, and perhaps of Gytta, being excepted. (2)

Although the Greek text has Melitta (3) and Hecatæus wrote

(1) *Geographi Graeci Min.*—*Not. in Hannonem*, Edit. Oxon.
(2) Gesenius, *Monum. Phœnic*, sub v. Gytte.
(3) This form renders better the Semitic מלטה, Malitah; the letter teth being equivalent to an emphatic t (Gesen. *Lex. Man. Heb.* s.v.), is conveniently expressed in Greek by a double t. The Greeks however disregarded such an accuracy: thus the authors of the Septuagint in dealing with the same letter teth, are satisfied with a single t.

Melissa; still scholars suggest Melite, or Melita as the most likely reading. (1)

The position of Melita has not been determined with certainty. Starting from Solœis (Cape Cantin), Hanno proceeded half-a-day's journey till he reached a lake lying not far from the sea. After he had gone a day's sail beyond the lakes, he founded the five cities already mentioned. Sailing from the last one he came to the Lixus, the modern Wady Draa. (2) As Acra stood on the river Subus at Lat. N. 30°, 29'., (3) the next city, Melita, was consequently further south, somewhere at the foot of mount Dyrim, known by the Greeks as Atlas Megas or the Great Atlas, on the western coast of the Atlantic.

A new city called Melita, or Melite founded by Phœnician settlers, can only refer to Malta and its inhabitants, as the founders had no national connection with the other Melitæ mentioned by Greek authors. A different explanation drawn from Phœnician etymology, (4) and based upon a possible similarity in the aspect of the place and of old Melita, is unwarranted and too far fetched.

Moreover the consideration of the ethnic origin of the majority of the colonists will lead almost to the same conclusion.

The Phœnicians settled on the shores of the second and third basin of the Mediterranean were called Liby-Phœnicians in contradistinction to the Syro-Phœnicians, (5) who lived in Phœnicia proper. However, in the present case, there was no reason why the Senate of Carthage should make use of such a distinction. Consequently the determination related in Hanno's Periplus had reference to a peculiar class of subjects who were called Liby-Phœnicians in a still stricter sense, being the offspring of Phœnicians married with Libyans. (6) The chief seat of the latter was round lake Triton in the Lesser

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(1) "Ceterum rectius scribendum Melite puto, collato nomine Melitæ insulæ, quæ item Phœnicum colonia fuit". Op. cit., *Not. in Hannon.*, Hudson's edit.

(2) *Periplus.* l. c.

(3) Kiepert, *Orbis terrarum tabula geografica.* Ed. emendata.

(4) V. g. *Melet*, mortar (Jer. XLIII. 9.); hence μάλθη, maltha. — "Proprie... Melitta significat calicatam urbem" Bochart.

(5) Mark VII, 26.

(6) Polyb. III, 33 & 13; Ptol. IV. 3.

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Syrtis. (1) The petty Phœnician states on the S.W. coast were conterminous with the Libyan territory properly so called. Hen the course of time the inhabitants of Byzacene were by reaso intermarriage called Liby-Phœnicians. (2) A portion, at least, o Maltese colonists of Achulla in southern Byzacene, was conseque strictly included under the same denomination of Liby-Phœnicians.

It remains to be ascertained whether Melita on the Atlantic its name directly to Achulla, or, in some way or other, to an influe section of emigrants of pure Maltese origin, who as Western Phœni from an important and sea-fearing senior state in alliance Carthage, (3) would find special favour and official protection i new settlement, since the Metropolis is known to have regarde Liby-Phœnicians by birth with extreme jealousy and distrust. (4)

Achulla is believed to have been founded at a remote antic long before its mother-country became a dependency of Carthage and Hanno's expedition, as the following considerations will show, place early in the VI cent. B. C. As colonists give names to their settlements after those of their old homes; it is hard to infer that Achullitans (unless perchance they continued to call themselves Malt after the lapse of long centuries, would, of their own accord, p the old mother-country to their own in giving the name to the settlement. (6)

This is all that can be said without entering into the doma conjectures. We lack positive data. The only known, but very re link at our disposal, is an inscription preserved in the Museum, o

(1) Pseudo-Scylax in *Periplo*, cap. *Lotophagi*.

(2) Plin. v, 4; Justin. *Cod.* I. 27. 2. See also Strabo.

(3) After the decline of Tyre, Carthage in the VI cent. B.C. rallied together with complete the Western Phœnicians against the encroachments of the Hellenes, the common national foes a competitors in commerce. Their mutual political ties were at first federal; but at the hands of the republic, alliance became protection, which eventually drifted into dominion.

(4) In sending out Libyan, or Liby-Phœnician colonies, the State took care that a number of *Ph* citizens should permanently join the expedition. Diod. XIII, 79.

(5) Movers, Phœn., II, 2; Müller, Op. cit., II, pag. 43.

(6) One of the Kerkenna Islands to the S. of Kapoudia is *Melita* (al. Mellita), the Cerc Strabo and Pliny. It appears that no ancient author Greek, or Latin ever designated it by such Sir Grenville Temple called it *Gherba*; but the latest charts, drawn according to information French Government have Melita. Lindberg is of opinion that the countermark *Kir* on the coins of belongs to Cercina Island, the largest of the group. But in any case, a political connection of the Roman period, could hardly be stretched to the VI century B. C.

Valletta Public Library, containing the words ΑΘΛΑΣ (sic) ΜΕΓΑΣ in archaic, or rather in pseudo-archaic letters written from right to left *(retrograde)* between a star and a trident. The star is a well recognized distinctive characteristic of Phœnician monuments; whilst the trident points to a sea-town, or what practically comes to the same thing, is a symbol of a marine deity. If really the inscription be genuine and can be referred to a remote antiquity, we would have a feeble, but plausible local allusion to Melita, a sea-town on the Atlantic ocean, and on the *Atlas Megas*, i. e. the Greater Atlas range.

At all events in the almost complete lack of details in our ancient history, Hanno's narrative is a flood of light. Hanno is supposed to have been either the father, or the son of Hamilcar who lost the battle of Himera in B. C. 480. It is not at all likely that Carthage after a threefold reverse by which she lost her cavalry and chariots, 300,000 troops, (1) and 3,000 vessels of war and commerce, would undertake such a wholesale expedition, as is described by Hanno. The latter therefore must have been Hamilcar's father. In this case the date of the founding of Melita on the Atlantic would be about B. C. 520.

It thus follows that the destinies of the Maltese colonists were linked with those of Carthage at that early date; that Achulla had at the time a surplus population; and lastly, that the city or island of Malta was held in such high consideration that of the six new cities, (2) one was called after her name.

It follows likewise, that the landmarks of the history of Malta can no longer be confined within the boundaries of these shores. They may still be widened by further research, leading to discoveries that might bridge over some of the many chasms in our ancient history. The ruins of Achulla are to this day a virgin soil, and many existing antiquities in Malta are either practically unknown, or buried in the ground. It is, therefore, only reasonable—at least—strongly to impress the advisability of protecting those public and private monuments in these

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(1) Federal and Auxiliary Forces.
(2) Thymiaterium, is another city founded by Hanno, not mentioned in my quotation from his Periplus.

islands which are fast disappearing by the hands of unprincipled tomb breakers, and treasure seekers.

Lastly, let us trust that the Floriana Steles may ever remain as well preserved, as they are at present, either by intelligent collectors of antiquities, or better still, in a local Museum.

The Right Rev. Mgrs. Canons Falzon, and Caruana Dingli have kindly consented to allow me to take a gypsum ectype of their Punic Inscriptions, which I shall forward to the Museum of the Public Library.

Trade or diplomacy? Assyria and Dilmun in the eighteenth century BC

Jesper Eidem and Flemming Højlund

Introduction

A special characteristic of Mesopotamian archaeology is the potentially high degree of convergence between documentary and other evidence. Excavations of sites and levels post-dating c. 3000 BC often produce cuneiform inscriptions *in situ*, prominently on clay tablets and occasionally in great numbers in the shape of archives or libraries. It has long been recognized that this feature is of great value for comprehensive analysis of specific data sets, but recent studies also suggest that Mesopotamian examples could be used to test some historical assumptions made for other regions where no comparable documentary evidence is available (Kramer 1977). Obviously this situation calls for complementary expertise, individual or collective, and such is increasingly being applied in research on ancient Mesopotamia (cf. Postgate 1990).

Moving outside Mesopotamia proper, however, especially to the east and south, the degree of convergence between documentary and other data generally decreases and takes on a different character. In Iran and in eastern Arabia epigraphic finds remain rare until the late first millennium BC; on the other hand these regions to some extent are documented in Mesopotamian sources. As a consequence the expertise needed to deal with the convergence is harder to muster, and some confusion may result. In this short paper we shall examine one possible case of such confusion and suggest how to resolve it by a complementary approach.

Our example concerns relations between Mesopotamia and areas of eastern Arabia, i.e. Kuwait, north-eastern Saudi Arabia and Bahrain, which in cuneiform sources were referred to as Dilmun, although the exact extent of the area thus named clearly varied through time. Dilmun appears in Mesopotamian sources virtually from the very beginning of writing in the late fourth millennium BC and continues to figure as a place from which important trade goods arrived in Mesopotamia, either goods coming from the Arabian peninsular or in transit from regions further away like the Indus Valley (Heimpel 1987). The mechanics of these trade relations are variously, but generally, poorly documented. The best evidence stems from the early second millennium BC, when cuneiform records found in city-states of lower Mesopotamia record how traders went to Dilmun and brought back products like copper, carnelian and ivory ultimately deriving from Oman and India.

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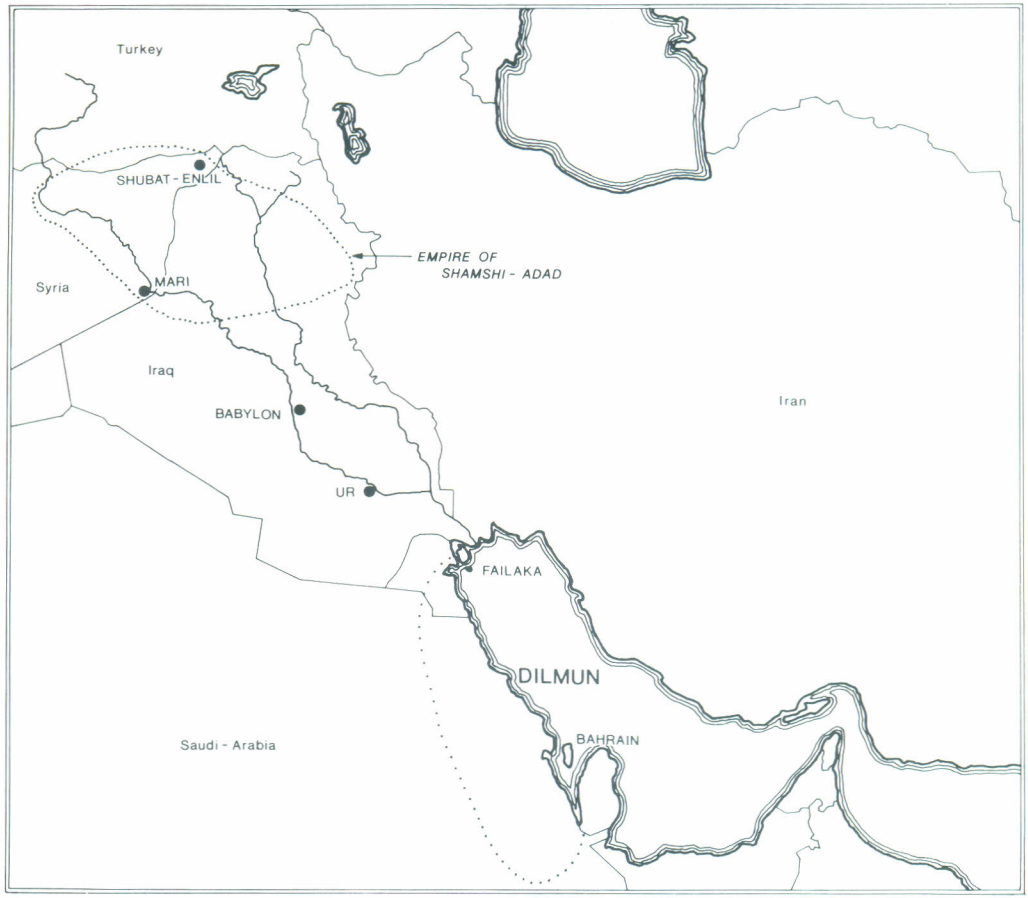

Figure 1 Map showing location of sites and areas discussed in text. The extent of the empire of Shamshi-Adad can be plotted fairly accurately from epigraphic finds, while the extent of a Dilmun state, archaeologically defined, is more uncertain.

Having reached Mesopotamia goods from Dilmun could obviously spread over wider areas of Iraq, Syria and beyond by way of further transit trade, but there is no firm evidence for any direct trade routes between Dilmun and these areas – or is there?

In the early eighteenth century BC the north Mesopotamian king Shamshi-Adad I (c. 1813–1781) created a large but short-lived empire encompassing virtually all of present day northern Iraq and north-eastern Syria (Fig. 1). This empire is best known from the large archives of letters and administrative records found in the city of Mari (Tell Hariri) on the mid-Euphrates, where Shamshi-Adad had installed his son Jasmah-Addu as viceroy (Charpin and Durand 1985). From these archives comes a small group of texts which refer to direct contacts between the kingdom of Shamshi-Adad and Dilmun. These contacts have traditionally been interpreted in the light of the well-known trading activity between Dilmun and Mesopotamia, and it has been assumed that they reflect a pattern of direct

trade between Dilmun and northern Syria (Butz 1983; Potts 1986; Potts 1990: 228ff.). But is this a necessary conclusion to draw from the evidence?

Long-distance trade was a common enough phenomenon in the ancient Near East in this period but generally featured a series of interconnected circuits each more or less monopolized by individual city-states or kingdoms (Larsen 1987). In this context Dilmun seems to have operated as emporium for goods deriving from further down the Gulf and from the Indus area, and as the point of transfer for the import of such goods into southern Mesopotamia, but transport to areas further away is more likely to have belonged to other circuits. Therefore the Mari evidence as hitherto understood seems strangely out of place and invites search for a different interpretation.

The evidence from Mesopotamia

The texts from Mari consist of three letters exchanged between Shamshi-Adad and his son Jasmah-Addu which discuss 'expeditions' and 'envoys' moving between Dilmun, Babylon, Mari and Shubat-Enlil (Tell Leilan), the north Syrian residential city of Shamshi-Adad. In addition to the letters we also have a small administrative note which records an issue of oil sent as a present for the king of Dilmun. This small corpus has recently been re-edited and supplemented with two new letters from the vast number of still unpublished Mari tablets (Groneberg 1992). This allows a closer examination of the evidence, and it appears that all six texts fit into the context of just one single contact between the kingdom of Shamshi-Adad and Dilmun. It follows that the direct contact between Syria and Dilmun could have been incidental and related to a specific event rather than a regular pattern of trade. Letters of this kind are unfortunately rarely dated; thus conclusive proof for such a theory cannot be obtained, but the contents do merge to form a coherent 'story'.

In what we think must be the earliest letter (Groneberg 1992: no. 4) Jasmah-Addu at Mari writes to Babylon to ensure the safe conduct of the 'expedition' which Shamshi-Adad had sent to Dilmun, and which is now returning. The next letter (no. 5) was also sent from Jasmah-Addu, who reports to his father that an 'expedition' has arrived from Dilmun with high-ranking envoys and accompanied by the envoys which Shamshi-Adad had sent to Dilmun. It also provides the information that after these people have rested at Mari, they will proceed to Shubat-Enlil. The remaining letters were sent by Shamshi-Adad, who first complains to his son that a single Dilmun envoy has been left behind at Mari (no. 2), and then relates that the Dilmun envoys will leave Shubat-Enlil and return south via Mari where Jasmah-Addu must supply them with an escort and provisions (no. 3). Finally Shamshi-Adad instructs his son to give the envoys a special, ornate jar with oil for the Dilmun king (no. 6), thus providing a clear link with the administrative note recording an issue of oil for this same king (no. 1).

From this brief review it will readily be apparent that the two texts recently published (5 and 6) provide key information which allows the proposed sequence, while previously the available sources could be interpreted as random documentation of more regular or repeated contact. Another problem in these texts, which has led to confusion, is the correct translation of the word here rendered 'expedition' (*harrānum*), previously

misleadingly translated 'caravan' (so also in Groneberg 1992), a mistake deriving both from the opaqueness of text no. 4 – and from the underlying assumption that trade was involved.

Instead, the whole story seems certain to involve a purely diplomatic event where the word 'expedition' refers to a travelling corps of envoys and their retainers. Unfortunately the texts deal exclusively with the logistics of the diplomatic contact and not with its substance, which could have been, for instance, establishment of a trade agreement. Fortunately, however, the administrative note (no. 1) is dated as was usual, and shows that the texts belong to a very late phase of Shamshi-Adad's reign when he had reached the height of his career. It may be against this background that the contact with Dilmun should be viewed.

In recent years it has become increasingly clear that towards the end of his reign, Shamshi-Adad posed himself as a successor of the immensely successful Old Akkadian kings, who in the late third millennium BC had created the first Mesopotamian empire (Galter 1986). The contact with Dilmun may perhaps be linked to this imperial ideology. In a long official inscription (Grayson 1987: 47ff.) Shamshi-Adad refers to himself as 'king of the universe' and boasts of having received tribute from the kings of Tukrish – a reference to areas to the east of his empire in Iran – and from a 'king of the upper country', i.e. from areas north of the empire perhaps in southern Anatolia. Finally he boasts of having put up his steles in Lebanon in the far west. Thus the information in this inscription brings us to three of the 'four corners of the world' in the Mesopotamian idiom, and from archival texts, mainly those excavated in Mari, it is clear that Shamshi-Adad's boast is based on real events, events which relate to a late phase of his reign (Charpin and Durand 1985: 310–19).

This takes us south to Dilmun, where ideological ambitions may have been a main propellant for diplomatic contacts. By exchanging envoys with the king of Dilmun Shamshi-Adad had reached out to all four corners of the known world and came close to the model set by the Old Akkadian empire-builder Sargon who, among many other things, claimed that 'he made ships from Meluhha (the Indus Valley), Magan (Oman) and Dilmun anchor at the dock of Akkade' (Gelb and Kienast 1990: 163ff.). In this context it is noteworthy that similar contacts with Dilmun kings reappear again in Mesopotamian royal inscriptions only in the first millennium BC, when the most powerful Neo-Assyrian kings, from Sargon through to Assurbanipal (eighth–seventh century BC), all mention tribute sent by Dilmun kings. Shamshi-Adad did not perhaps survive the contact with Dilmun long enough for it to have been mentioned in any of his official inscriptions, but in theory we could expect this to have been planned – as the fulfilment of his claim to be a true successor of Sargon.

If the Mari evidence, then, may not prove the existence of a regular, direct trade between Dilmun and Syria, it cannot be excluded that the contact involved an attempt to establish such a route bypassing pre-existing transit routes. Judging by the absence of further documentation, however, such an effort, if it occurred, would seem to have met with little or very incidental success. Moreover, if Shamshi-Adad's main objective in exchanging envoys with Dilmun was ideological, we must ask what possible gain there was in this for the Dilmunites. Such a question can only be approached if we consider what Dilmun was and what Dilmun society was like at this time.

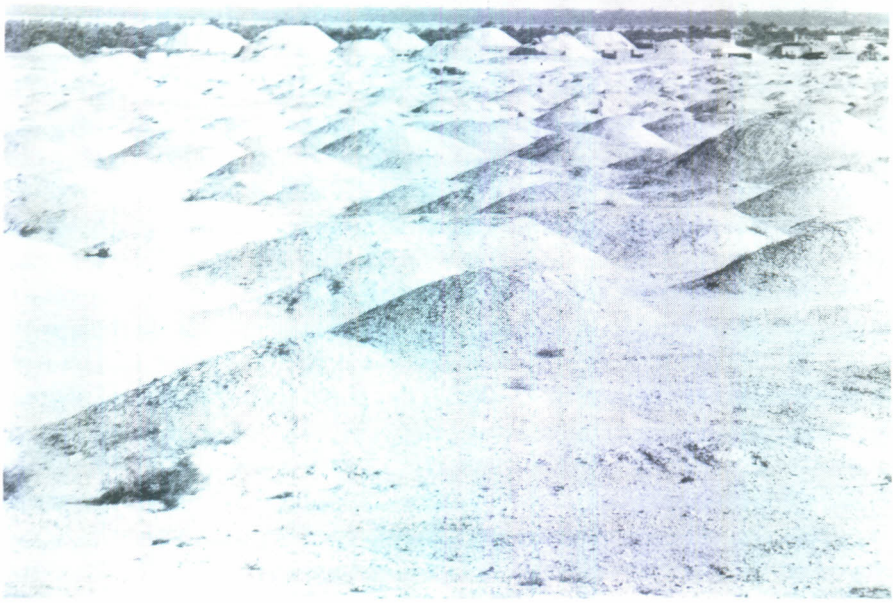

Plate 1 Burial mound field in Bahrain. In foreground normal-sized mounds, in background 'Royal' mounds.

The evidence from Dilmun

Throughout most of the third millennium BC the archaeological evidence from Kuwait, the eastern province of Saudi Arabia and Bahrain presents a very uniform picture: the burial mounds are small and relatively simple; the settlements are small and apparently unfortified; no temples have been discovered; though the area was obviously involved in long-distance trade neither stamp nor cylinder seals were used; kitchen ware was produced in the household, whereas other types of storage vessels and fine wares were imported from Mesopotamia and Oman. Altogether, the archaeological material seems to reflect a rather simple social structure.

In the twenty-first century BC, however, dramatic changes took place. Bahrain now replaced the eastern province of Saudi Arabia as the centre of Dilmun. At Qala^{c}at al-Bahrain, on the northern shore of Bahrain, a small trading station was turned into a city of fifteen hectares, fortified with a stone wall; temples were built at several places in the northern well-watered part of the island; stamp seals came into use; foreign pottery slowly

disappeared and was replaced by newly developed local types manufactured by professional potters; a number of well-defined, bounded burial mound fields containing eventually more than 100,000 mounds were initiated; one of these, situated in the centre of the inhabited part of Bahrain, features a group of gigantic burial mounds up to 25m in height, which must represent a ruling lineage (Plate 1). This complex of new cultural elements continues to characterize Dilmun for several centuries and may be interpreted as the material expression of state formation there (Højlund 1989).

The first phase of the Dilmun kingdom, dated to c. 2050–2000 BC, reveals a considerable influence from the Indus civilization. For instance, when sealing procedures were institutionalized the stamp seal was chosen as in the Indus Valley, instead of the cylinder seal used in Mesopotamia. Moreover, the iconography of the seals shows some similarity with Indus seals. The weight system of Dilmun together with the actual shapes of the weight stones (Bibby 1969: 354) is identical with the Indus system and taken over from there. Indus pottery is not uncommon among the finds from settlements and burials in Bahrain, and local pottery reveals some influence from the Indus, especially in its painted decoration. The only inscribed objects found in Dilmun from this period are stamp seals with Indus script. Two such seals and an Indus grafitto have been found at Qala^{c}at al-Bahrain, and from burials in Bahrain we have two more stamp seals with Indus inscriptions. These seals have been interpreted as belonging to Indus traders residing in Dilmun, but it is perhaps equally likely that in this period the Dilmunites used the Indus script for their own purposes (Højlund, in press).

In the next phase of the Dilmun kingdom, from around 2000 BC, the strong south-eastern impress on Dilmun seems to decrease and is replaced by a north-western influence. This was the period when west-Semitic groups known as Amorites gained political power in Mesopotamia. A number of texts found in southern Mesopotamia now mention Amorite names in relation to Dilmun; such texts often have to do with trade. The cuneiform script is now found in Dilmun, and the few extant inscriptions from both Failaka and Bahrain contain names that are clearly Amorite. The Amorite presence in Dilmun may perhaps be seen in the radical change in stamp seal iconography, which takes place around 2000 BC (Plate 2). The new seal motifs, which reflect rituals and mythological figures, have close parallels in Syria and Anatolia, and this has prompted the suggestion that Dilmun had a relationship, other than one involving trade, with some ethnic element

Plate 2 Dilmun seal from Failaka with offering table above podium, flanked by bull-men.

in Syria (Buchanan 1965: 207; Kjærum 1986: 269, 275). It is not unlikely that it was the Amorites who were responsible for the change in seal iconography, and it seems that Amorites may have gained importance, perhaps even dominance, in Dilmun around 2000 BC, just as they did in the kingdoms of Mesopotamia (Højlund 1989).

Viewed against this background the references in the Mari texts to a Dilmun king seem entirely appropriate. They represent a long awaited textual confirmation of the theory, based on the archaeological finds, that by this time Dilmun was a kingdom. Like other kingdoms in the Near East the Dilmun state may obviously have found it expedient to establish connections with the major political power of the day. For Dilmun the aspect of trade, however, need not have been the main concern.

Conclusion

Our example illustrates the confusion which may arise when complementarity of evidence is not properly exploited. Viewed from Mesopotamia ancient Dilmun appears as a fairly shadowy area known almost exclusively as an important trading centre, and there is a natural tendency to view any contact in this perspective. Gulf archaeologists, on the other hand, operate basically without locally produced written sources in an area where systematic archaeological investigations began only in the 1950s, and results which may coalesce into firmer historical patterns are only now slowly accumulating. In this situation convergence of evidence may be a hindrance rather than a help if the experts only mutually confirm each other's assumptions.

Certainly trade will remain a key-concept for research on Dilmun–Mesopotamian relations, but such research must involve careful evaluation of the changing nature of both Mesopotamian and Gulf societies. The written evidence from Mari apparently fitted nicely into a well-established image of Dilmun as a mere trading centre, but the fact that the documentation can be placed in a specific historical context and appears to relate not to trade but to a diplomatic event has important implications. Not only does it add a significant dimension to our understanding of Dilmun history and society, but it also simultaneously brings the range of imperialist strategies employed by the Mesopotamian monarchs into clearer focus.

21.viii.92

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Abstract

Eidem, Jesper and Højlund, Flemming

Trade or diplomacy? Assyria and Dilmun in the eighteenth century BC

Dilmun, the ancient name for areas in eastern Arabia, is primarily known from cuneiform sources found in Mesopotamia which document Dilmun's pre-eminent role as trading and transit centre. Given the paucity of written evidence from Dilmun itself scholars have tended to view its history exclusively in terms of the Mesopotamian sources. This paper examines briefly one example where such sources may have been misinterpreted and suggests an alternative solution based on both the written Mesopotamian evidence and archaeological data from Dilmun.

SEA PEOPLES IN ETRURIA? ITALIAN CONTACTS WITH THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE

ROBERT H. TYKOT

The origin of the Etruscans has been debated ever since the fifth century B.C. when Herodotus,[1] citing Lydian sources, attributed them to that region of Asia Minor:

> Atys divided the population into two groups and determined by drawing lots which should emigrate and which should remain at home. He appointed himself to rule the section whose lot determined that they should remain, and his son Tyrrhenus to command the emigrants. The lots were drawn, and one section went down to the coast at Smyrna, where they built vessels, put aboard all their household effects and sailed in search of a livelihood elsewhere. They passed many countries and finally reached Umbria in the north of Italy, where they settled and still live to this day. Here they changed their name from Lydians to Tyrrhenians after the king's son Tyrrhenus, who was their leader.

The Greek historian Hellanicus, quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus,[2] also claimed an eastern Mediterranean origin for the Etruscans, stating they were the Pelasgians, who settled the Aegean islands of Lemnos and Imbros. Some weight must be given to this argument since a sixth-century B.C. funerary stele, now in the Athens National Museum, and locally made pottery sherds have been found on Lemnos, all with inscriptions in a dialect similar to Etruscan.[3] This evidence, however, may only demonstrate the independent survival of a common pre-Indo-European language.

Most modern scholars reject these "histories" as completely fictitious, as another example of the Greeks' passion for allotting imaginary origins to peoples and cities.[4] In fact, Dionysius, writing in the first century B.C., informs us of a contemporary of Herodotus, the Lydian historian Xanthus, who claimed that the first man on earth had been a Lydian, that his descendants reigned long before

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the time of Heracles, and that numerous towns in Asia were founded by Lydians. Given these fantastical foundation myths, it seems plausible that the superficial etymological similarity between the Lydian town Tyrrha, and Tyrrhenia, was the provocation for the foundation myth heard by Herodotus.[5] Other Lydian sources indicate that Tyrrha may have been founded by King Gyges, who named it after a son of the legendary King Atys.[6] Since Gyges ruled in the seventh century B.C., it would seem that the Etruscans could not have come from a Lydian town founded two or more centuries after they were already established in Italy. Finally, Dionysius states that the Etruscans he consulted considered themselves autochthonous and called themselves Rasenna, not Tyrrhenians.

A more recently proposed eastern Mediterranean ancestry for the Etruscans would have them related to the tribe of Sea Peoples identified in Egyptian reliefs and documents as *Trš* (Teresh).[7] The tribes of *Šrdn* (Sherden), *Škrš* (Shekelesh), and *Tkr* (Tjeker) have likewise been identified for etymological reasons with the islands of Sardinia and Sicily. Furthermore, archaeological evidence leaves no doubt that contacts did exist between the eastern and western Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age, thus raising the possibility

Table 1 Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Tyrrhenian Region

	Greece	Egypt	Italy	Aeolian Is.	Sicily	Sardinia
Early Bronze Age 1700–1600	MH LHI–LHII		Proto-Apennine	Capo Graziano	Castelluccio	Nuragic I
1600–1400						
Middle Bronze Age 1400–1325	LHIIIA	Amarna 1352–1336	Apennine	Milazzese	Thapsos	Nuragic II
Late Bronze Age 1325–1190	LHIIIB	Ramesses II 1279–1213	Sub-Apennine	Ausonian I	Pantalica	Nuragic
	LHIIB:2	Merneptah 1212–1202				
1190–1150	LHIIIC	Ramesses III 1183–1152	Proto-Villanovan	Ausonian II	"	"
1150–1050	Sub-Mycenaean	Wenamon 1070	"	"	"	"
1050–900	Proto-Geometric	"	"			"
Iron Age 900–750	Geometric		Villanovan			Nuragic
750–	Oriental & Archaic		Etruscan			"

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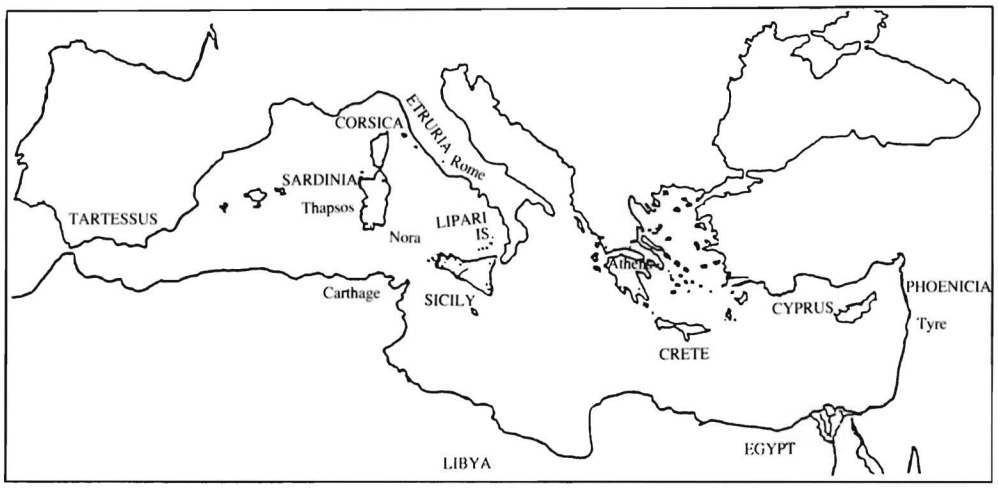

Fig. 1. Mediterranean sites mentioned in the text.

that some of the tribes of Sea Peoples mentioned in the Egyptian documents of Ramses II, Merneptah, and Ramesses III could have settled in the Tyrrhenian region before the emergence of the Etruscan civilization (see table 1 and fig. 1).

Even in the unlikely event of scholarly agreement on the etymological validity of this theory, however, *archaeological* evidence is required to demonstrate the nature of the relationship between these regions and to establish a context in which these etymological derivations can reasonably be explained.

Certainly, there was no wholesale migration between the regions involved, either at the time of the Sea Peoples' raids on Egypt in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C., or any time prior to the emergence of the Etruscan civilization in the eighth century B.C. All of the archaeological data indicate that the Etruscans were the descendants of indigenous peoples, the Villanovans and Proto-Villanovans, who themselves were descendants of the Apennine peoples living in Middle-Late Bronze Age Italy.[8]

This is not to say, however, that the Etruscans and their predecessors were isolated in any way from their cultural contemporaries; on the contrary, Etruscan art seems to owe much to the influence of Greek and Near Eastern cultures. But despite intense interactions with outside groups, the Etruscans were not dependent on external stimuli for their own political and social development.

I would suggest nevertheless that, potentially, the settlement in Etruria of relatively small numbers of the Teresh tribe of the Sea Peoples could have culminated in the adoption of their name for that region. After a review of the textual evidence, I will present the archaeological data for contact between Italy and the eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages so that we may critically evaluate this hypothesis.

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AMARNA PERIOD

Our earliest knowledge of the "Sea Peoples" comes from the Amarna letters, where the Sherden are listed as mercenaries stationed in the Levant at Egyptian garrisons such as Beth-Shan and Lachish. Although Akhenaten reigned at Amarna from about 1352 to 1336 according to the low chronology, garrison sites in the Levant date back to the conquests of Tuthmosis III in the mid-fifteenth century B.C. and continue up to the reign of Ramesses III in the early twelfth century B.C.

RAMESSES II

The Sherden are first described as *sea*-going in the fragmentary Tanis stele, which dates to the early part of Ramesses II's reign (1279–1213): "Shardana, rebellious of heart . . . and their battleships in the midst of the sea." Ramses II "destroyed warriors of the Great Green [the Mediterranean], and lower Egypt spends the night sleeping peacefully."[9]

A few years later the Sherden are again mentioned as mercenaries, fighting at the Battle of Kadesh. The Egyptian-Hittite hostilities began in year 5 of Ramesses' reign, with a treaty signed in year 21 (approximately 1275 to 1258 B.C.). The Battle of Kadesh is depicted on numerous Egyptian reliefs. The Poem of Pentaur (on temple walls at Luxor, Karnak and Abydos) describes the preparations of the Egyptians and their march to northern Syria: "Behold, his majesty prepared his infantry and his chariotry, the Sherden (*S-r-dy-n*) of the captivity of his majestry from the victories of his sword—they gave the plan of battle . . ."[10]

UGARITIC AND HITTITE DOCUMENTS

Sherden mercenaries were also employed by the king of Ugarit in the mid-13th century B.C. Liverani was the first to equate the Egyptian *šrdn* with the *trtnm* of the Ugaritic texts, while the role of the Sherden in Ugarit has been discussed by Dietrich and Loretz, Liverani, and most recently by Heltzer.[11] The first text (PRU III.16.251) is written in the reign of Niqmepa, while the second (PRU III.15.118) and third (PRU III.15) come from the reign of his son Ammistamru II, both ruling in the mid-13th century B.C.:

> From the present day, Niqmepa, son of Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit, took the fields of Allan, the Sherdanu, in the (village) Ilu'istam'i, and the fields of his inheritance (?) and gave it to Sawittenu. And Sawittenu shall honour the king, his lord, with 100 (shekels) of gold.

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> Nobody shall take it from his hands. The seal of the great king. Witness, Samas-sarru, the scribe.

> From the present day, Ammistamru, son of Niqmepa, king of Ugarit, took the fields of Allan, the Sherdanu with its vineyard, in the (village) Mati'ilu and gave it to Ibsali and Ibsali [x (shekels) of silver (?)] shall give to the [king]. In the future nobody [ ] shall take it from Ibsali. The seal of the king Ammistamru, son of Niqmepa. Witness—Iasiru, the scribe.

> [and next: the house] and the salt-producing field [of] IM, son of the sherdana, Kurwanu bought [for x hund]red (shekels) of silver. This field [of] Kurwanu will be forever.[12]

Other texts show that some of the Sherden had west-Semitic names (PRU IV:17.112), and served in the military forces at the royal palace (PRU II.28–31, KTU 4.174). Since their number is 5, 4, 5, 5 and 5, this indicates that the real number of Sherdana in Ugarit was not large.[13] Yet another text (PRU II.124) lists men receiving or delivering an *utpt sărdnnm*, translated as a "quiver of the sherdana."[14] Although we have no evidence of the Sherden using a special type of quiver, both the Egyptian reliefs, and many Sardinian figurines, demonstrate the use of the bow and arrow.

The Ugaritic texts demonstrate that some Sherden were landowners in or around Ugarit, but that their fields were subsequently sold by the king of Ugarit. It is possible that these fields were grants for military service to the king.

Our earliest knowledge of the Teresh comes from a Hittite text of Tudkhaliya IV, which refers to *Ta-ru-i-sa*, located near the Troad.[15] The text is not very specific, and we can only speculate on the potential relationship between this place and the Tyrrha of Lydian date mentioned above. Other Hittite documents including the Tawagalawas Letter and the Madduwattas Indictment tell of general unrest in Miletus/Ahhiyawa and the Lukka lands in western Anatolia during the 13th century B.C., events which may be the precursors to the raids of the Sea Peoples on Egypt.[16]

A letter from the Hittite king to an official of Hammurabi, the last king of Ugarit, is further evidence of concern over the Sea Peoples (RS 34.129):

> From the Sun, the Great King, to the city-prefect: Now, with you, the king, your master, is young. He doesn't know anything. I have (already) given orders to him regarding Lunadusu, who was taken captive by the Sikalayu, who live on ships. Now I have sent to you Nisahili, one of my administrative officials, with instructions. As for you, send Lunadusu, whom the Sikalayu captured, here to me. I will ask him about the Sikala-affair. Then he can return to Ugarit.[17]

Apparently Lunadusu, as a prisoner aboard their ships, might be able to provide information about the Sikala (*Si-ka-la-liu-a*).[18] Importantly, Rainey[19] has now identified the Sikalayu of this Akkadian script with the Tjeker/Thekel of the Egyptian inscriptions,

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rather than with the Shekelesh as Lehmann[20] did. In fact, Tjeker is a poor transliteration, and should be Sikel, as Breasted[21] suggested long ago.

Correspondence between the same Ugaritic official and the King of Alashiya (Cyprus) also tells of raids by an unidentified enemy.[22] Sandars has correlated the events of these texts with the sea battle of Suppiluliumas II, the last king of Hatti, and makes them contemporary with Ramesses III's northern war (ca. 1175 B.C.). The Ugarit-Alashiya correspondence could, however, relate to the first arrival of the Sea Peoples during Merneptah's reign, about 1207 B.C. Indeed, the chronological correlation of kings, pharaohs, textual events and actual destruction levels is a major problem.[23]

MERNEPTAH

Merneptah (1212–1202 B.C.), in the fifth year of his reign, repelled an invasion of Libyans and their allies in the western Delta. These allies of the Libyans included the Teresh, Shekelesh, and the Sherden, previously known only as mercenaries fighting for Egypt, while the Sikala/Sikels/Tjeker are not listed. The Great Karnak Inscription begins ". . . Ekwesh, Teresh, Luka, Sherden, Shekelesh, Northerners coming from all lands"[24] and continues:

> The wretched, fallen chief of Libya, Meryey, son of Ded, has fallen upon the country of Tehenu with his bowmen—Sherden, Shekelesh, Ekwesh, Luka, Teresh, taking the best of every warrior and every man of war of his country. He has brought his wife and his children—leaders of the camp, and he has reached the western boundary in the fields of Perire.[25]

The invaders were badly defeated in a six-hour battle, with 6,359 Libyans slain, along with 222 Shekelesh, 742 Teresh, and an unknown number of Sherden and Ekwesh.[26] The Israel Stele, in celebrating this victory, mentions that Merneptah campaigned in Palestine, plundering Pekanan, carrying off Askalon, and seizing Gezer.[27] Are these places where the allies fled after their defeat?

RAMESSES III

The Sikala/Sikels/Tjeker make their first appearance in the first Libyan War of Ramesses III (year 5), and are identified as northerners like the Teresh, Sherden, and Shekelesh: "The northern countries are unquiet in their limbs, even the Peleset, the Thekel, who devastate their land. Their soul came, in the last extremity. They were warriors upon land, also in the sea."[28] Once again, the Libyans and their allies are defeated, with over 12,000 men slain and 1,000 taken captive.[29]

Another clash between the Egyptians and the Sea Peoples came

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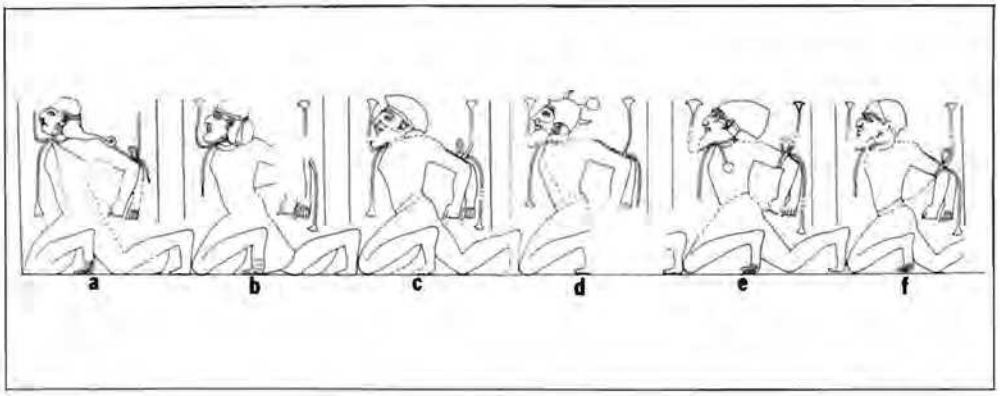

Fig. 2. Captive chieftains on a relief at Medinet Habu: (a) Hittite; (b) Amorite; (c) Tjeker; (d) Shardana; (e) Shasu or Shekelesh; (f) Teresh.

during Ramesses III's eighth year, when the pharaoh's forces defeated the marauders in both a land and sea battle, either somewhere on the Phoenician coast, or as Sandars feels, closer to the Delta.[30] Although neither the Teresh nor the Sherden are mentioned in the reliefs, the Sea Peoples again came from the north:

> Not one stood before their hands; from Kheta, Kode, Carchemish, Arvad, Alasa, they were wasted. They [set up] a camp in one place in Amor. They desolated his people and his land like that which is not. They came with fire prepared before them, forward to Egypt. Their main support was Peleset, Thekel, Shekelesh, Denyen, and Weshesh; (these) lands were united, and they laid their hands upon the land as far as the Circle of the Earth. Their hearts were confident, full of their plans.[31]

The Sherden are mentioned, however, in the Papyrus Harris, as allies of the invaders:

> I extended all the boundaries of Egypt; I overthrew those who invaded them from their lands. I slew the Denyen in their isles, the Thekel and the Peleset were made ashes. The Sherden and the Weshesh of the sea, they were made as those that exist not, taken captive at one time, brought as captives to Egypt, like the sand of the shore. I settled them in strongholds, bound in my name. Numerous were their classes like hundred-thousands. I taxed them all, in clothing and grain from the storehouses and granaries each year.[32]

The Teresh, Sherden, and Thekel, as well as the Kheta (Hittites), Amor, Shasu(?) and Peleset(?) are also present in the Medinet Habu relief, which commemorates Ramesses III's Amorite War by showing these seven captive chiefs kneeling with their arms tied behind their backs (fig. 2).[33]

It seems clear that Ramesses III made use of these conquered peoples just as his predecessors had: "I made Egypt into many classes, consisting of: butlers of the palace, great princes, numerous infan-

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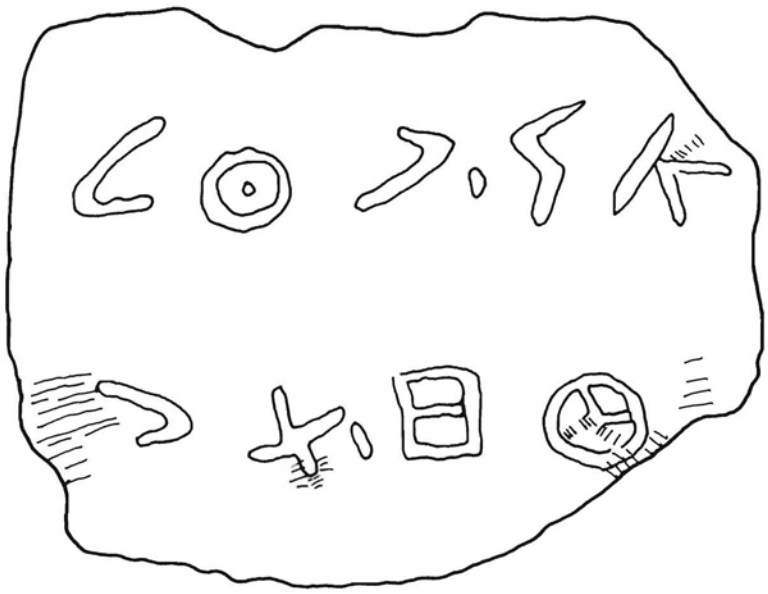

Fig. 3a. The Nora Fragment. Cagliari, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

try, and chariotry, by the hundred-thousand; Sherden, and Kehek, without number; attendants by the ten-thousand; and serf-laborers of Egypt."[34] Furthermore, the Egyptians were familiar with these people, who were probably living in the Levant, a region of great political and economic importance to Egypt:

> the Sherden and Kehek were in their towns, lying the [length] of their backs; they had no fear, (for) there was no enemy from Kush, (nor) foe from Syria. Their bows and their weapons reposed in their magazines, while they were satisfied and drunk with joy. Their wives were with them, their children at their side; they looked not behind them, (but) their hearts were confident, (for) I was with them as the defense and protection of their limbs. I sustained alive the whole land, whether foreigners, (common) folk, citizens, or people, male or female.[35]

WENAMON AND AMENOPE

That the Levant was the home of at least some of the Sea Peoples is confirmed by the *Tale of Wenamon*, who was sent to Byblos to acquire timber at the end of the twentieth dynasty (ca. 1070 B.C.). His payment of gold and silver was stolen while he was at Dor, which was then a petty kingdom of the Thekel: "I arrived at Dor, a city of Thekel, and Bedel, its king, caused to be brought for me much bread, a jar of wine, and a joint of beef."[36] Although Wenamon did recover some of the silver, the Thekel followed him to Byblos:

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> [Wenamon] spied eleven ships coming from the sea, belonging to the Thekel, saying: "Arrest him! Let not a ship of his (pass) to Egypt!" I sat down and began to weep. The letter-scribe of the prince came out to me, and said to me: "What is the matter with thee?" I said to him: "Surely thou seest these birds which twice descend upon Egypt. Behold them! They come to the pool, and how long shall I be here, forsaken? For thou seest surely those who come to arrest me again."[37]

Wenamon clearly associates these Thekel from Dor with those who fought Egypt twice before, during the reigns of Merneptah (although we have no surviving documents naming them) and Ramesses III.[38]

The *Onomasticon* of Amenope, also from the early eleventh century B.C., refers to towns and peoples in Canaan, listing from north to south the Šardina, Seqila and Pelastu.[39] Since we know the *Pelastu* (= Peleset/Philistines) settled mostly along the southern coast, and the *Seqila* (= Thekel/Tjeker/Sikala/Sikels) were living around Dor, the Šardina must have lived somewhere between Mt. Carmel and Tyre, perhaps at Akko.[40]

Fig. 3b. The Nora Stone. Cagliari, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

PHOENICIANS

The inscription known as the Nora Fragment (fig. 3a), found in the sea near Nora in Sardinia, has been dated to the mid-eleventh century B.C. on the basis of paleographic examination.[41] If one assumes that it was brought to Nora soon after its manufacture, it indicates that by the mid-eleventh century B.C., the Levantine people called Phoenicians, known earlier as Canaanites, were plying the waters of the western Mediterranean. Although the earliest archaeological evidence of Phoenician settlement in Sardinia, at Pithekoussai on Ischia, at Carthage, and in Spain, comes from the early eighth century B.C., it is certainly possible that the Phoenicians were *travelling* in western Mediterranean waters some two to three centuries before their actual *colonization* of the west.

The Nora Stone (fig. 3b), also found in the sea, has been dated to the second half of the ninth century B.C. and thus does not predate Phoenician settlement on Sardinia.[42] It clearly links, however, the island with the Šardina of the *Onomasticon*, and is therefore fundamental to the hypothesis that Sardinia did derive its name from the tribe of Sea Peoples known as Sherden: ". . . at Tarsis, and he drove them out. Among the Šardina he is [now] at peace, (and) his army is at peace: Milkaton son of Subna, general of (king) Pummay."[43] A slightly different reading of the Nora Stone had been made by Peckham,[44] who translated the text as follows: "From Tarshish he was driven; in Sardinia he found refuge; his forces found refuge: Milkuton, son of Subon, the commander. To [the god] Pmy." Cross, however, has convincingly demonstrated that the eighth line

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of the text, *lpmy*, must be Pummay (Pygmalion), king of Tyre, and that Milkuton "drove them out" (active voice) rather than "he was driven."[45]

Cross interprets the inscription as part of a victory stele, and suggests that it could have begun "He fought with the Sardinians. . . ." Similarly, he feels that "Tarsis is most easily understood as the name of a refinery town in Sardinia, presumably Nora or an ancient site nearby.[46] The stele thus celebrates the victory of Phoenician forces over native tribesmen in the 'battle of Tarsis.'" Pygmalion was in fact king of Tyre from about 831–785 B.C., a date in agreement with Cross' reading of the paleographic evidence. Cross concludes that Phoenician military forces were in Sardinia, sent from Tyre, perhaps to protect colonizing merchants or metal workers.[47]

Given the fragmentary nature of the Nora Stone, it is a large leap to the conclusion that there existed in Sardinia a place called Tarsis, where a battle worthy of documentary commemoration occurred. Alternatively, Tarsis/Tarshish could refer to either the Tarsus of Cilicia, with which the Phoenicians were certainly familiar, or Tartessos in Spain, well known from Greek literary sources as a Phoenician trading-post where copper and tin were acquired.[48] In either case, the Nora Stone places the Phoenicians of Tyre, among whom the Šardina were settled in the eleventh century B.C., on the island of Sardinia, some two centuries later. Furthermore, the translations of both Cross and Peckham suggest that *the Phoenicians identified the island as 'Sardinia' by the ninth century* B.C.

The two possibilities that exist to explain the island being known as Sardinia are: (1) it is the name given to the island by the indigenous Nuragic peoples among whom the Phoenicians settled; or (2) it is the name given to the island by the Phoenicians or other foreigners who travelled and/or settled there. It follows then: (1) and (2a) that either the name Sardinia is only coincidentally similar to Sherden/Šardina, or (2b) that the island could have been named after the Šardina. It is not hard to imagine foreigners (Phoenicians) naming an island for a group of people (Šardina) with whom they were familiar and who had settled there.

The second part of this paper will examine the *archaeological* evidence for interaction between Italy, especially Etruria, and the eastern Mediterranean in the Mycenaean and Phoenician periods. This data will demonstrate that the Italian regions were in touch with the Aegean and the Levant at a time when the Sea Peoples were active, and that if certain tribes travelled to the west, they were not the first easterners to do so. Likewise, the archaeological data from Etruria will be examined so as to evaluate the circumstances under which it could have received its name from the Teresh, as has been suggested for Sardinia and the Sherden/Šardina.

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Archaeometallurgical Evidence

Perhaps the strongest link between the Tyrrhenian regions and the eastern Mediterranean has been the number of findspots (22) in Sardinia with either complete or fragmentary oxhide ingots.[49] These ingots are well known from New Kingdom Egyptian reliefs, including those of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, and from the spectacular finds of the Cape Gelidonya and Ulu Burun shipwrecks.[50] Although Sardinia's wealth of copper and lead/silver ores maintains the possibility that the ingots were locally made according to eastern Mediterranean specifications,[51] recent lead isotope analyses suggest that all the Sardinian oxhide ingots are made of Cypriot copper.[52]

Other Sardinian artifacts, including 10 bronzes of Cypriot style, appear, however, to have been made of copper from the Iglesiente/Sulcis district in southwest Sardinia.[53] It is important to note, though, that most of the Cypriot-influenced material, including the Sardinian figurines, dates to the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C. or later, postdating the widespread destructions in the eastern Mediterranean, and demonstrating continuity in east-west contacts while Greece was in the Dark Age.[54] Furthermore, many of the oxhide ingot fragments in Sardinia actually come from Early Iron Age, rather than Late Bronze Age contexts.[55]

While metal objects of Cypriot or Aegean influence, including swords, daggers, and tripods, have also been found in Sicily and in mainland Italy, their numbers are not nearly as extensive as for Sardinia.[56] An anchor of Cypriot type, found near the mouth of the Tiber and made of local volcanic rock, nevertheless adds to the suggestive evidence for eastern Mediterranean peoples sailing in the Tyrrhenian by the end of the second millennium B.C.[57]

Ceramic Evidence

The large number of sites in the western Mediterranean at which Mycenaean pottery has been found provides a second corpus of evidence for east-west contact in the Late Bronze Age. Mycenaean pottery has been found in Sardinia, Sicily and mainland Italy, Malta, and even Spain, ranging from a few sherds of LH I-II (perhaps even some late MH wares) to much greater quantities of LH IIIB and IIIC.[58] The use at some of these sites of Aegean-style cooking pots and *ceramica grigia*, in forms complementing the Aegean-type vessels and the local impasto wares, may even indicate the actual presence of easterners.[59]

The greatest density of Mycenaean finds comes from that part of Italy closest to Greece and the Aegean world, the regions adja-

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cent to the Gulf of Taranto. Mycenaean pottery has been found at 29 sites in Apulia, Basilicata and Calabria, but only 6 with more than a dozen sherds (see table 2).[60] In Sicily and the Aeolian Islands, guarding the eastern entrance to the Tyrrhenian, only 17 sites with Mycenaean pottery are known, and only three with significant quantities. After one ventures into the Tyrrhenian, the number of sites with Mycenaean finds drops considerably. In the fertile region of Campania, only six sites have Mycenaean products. In Sardinia, only one of eight sites with Mycenaean pottery has more than five sherds, and but two sherds (one IIIA, the other IIIB) have been found in Spain.

Some of the ceramics from these sites have been chemically analyzed to determine their provenience, as indicated in the last column of table 2. While the analyses indicate that both imported and locally produced imitations of LHIIIA, LHIIIB and LHIIIC pottery are present, they further demonstrate that many of the imported wares were actually made in Rhodes or Cyprus rather than the Peloponnesus.[61] The identification of the items on board the Cape Gelidonya and Ulu Burun ships as Cypriot or Syro-Palestinian is a further indication that Cypriots or Canaanites, rather than Mycenaeans, were travelling in the west.[62]

Continued contact with the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean after the destructions of the early twelfth century is indicated by the Cypriot metalwork discussed above, and the presence of *imported* LHIIIC wares, which in the Levant are always locally produced by new settlers identified as Sea Peoples. The finds of Proto-Geometric pottery at the Gulf of Taranto sites long before the Greek period of colonization would seem to suggest a continuing interactive relationship begun in the Late Bronze Age, as does a Sardinian geometric askos found at Khaniale Tekke near Knossos.[63]

Etrurian Sites with Aegean Artifacts

In contrast to southern Italy, Sicily and Sardinia, where at least one site has enough Mycenaean material to suppose that an eastern Mediterranean ship stopped there, only four sites with Aegean ceramics are known in Etruria, none with more than five sherds. Even the Piediluco and Contigliano hoards contain only a few objects of eastern origin.

At Luni sul Mignone (Blera, Viterbo) (fig. 4, no. 3) five pieces of Mycenaean pottery were found in pure Apennine levels at an acropolis site continuously inhabited from the Middle to the Final Bronze Age. Four are from closed vessels and one from a cup or bowl. One is LHIIIA/B, two LHIIIB, and two LHIIIC.[64]

A single sherd of Mycenaean IIIC:2 pottery has been found along with Subapennine pottery at Monte Rovello (Allumiere, Roma)

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Table 2 Mycenaean Pottery at Some Tyrrhenian Sites

Site (Map No.)	Ceramics		Context	Analyses
Aeolian Islands				
Lipari Acropolis	3	MH	Capo Graziano	
	4	LMI	"	
	7	Cycladic	"	
	100	LHI-II	"	
	100	LHII/III	Early Milazzese	
	40	LHIIIA	Milazzese	
	26	LHIIIB	Ausonian I	Local &
	14	LHIIIC	Ausonian II	Imports ?
Milazzese	38	LHIIIA	Milazzese	Imports ?
Gulf of Taranto				
Porto Perone	2	LHI	Apennine	
	14	LHIIIB	SubApennine	
	30	LHIIIC:2	ProtoVillanovan	
Satyrion	6	LHIIIB	Late Apennine	Imports ?
	74	LHIIIC:1	SubApennine–	Imports ?
	58	LHIIIC:2	ProtoVillanovan	Imports ?
Scoglio del Tonno	800	LHIIIA	Apennine	Imports (11)
	14	LMIIIA-B		
	29	LHIIIC		
Torre Castelluccia	60	LHIIIB-C	SubApennine–ProtoVillanovan	Imports ?
Termitito	600	LHIIIA:2–LHIIIC	SubApennine–ProtoVillanovan	Local (24)
Broglio di Trebisacce	>100	LHIIIA:2–LHIIIC	SubApennine–ProtoVillanovan	Local (15)
Campania and Etruria				
Montedoro di Eboli	>50	LHIIIC	ProtoVillanovan	Local ?
Luni sul Mignone	1	LHIIIA/B	Apennine	
	2	LHIIIB	"	
	2	LHIIIC	"	
Monte Rovello	1	LHIIIB/C	SubApennine	
San Giovenale	1	LHIIIB/C	Local ?	
Telamone	1	LHIIIC		
Vivara	>>100	LHI–LHIIIA:1	SubApennine	Imports ?
Sardinia				
Nuraghe Antigori	>>100	LHIIIB-C	Nuragic	Imports & Local (66)
Sicily				
Thapsos	28	LHIIIA-B	Thapsos	Imports
	4	LMIIIB	Imports	

Notes: Under Analyses, the number in parentheses is the number of sherds tested for provenience by chemical analysis. Comments with an interrogation mark represent conclusions based upon visual examination.

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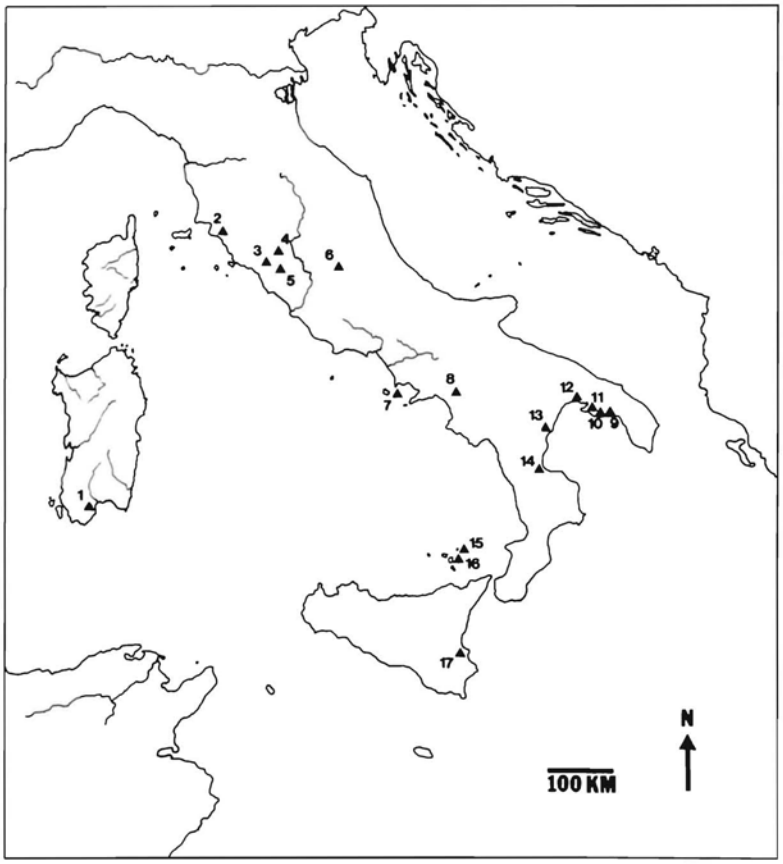

Fig. 4. Late Bronze Age sites mentioned in the text. 1: Nuraghe Antigori. 2: Telamone. 3: Luni sul Mignone. 4: San Giovenale. 5: Monte Rovello. 6: Piediluco. 7: Vivara. 8: Montedoro di Eboli. 9: Torre Castelluccia. 10: Satyrion. 11: Porto Perone. 12: Scoglio del Tonno. 13: Termitito. 14: Broglio di Trebisacce. 15: Milazzese. 16: Lipari Acropolis. 17: Thapsos.

(fig. 4, no. 5), about 5 km. closer to the coast than Luni sul Mignone.[65] The fragment, from the shoulder of a large vase, is small and poorly preserved, and was decorated with a faint net pattern motif. It has been identified as late LHIIIB to mature LHIIIC by Vagnetti[66] although it was originally identified by Toti[67] as LHIIIC:2 or Submycenaean.

San Giovenale (Blera, Viterbo) (fig. 4, no. 4), located near both Monte Rovello and Luni sul Mignone, has a long sequence of occupation through the Apennine, Subapennine, Protovillanovan and Etruscan periods. Malcus[68] states that the single vase fragment, decorated with a spiral motif, was ascribed by Furumark to LHIIIB, although Vagnetti[69] describes it as provincial Mycenaean IIIC.

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A single sherd of LHIIIC has also been found at the Etruscan site of Telamone (fig. 4, no. 2) located on the coast near Grosseto.[70]

Some sherds in the back-fill near the archaic temple at Sant'Omobono in Rome, found along with Protovillanovan through sixth century B.C. material, were originally thought to be LHIIIC.[71] Vagnetti[72] has examined these sherds, however, and concluded that they are actually Geometric.

The only other Aegean artifacts found in Etruria come from Piediluco (Terni, Umbria) (fig. 4, no. 6), the probable origin of the Contigliano hoard as well.[73] Among the 116 bronze pieces, all broken, are a fragment of a Cypriot tripod from Piediluco, possibly datable between the twelfth and first half of the eleventh century B.C.; another tripod fragment typologically identical to the first from the Contigliano hoard; a four-spoked wheel, probably from a wheeled stand and very common on Cyprus in this period; and a fragment of a cauldron with a circular handle, of a type known in Crete and mainland Greece in the LBA. Another tripod fragment was bought at Piediluco and is now in the Danish National Museum.[74] Significantly, the other objects in both hoards are not earlier than the tenth century B.C., and considering that the material is mostly scrap, the Aegean objects could have been used and broken elsewhere and subsequently circulated for remelting.[75]

Discussion

There is clearly quite a bit of evidence for east-west contact in the Late Bronze Age. The more finely dated ceramics demonstrate that these contacts had begun by the very beginning of the period, while the metallurgical evidence suggests that they continued in the last centuries of the second millennium B.C. It is clear also that Phoenician activities in the west had begun by the very beginning of the first millennium, and continue what must have been more or less continuous relations between east and west.

In addition to strictly Mycenaean products, pottery from Crete, Rhodes and Cyprus also made its way to the west. The metallurgical link, in the form of oxhide ingots, bronze tripods and bronze figurines, is also with Cyprus and Phoenicia rather than the Peloponnesus. Some impasto finds at Chania and Kommos in Crete, an Italian sword from the Ulu Burun shipwreck, and a few scattered daggers and fibulae of possible Italian origin, represent the Aegean end of what is mostly an asymmetrical relationship between the eastern and western Mediterranean.[76]

The earliest imported pottery in the west comes mainly from Vivara and Lipari, both islands strategically located: Vivara at the entrance to the Bay of Naples, and Lipari as a crossroads near the

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eastern entrance to the Tyrrhenian Sea. Although chemically untested, much of the Mycenaean material at these two sites appears to be imported. The imported coarse wares documented at Vivara are strong evidence for eastern Mediterranean ships stopping there.

Beginning with the LHIIIA period, concentrations of Aegean-type pottery appear at Thapsos in Sicily, and at the Gulf of Taranto sites of Scoglio del Tonno and Broglio di Trebisacce. It appears that Broglio differs from the other three sites in that most of the Aegean-type material was locally produced. In the LHIIIB period, Antigori in Sardinia, and Termitito on the Gulf become major centers of eastern Mediterranean activity, while contacts with Vivara ceased. The material from Termitito, like that at Broglio, is apparently of local manufacture, while both imported pottery and provincial imitations are well represented at Antigori.

During the LHIIIC period local production continued at Broglio, Termitito, and Antigori, while imports continued at Scoglio, Lipari, and Antigori. Very little material from this period has been found in Sicily. Given that the number of pottery analyses for a given period at each of these sites is not very large (except for Antigori), it seems nevertheless that there was no change in production pattern between the LHIIIB and LHIIIC periods, nothing to correlate with the destructions in the eastern Mediterranean. The continued importation of Aegean pottery in the LHIIIC period strongly suggests that the economic relationship between the Aegean and the west differed from that between the Aegean and the Levant.

In the Levant, the presence of LHIIIC pottery, always locally made, is taken to indicate the settlement of Sea Peoples after their forays into Egypt during the reign of Ramesses III. The Sea Peoples are thought to have arrived in the Levant already familiar with Mycenaean type pottery, from which they derived a monochrome and later a bichrome decorative style; trade relations with the Aegean declined. The presence of locally produced LHIIIC pottery at western Mediterranean sites cannot be interpreted in the same manner because importation continued at major sites.

An interesting question is what the potters at Broglio and Termitito used as stylistic models for their (mostly) local Mycenaean-type vessels. The limitations of archaeological sampling, both in the field and in the laboratory, along with the inherent problems of identifying undecorated sherds, may be exaggerating the differences between the assemblages from Scoglio and those from Broglio and Termitito, but an explanation seems warranted. Some might suggest that there was an Aegean segment to the population at these sites, but it is more likely that local potters were acquainted with imported wares, which were certainly abundant across the Gulf at Scoglio del Tonno. It is possible that Scoglio was the major Aegean port-of-call in the Gulf of Taranto and that demand for Aegean-type pottery grew in the region, stimulating local imitation at nearby settlements.

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Conclusion

It is a reasonable *hypothesis* that there is a definite relationship between the Sherden of the Ugaritic and Egyptian texts and the island of Sardinia. It seems unlikely that the Sherden came from Sardinia because (1) they are a known entity in the Amarna letters, written in a period (LHIIIA) for which there is no evidence of Mycenaean contact with Sardinia (LHIIIB and LHIIIC); (2) their presence in Ugarit (thirteenth century) and near Tyre (1100 B.C.) argues for an eastern Mediterranean origin, as does (3) their association with other Sea Peoples, "northerners coming from all lands."

Whatever their origin, it is clear from the archaeological evidence, the *Tale of Wenamon*, and the *Onomasticon* of Amenope, that Sea Peoples settled in the Levant, at least the Peleset, the Sikels and the Šardina. Given the Sardinian finds of late Cypriot bronzes, possibly leftover oxhide ingots, the figurines with Cypriot and Phoenician affinities, and the knowledge that Phoenicians were sailing in the western Mediterranean by the eleventh century B.C., it is possible that some Šardina from near Tyre emigrated to Sardinia sometime between 1100 and 800 B.C., settling at the major Phoenician sites such as Nora, Tharros, Sulcis and Cagliari. In this manner these colonists could have given their name to the entire island, a name imposed on the indigenous inhabitants by a commercially-active people with a written language, and one that survived into the historical period. It is noteworthy that the modern name of the island is *not* related to what the Greeks called Sardinia: *Ichnussa*, which means footprint.

A similar scenario could be drawn for Sikels living at Dor, and emigrating to Sicily, but other than the Phoenician colonization of the island in the eighth century B.C., and the obvious phonetic relationship, we cannot suggest such a particular affiliation without any textual evidence. The quantity of Mycenaean pottery, even at Thapsos, does not indicate that non-Sicilians lived there, nor is there the abundant evidence for LHIIIC and twelfth-to-eleventh-century B.C. contact that there is for Sardinia; these situations result in a 300-year gap between the last mention of the Sikels and the earliest Phoenician presence in Sicily.

As for the Teresh, there is no textual documentation of where they settled after their battle with Ramesses III. It is quite improbable that they settled in Etruria in the twelfth century B.C., as there is no evidence of *direct* contact between the eastern Mediterranean and that region before the ninth century B.C. The few sherds and metal artifacts of eastern Mediterranean origin could easily be the result of down-the-line exchange, perhaps all the way from the Gulf of Taranto. Without an idea where the Teresh were between the twelfth and eighth centuries B.C. it is impossible to even formulate a hypothesis regarding how they could have lent their name, even

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through Greek intermediaries, to the people of Etruria, who called themselves Rasenna.

What is certain is that a migration or invasion of the scale envisioned by Greek and Roman historians is not supported by any archaeological evidence; if even a small number of easterners settled in Etruria during the ninth to seventh centuries B.C., they did not distinctly alter the indigenous, gradual, cultural development begun in the Late Bronze Age. In fact, the Etruscans themselves considered their first *saeculum* to have started in the eleventh or tenth century.[77]

In this paper I have tried to present the textual and archaeological evidence relevant to the etymology of the Tyrrhenian regions of Etruria, Sardinia and Sicily. Although the region in general was undoubtedly known to easterners in the Late Bronze Age, it is unlikely that there was any regular interaction except perhaps at the port sites of Scoglio del Tonno, Lipari, and Vivara. Even the connection between the Sherden tribe of the Sea Peoples and the island of Sardinia was not established immediately following the events of Ramesses III's eighth year, but is tied to later Phoenician prospection in and colonization of the western Mediterranean. Any relationship between Sikels and Sicily, or Teresh and Tyrrhenia, would have to be just as late, and must for now remain hypothetical, as only new evidence can associate such specific groups with a new homeland after a hiatus of several centuries.

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NOTES

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The following abbreviations have been used, in addition to those in *AJA* 90 (1986) 384–94:

PIA IV = C. Malone and S. Stoddart, eds., *Papers in Italian Archaeology* IV. BAR S245 (Oxford 1985).

MGMM = L. Vagnetti ed., *Magna Grecia e mondo miceneo. Nuovi Documenti* (Taranto 1982).

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Sandars 1985 = N.K. Sandars, *The Sea Peoples. Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean* (London 1985)

SSA = M.S. Balmuth and R.J. Rowland Jr. eds., *Studies in Sardinian Archaeology* (Michigan 1984).

SSA II = M.S. Balmuth ed., *Studies in Sardinian Archaeology, Volume II: Sardinia in the Mediterranean* (Michigan 1986).

SSA III = M.S. Balmuth ed., *Studies in Sardinian Archaeology III: Sardinia and the Mycenaean World*. BAR S387 (Oxford 1987).

TMM = M. Marazzi, S. Tusa and L. Vagnetti eds., *Traffici Miceneo nel Mediterraneo* (Taranto 1986).

Ward and Joukowsky, eds. 1992 = W.A. Ward and M.S. Joukowsky, eds., *The Crisis Years: the 12th Century* B.C. *From Beyond the Danube to the Tigris* (Dubuque 1992).

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4. M. Pallottino, *The Etruscans* (Bloomington 1975); idem, *A History of Earliest Italy* (London 1991) 25–55; M. Grant, *The Etruscans* (New York 1980) 72. See also: E. Macnamara, *The Etruscans* (Cambridge 1991). The Lydian origin of the Etruscans has now been exhaustively examined by D. Briquel, *L'Origine Lydienne des Étrusques. Histoire de la doctrine dans l'Antiquité*. Collection de l'École Française de Rome 139 (Paris 1991). For a strictly archaeological account of Late Bronze

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Age and Iron Age Etruria, see N. Spivey and S. Stoddart, *Etruscan Italy* (London 1991).

5. Pallottino 1975 (supra n. 4) 70.
6. Grant 1980 (supra n. 4) 270 n. 41.
7. G.A. Wainright, "The Teresh, The Etruscans and Asia Minor," *AS* 9 (1959) 197–213.
8. See, e.g., M. Cristofani, *The Etruscans. A New Investigation* (London 1979); D. Ridgway and F.R.S. Ridgway, eds., *Italy before the Romans* (London 1979), Grant 1980 (supra n. 4); Pallottino 1975 (supra n. 4); L. Bonfante ed. 1986 (supra n. 3); Spivey and Stoddart 1991 (supra n. 4).
9. N.K. Sandars 1985, 50.
10. J.H. Breasted III, 307.
11. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Die Schardana in den Texten von Ugarit," *Antike und Universalgeschichte, Festschrift Hans Erich Stier* (Munster 1972) 39–42; M. Liverani, "Il corpo di guardia del palazzo di Ugarit," *RSO* 44 (1969) 191–98; "Le Chene de Sherdanu," *VT* 27 (1977) 212–16; M. Heltzer, "Some Questions Concerning the Sherdana in Ugarit," *IOS* 9 (1983) 9–15.
12. Heltzer, *IOS* 9 (1983) 10–12.
13. Heltzer, *IOS* 9 (1983) 13.
14. Heltzer, *IOS* 9 (1983) 15.
15. Sandars 1985, 111–12.
16. Sandars 1985, 110; Wainright, *AS* 9 (1959) 202–3. Questions about Hittite chronology and the role of the Sea Peoples have been recently addressed by H.A. Hoffner, Jr., "The Last Days of Khattusha," in Ward and Joukowsky, eds. 1992, 46–52.
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19. A. Rainey, "Toponymic Problems Continued," *Tel Aviv* 9(2) (1982) 130–36.
20. Lehmann, *UF* 11 (1979) 481–83.
21. J.H. Breasted IV, 59, n. a.
22. Sandars 1985, 141–43.
23. See many of the articles in Ward and Joukowsky, eds. 1992.
24. Breasted III, 574.
25. Breasted III, 579.
26. Breasted III, 588.
27. Breasted III, 617.
28. Breasted IV, 44.
29. Breasted IV, 35.
30. Sandars 1985, 120, 124. For the argument that the Year 8 inscriptions at Medinet Habu are actually accounts of events which occurred during the time of Merneptah, see L.H. Lesko, "Egypt in the 12th Century B.C.," in Ward and Joukowsky, eds. 1992, 151–56; for a rebuttal, see J. Weinstein, "The Collapse of the Egyptian Empire in the Southern Levant," in Ward and Joukowsky, eds. 1992, 148.
31. Breasted IV, 64. P.M. Bikai, "The Phoenicians," in Ward and Joukowsky, eds. 1992, 132–41, suggests that the Phoenicians were not

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bystanders in these conflicts, but rather that they were part of a coalition with the Sea Peoples which may have arisen through the LBA Mediterranean trade network.

32. Breasted IV, 403.
33. Breasted IV, 129; Sandars 1985, figs. 68, 69.
34. Breasted IV, 402.
35. Breasted IV, 410.
36. Bikai in Ward and Joukowsky, eds. 1992 (supra n. 31) n. 5 interprets Wenamon's "birds" instead as the now endangered Dalmatian pelicans migrating along the coast.
37. Breasted IV, 565.
38. Breasted IV, 588.
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Broglio di Trebisacce: G. Bergonzi ed., *Ricerche sulla protostoria della Sibaritide* 1 (1982) 119–28; 2 (1982) 99–113; 3 (1984) 164–84; L. Vagnetti, "Broglio di Trebisacce (Cosenza): la ceramica micenea," *MGMM* (1982) 107–12; R. Peroni, "Broglio di Trebisacce (Cosenza)," *MGMM* (1982) 103–7; R. Peroni, F. Trucco and L. Vagnetti, "Broglio di Trebisacce (CS)," *TMM* (1986) 162–63; Smith 1987, 88–90.

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V. Watrous, "A Preliminary Report on Imported 'Italian' Wares from the Late Bronze Age Site of Kommos on Crete," *SMEA* 27 (1989) 69–79; S. Heuck-Allen, *Northwest Anatolian Grey Wares in the Late Bronze Age: Analysis and Distribution in the Eastern Mediterranean*. PhD dissertation, Brown University (1990); J.B. Rutter, "Some Comments on Interpreting the Dark-Surfaced Handmade Burnished Pottery of the 13th and 12th Century B.C. Aegean," *JMA* 3/1 (1990) 29–49; Holloway in Ward and Joukowsky, eds. 1992 (supra n. 56) n. 11.

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Notes and Documents

*The Venetian-Seljuk treaty of 1220**

IN the *Liber Albus* is preserved an agreement made in 1220 between the Venetian podestà in Constantinople, Jacopo Tiepolo, and the Seljuk sultan of Konya, Alā al Dīn Kaykubādh I.[1] The text is a Latin version of the podestà's reply to the sultan who had approached the podestà through an embassy. The reply encapsulates the sultan's original application and also contains certain assurances given to him by the podestà. The agreement is a document of some importance. It belongs to a critical phase in the development of Venetian policy in the Levant and is the first substantial evidence for the establishment of political and commercial relations between Venice and the Turks of Anatolia.[2] The form of the treaty is itself remarkable. It involved an exchange of chrysobulls, issued on the one part by the sultan and on the other, not by the doge, but by the Venetian podestà in Constantinople. The text of the agreement shows that both documents were indeed chrysobulls. The phrase in the preamble, 'Recipientes ex parte altitenentis, felicis, magni generis, magni Soldani Turkie, domini Alatini Caicopadi, idest legatum suum gloriosum, familiarem eius . . ., a quo recipientes nos scriptam conuentionem pacis Soldanee sue potestatis, id est chrusobolum eius superscriptum rubeis litteris, et inferius sigillatum

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1. The text of the agreement is preserved in the *Liber Albus* fos. 52–54 which was compiled on the orders of the doge Andreas Dandolo (1343–1354). There are also versions in the *Liber Pactorum*, I, fos. 243–4 and the *Liber Pactorum*, II, fos. 258–60. It is edited by G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig* (Vienna, 1856), ii. 221–5. Their text is virtually that of the *Liber Albus*, except that the phrase 'et despotis' which appears in the protocol between 'imp(er)ij R(omanie)' and 'eiusdem(que) imp(er)ij' is omitted. Tafel and Thomas note only some of the variants occurring in the *Libri Pactorum*, but none of these variants alters the sense significantly. The treaty has been discussed by W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant* (French ed., Leipzig, 1923), i. 302–4; by A. Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets* (Munich and Berlin, 1906), pp. 221–2; by O. Turan in *Islam ansiklopedesi* fasc. 63 (Istanbul, 1955), 658–9; by the same scholar (with Turkish translation) *Türkiye Selçukluları hakkında resmi vesikalar* (Ankara, 1958), pp. 121–46; by T. Talbot Rice, *The Seljuks* (London, 1961), p. 103; and by C. Cahen, 'Le commerce anatolien au début du xiiie siècle', *Mélanges Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), pp. 96–97 and *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (London, 1968), pp. 165–6. The studies of Kaykubādh I's reign by H. Jansky, 'Selçuklu sultanlarından Birinci Alaeddin Keykubad'ın emniyet politikası' in *Armagan Zeki Velidi Togan'a* (*Symbolae in honorem Z. V. Togan*) (Istanbul, 1950–5), pp. 117–26; by R. Fahmer, 'Alaeddin Keykubad', in *Robert Boehringer, eine Freundesgabe* (Tubingen, 1957), pp. 193–231, and by C. Cahen in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2nd. ed. B. Lewis *et al.* (Leiden and London, 1954–), fascs. 73–74, pp. 817–18, do not deal with the treaty.

2. For the significance of the period, F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au moyen age* (Paris, 1959), pp. 88–93, esp. p. 89.

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aurea forma sui sigilli, . . .' and the later phrase '. . . secundum tenorem chrusoboli bone memorie patris et fratris sui, et secundum tenorem chrusoboli eiusdem sue Soldanee dominationis; . . .' show the issue of a chrysobull on the part of the sultan and his predecessors. The closing phrase of the concluding protocol, 'Que propria manu et ore super sancta Dei euanglia iurauit meus dispotatus, cum qua in presenti chrusobolosanguineis litteris scripsit mea dominatio, et forma sigilii nostri aurei inposita est, et sanguineo sirico sigillato.', shows that the podestà also confirmed the agreement by issuing a chrysobull.[1] As though conscious of the special form of the documents, the scribe who drew up the Latin version felt it appropriate to dilate on their appearance. Other agreements between Venice and the Muslim powers were in the form either of *precepta* or *pacta*.[2]

The Seljuk sultans of Konya seem to have authenticated their decrees and letters in a variety of ways. Sometimes a form of signature, the *tugra*, was employed,[3] but Ibn Bībī frequently alludes to the sultan's seal ring and on one occasion refers to its use in validating a document.[4] In communications addressed to the Latin powers, however, the later Seljuks seem to have favoured the old imperial Byzantine form of the chrysobull. The use of the chrysobull by the Seljuks is found not only in the agreement under discussion but also on at least one other occasion. When the sultan Ghiyatheddin Kaykhusraw II sent an embassy to Baldwin II, the Latin emperor of Constantinople, in 1242/3, the envoy carried with him letters of credence furnished with a golden bull.[5] Again, a letter of 1214 from

1. The word chrysobull occurs seven times. 'Sirico' = 'cum filo serico', the usual method of affixing the seal by a silk thread in imperial Byzantine documents; *cf.* Tafel–Thomas, ii. 350. The use of red ink in the subscription was of course also a Byzantine practice, and was adopted not only by the podestà but by the Latin emperor: R. L. Wolff, 'The Latin empire of Constantinople', in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, ii (Philadelphia, 1962), 190, and the same writer's 'A new document from the period of the Latin empire of Constantinople: the oath of the Venetian podestà', *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*, xii (1952) (= *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, iv [Brussels, 1953]), 560.

2. *E.g.* Tafel–Thomas, ii. 188–9 (*preceptum*), 272–3, 274–6 (*pacta*).

3. S. M. Stern, *Fāṭimid decrees* (London, 1964), pp. 149–51.

4. H. W. Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi* (Copenhagen, 1959), pp. 92–93, 101, 121: a copy of the agreement would have been kept in the state archive, *ibid.* 67, 279.

5. A letter of Baldwin II to Queen Blanche describes how, 'Ipse Soldanus nuncium suum proprium una cum nostro cum solemnitate magna et exeniis pluribus ad nos misit: videlicet quendam potentiorem ac grandiorem de suis partibus Admiraldum, cum litteris de credulitate bulla sua aurea communitis', A. Du Chesne, *Historiae Francorum scriptores* (Paris, 1639–49), v. 425. Kaykhusraw I was at one time an exile in Constantinople and may have become familiar with Greek usages there, Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 115. A member of the important Byzantine family of the Gabrades served as envoy of Kaykubādh to pope Gregory IX and to Frederick II, G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della terra santa e dell'oriente francescano*, ii (Quaracchi, 1906–), 298–9; A. A. M. Bryer, 'A Byzantine Family: the Gabrades', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* xii (1970), 181. On the employment of Greek scribes by the Seljuks and

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Hugh Lusignan, king of Cyprus, to Izz al Dīn Kay-kāūs I refers to the 'sworn chrysobulls' (*ὁρκωμοτικῶν χρυσοβούλλων*) received by the king from the sultan.[1] In this case however it may be that 'chrysobull' is meant loosely to signify an official despatch, rather than in a literal sense, for elsewhere in the correspondence the sultan's communications are spoken of simply as '*γράμμα*' or '*(ἔγ)γραφα*'.[2]

The employment of the gold seal by a Venetian podestà is, so far as is known, a unique case. While the doge of Venice on occasion used a gold seal, for example in 1210 when the doge, Pietro Ziani, and the despot of Epirus, Michael Comnenus, exchanged chrysobulls confirming a treaty, at other times the doge used only a lead seal.[3] Little is known of the seal of the podestà. The office of podestà of course conferred immense authority on the holder, especially as the first podestà, Marino Zeno, was chosen in Constantinople between the death of the doge Enrico Dandolo on 1 June 1205 and the election of his successor, Pietro Ziani, on 5 August 1205. Intermittently at least the podestà claimed the title of Despot, the title chosen initially by Theodore Lascaris in Nicaea and later employed by the rulers of Epirus.[4] It may have been this title, with its suggestion of regency or deputising for the imperial power itself, that made the podestà consider that the gold seal befitted his dignity. At the end of the treaty, the podestà refers to himself as issuing a *chrysobullum verbum*, that is a *chrysobullos logos*, the instrument by which in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Byzantine emperors had made concessions to the Venetians.[5] Here the form is

the use of a lead seal by a Danişmend, Sp. Vryonis Jr. 'The Byzantine legacy and Ottoman forms', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 23/24 (1969/70), 275 and the same writer's, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (California, 1971), p. 470.

1. S. P. Lampros, "'*Η ἑλληνικὴ ὡς ἐπίσημος γλῶσσα τῶν σουλτάνων*", *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, v (Athens, 1908), 46: Turkish translation in Turan, *Türkiye selçukluları*, pp. 139–43.

2. Lampros, pp. 46, 48 and 51.

3. The agreement with Epirus, Tafel–Thomas, ii. 119–20; in a document of 1259 the use of a gold seal in the doge's name is especially noted, *ibid.* iii. 31. For the use of a lead seal by the doge, *ibid.* ii. 175, 180.

4. On the podestàs, *cf.* the two works of Wolff cited in p. 322 n. 1 above; also Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, pp. 79–81, 88–93 and S. Borsari, *Studi sulle colonie veneziane in Romania nel xiii secolo* (Naples, 1966), pp. 88–91. Jacopo Tiepolo is the first podestà known to have used the title of Despot, Wolff, 'A new document', p. 560: *cf.* also V. Lazzarini, 'I titoli dei dogi di Venezia', *Nuovo archivio veneto, nuova serie*, v (1903), 271–311, esp. 297. A seal of a podestà surnamed Quirini (several members of the family held the office) is published by G. Schlumberger, F. Chalandon and A. Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'orient latin* (Paris, 1943), p. 209. The material is not specified, but the context makes it clear that it is of wax, and not of lead as stated by T. Bertelé, 'Moneta veneziana e moneta bizantina', in A. Pertusi (ed.) *Venezia e il levante fino al secolo xv* (Florence, 1973), p. 16 n. A seal of the podestà is mentioned but unfortunately not described in Tafel–Thomas, i. 574.

5. *E.g.* Tafel–Thomas, i. 115–24. The chrysobull was the instrument by which, some months before the agreement under discussion, Theodore Lascaris, emperor of Nicaea, made concessions to the Venetian podestà; Tafel–Thomas, ii. 205–7. When in 1234

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usurped, not by the Latin emperor, but by a Venetian official. The podestà evidently chose the most portentous diplomatic form available to him in order to impress upon the Seljuk sultan the power of the Venetians. No doubt the Seljuks were already aware that the Venetians were a force to be reckoned with; certainly the sultan of Egypt seems at times to have regarded the doge, rather than the Latin emperor, as the effective ruler of Constantinople.[1]

The document opens with a dating formula, 'Anno domini Dei et Saluatoris nostri Jhesu Cristi.', but the year is not in fact stated. The date given in the body of the text is 'the month of March in the eighth indiction', that is, March 1220, for the eighth indiction ran from September 1219 to September 1220. This is the date given by Tafel-Thomas and generally accepted.[2] However this date, March 1220, is irreconcilable with the accession date of Kaykubādh I as given in a number of standard works which place his accession only at the end of 1220. This date for Kaykubādh's accession seems to be derived from H. W. Duda's German translation of the chronicle of Ibn Bībī which has 4 Shawwāl 617 = 2 December 1220 as the death-date of Kaykubādh's predecessor, Izz al-Dīn Kay-kāūs I. Duda cites an inscription on Kay-kāūs's mausoleum in confirmation of this date.[3] However, V. L. Ménage points out the existence of two silver coins of Kaykubādh I securely dated 616, that is, 19 March 1219–7 March 1220; these prove that Kaykubādh was already sultan at least by the first week of March 1220. Ménage also observes that the date given in Duda's translation of Ibn Bībī occurs only in the abridgement of 1284/5 and not in the original of 1281, and that the inscription commemorates the completion of the mausoleum, not the death of Kay-kāūs.[4] Jacopo Tiepolo is known to have been podestà in Constantinople on 10 December 1219 and in June 1220, so the date of March 1220 falls within the period of his tenure of

certain Cretans sought assurances from the doge, they asked him to send them a chrysobull (grissovolum). They evidently expected the doge to continue the administrative practices of their former Byzantine masters, Tafel–Thomas, ii. 325. On the form of the *chrysobullos logos*, F. Dölger and J. Karayannopulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre* (Munich, 1968), pp. 117–25.

1. Tafel–Thomas, ii. 190.

2. *Ibid.* ii. 221. Dandolo, who briefly mentions the treaty, assigns it to the fourteenth year of the dogeship of Pietro Ziani, that is to the period Aug. 1218 to Aug. 1219: this is perhaps because he records it in the same sentence as the treaty with Lascaris which belongs to Aug. 1219, A. Dandolo, *Chronica per extensum*, ed. E. Pastorello in L. Muratori, *RISS*, xii (Bologna, 1938), 281. Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, p. 89 n. 1, gives the date as *October* 1219.

3. Duda, *Ibn Bibi*, p. 90. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 124, has 'end of 1220' for Kay-kāūs's death. In the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (English text), fasc. 73–74, Kay-kāūs is said to have died in '618/end of 1220' and Kaykubādh's accession is given as 618/1220, pp. 813, 817. However 618 is in fact 25 Feb. 1221 – 14 Feb. 1222. In the French text, *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, fasc. 73–74, p. 846, Kay-kāūs's death is placed 'fin 1221'.

4. These points are made in a recent letter from Professor Ménage to me. The coins are published in Ismail Ghalib, *Takvim-i meskūkāt-i selcūkiyye* (Istanbul, 1309/1891–2), p. 26.

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office.[1] The date as given in the text of the *Liber Albus* is therefore compatible with both the Seljuk and the Venetian sources.

The treaty renews the stipulations of two earlier thirteenth-century agreements between the Venetian podestà in Constantinople and the sultans of Konya, but even before these agreements it is reasonable to suppose some trade between Venice and the Turks. In the chrysobull of 1082/4 Alexius Comnenus conceded freedom of trade to the Venetians throughout the empire and singled out some thirty-two localities for particular mention, presumably because these were places where his officials were most likely to encounter Venetians.[2] Among these localities were Chios, Abydos and Strobilos, and since Turks are known briefly to have occupied Chios and Abydos in the 1090s and to have ravaged Strobilos in 1103,[3] it is probable that some contact between Venetians and Turks occurred: certainly in the twelfth century the opportunities for such contact must have been many. The two earlier agreements, also in the form of chrysobulls, are attributed to the father and brother of Kaykubādh I. The father is Kaykhusraw I who was sultan for the second time between *c.* 1205 and 1211: the brother was his successor, Kay-kāūs I. It appears therefore that Kaykubādh, soon after his accession, confirmed the previous agreements just as formerly, on the death of a Byzantine emperor, the Venetians applied to his successor for confirmation of their privileges. Such an application for renewal was normal procedure and was a safeguard against the sudden seizure of property on the death of a ruler.[4] In this instance however it seems to have been the sultan who sent envoys to the podestà rather than the Venetians who appeared as suppliants before the sultan. Furthermore, these agreements with the Seljuks, unlike the agreements of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries between Venice and the Byzantine emperors which extended for an unlimited period, were for two years only. It may then have been simply a question of application for renewal on the expiry of the previous treaty. These short-term agreements are not remarkable; both Venetian and Turkish agreements of limited duration are known from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[5]

1. Tafel–Thomas, ii. 215–21: Wolff, 'A new document', 560.

2. Tafel–Thomas, i. 51–54.

3. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 81; P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche* (Istanbul, 1934), p. 3.

4. For an example of an application for renewal, see the events following the accession of John II Comnenus in 1118 as described in *Historia ducum veneticorum*, ed. H. Simonsfeld, *MGH, SS*, xiv (1846), 73 and by Dandolo, p. 232. The fear of seizure is apparent in the agreement between Venice and the ruler of Aleppo in 1225, Tafel–Thomas, ii. 257.

5. Dandolo gives many examples, pp. 229–303. In 1283 a Venetian envoy to the Byzantine court was given the power to make an agreement to run between seven and ten years, as he thought best, R. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia* (Bologna, 1932–1950), iii. 49–54. The Seljuk – Cypriot treaty was for three years only, Lampros, p. 48.

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Cahen suggests that although the agreement with Kaykubādh was for two years only, it was probably more or less tacitly renewed.[1] It is in fact known that in 1228 a Venetian envoy named Filippo Iuliano was in Konya where he encountered another Venetian, Marco Longo, a member of an embassy sent by Narjot de Toucy, *bailli* of the Latin emperor. Iuliano noted with some indignation that Longo presented the sultan with gifts of armour and weapons.[2] Unfortunately the object of Iuliano's embassy is unrecorded; but he was the envoy of the doge, not of the podestà. Perhaps it is to be concluded that until the early 1220s, the podestà managed relations with the Seljuks but thereafter the doge took negotiations into his own hands.[3] It may be possible to assign a more precise date to the concession associated with Kaykhusraw I, for in March 1207 the sultan took Antalya from Aldobrandini, a Tuscan adventurer formerly in Byzantine employ, and in 1209 Venice acted as intermediary between the Latin emperor and the sultan in arranging a truce.[4] It is tempting to speculate that the Venetians took this opportunity to negotiate an understanding with the sultan which would guarantee their access to, and commercial interests in, the newly conquered port. Routes from Antalya extended across the plateau of Asia Minor and it was a convenient port of call for Venetian merchants trading with Rhodes, Cyprus, Lajazzo and the Syrian ports.[5] The value of the concessions was further increased by the Seljuk occupation of Kalonoros in 1221 and subsequently of other coastal towns in the region.[6] In the north the acquisition of Sinope in 1214 gave the Seljuks a permanent outlet to the Black Sea where Venetian traders were already active.[7]

The commercial and judicial clauses of the treaty and their implications must now be considered in detail. The treaty provided

1. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 166.

2. Cessi, *Deliberazioni*, i. 208. Iuliano is not known to have had any earlier association with the Levant. In 1227 an F. Iuliano was witness to an incident in Venice and he had also been podestà in Chioggia, *ibid.* i. 185, 190.

3. The doge supervised negotiations with Aleppo in 1207–8 and in 1225, Tafel–Thomas, ii. 64, 256.

4. Duda, *Ibn Bibi*, pp. 44–46; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 120. Antalya was re-occupied for a time by the Franks between 1210 and 1216, Duda, pp. 61–64; S. Lloyd and D. S. Rice, *Alanya ('Ala'iyya)* (occasional publication of the British School of Archaeology in Ankara, 1958), p. 52. For the Venetians as intermediaries, E. Gerland, *Geschichte des Lateinischen Kaiserreiches von Konstantinopel* (Homburg v.d. Höhe, 1905, rpt. Darmstadt, 1966), i. 211.

5. Venetians from Syria are mentioned in the text of the treaty. For the presence of Venetians in Byzantine Antalya, R. Morozzo della Rocca and A. Lombardo, *Documenti del commercio veneziano nei sec. xi–xiii* (Turin, 1940), no. 90. The Venetian maritime statutes of 1255 refer to Venetians plying between Antalya and Alexandria, Tafel–Thomas, iii. 430–1: see also Heyd, i. 303. On the routes across Asia Minor, Cahen, 'Commerce anatolien', pp. 91–93, 95–96; Lloyd and Rice, pp. 44–45; K. Erdmann, *Das Anatolische Karawansaray des 13 Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1961).

6. Duda, *Ibn Bibi*, 104–9; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 124.

7. Duda, *Ibn Bibi*, 64–69; Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo, *Documenti*, nos. 478, 479 and 541.

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that payment of duty by Venetian merchants should be at a standard rate of 2 per cent except for certain totally exempted categories of merchandise. Reciprocal guarantees for the safety of the subjects of both parties to the treaty and their property in the event of shipwreck or other misfortune were agreed. The Venetians were to enjoy certain judicial privileges in the territories of the sultan.

The provision for the payment of duty at a standard rate of 2 per cent was a concession of great value. Although the Venetians traded duty-free in the Latin empire and in some other Christian states such as Epirus, Nicaea and, later, Little Armenia,[1] the rate of 2 per cent *ad valorem* was exceptionally low. Cahen considers the normal rate would have been at least 10 per cent.[2] In the Venetian treaty of 1207/8 with Aleppo, the general rate was 12, reduced in 1225 to 6 per cent.[3] Payment at so low a rate as 2 per cent is only occasionally encountered elsewhere, as for instance, in 1217 when Guy, Lord of Byblos, reduced the duty payable by Venetians from 4 per cent and four *quarroblas* to 2 per cent and two *quarroblas*.[4] Scarcely less valuable was the simplicity of the system in contrast to the elaborately graded system of tariffs in other Muslim states. The Seljuk concession must greatly have facilitated commercial transactions. Earlier and contemporary sources for the history of commerce in the Levant often give the impression that harassment by officials and disputes about liability as much as the duties themselves vexed merchants and imperilled relations between merchants and rulers.[5]

1. Tafel–Thomas, ii. 121–2, 206 and 426–7. In Armenia duty on certain classes of metals was still payable by Venetians resident abroad.

2. Cahen, 'Commerce anatolien', 96; *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 165.

3. Tafel–Thomas, ii. 65, 257. There was a general trend towards lower duties: *cf.* J. Riley-Smith, 'Government in Latin Syria and the commercial privileges of foreign merchants' in D. Baker (ed.) *Relations between east and west in the middle ages* (Edinburgh, 1973), pp. 110, 113 and 117.

4. Tafel–Thomas, ii. 196–7. '*Quarrobla*' = *keration* (the word originally denoted the weight of a carob seed): a *keration* was 1/24 of a *solidus*. Fractional percentages were commonly expressed in *keratia*, Tafel–Thomas, ii. 398; Riley-Smith, p. 130 n. 113. Early in the next century the Pisans paid only 2 per cent on trade in Pera, B. Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 41.

5. Examples of more complex systems of tariffs are to be found in the terms of the agreements between Venice and Antioch in 1153 (Tafel–Thomas, i. 133–5), between Venice and the Muslim Lord of Saone in 1229 (*ibid.* ii. 272–3) and between Venice and Aleppo in 1207/8 and 1229 (*ibid.* ii. 62–66 and 274–6). The way in which the bull of Alexius I to the Venetians (*ibid.* i. 51–54) grants total immunity from taxation and then proceeds to list all the taxes which the Venetians do *not* have to pay suggests that disputes about liability to the various taxes easily arose. The precision in the classification of goods exempt from certain duties in a privilege of John Ibelin, Lord of Beirut, in 1222 anticipates and is concerned to prevent disputes over the status of different categories of merchandise (*ibid.* ii. 232–4). An agreement with Egypt in the early thirteenth century also indicates concern about unjust exactions (*ibid.* ii. 185–7). On the problems arising from the complexity of tolls and the attempts at evasion, see G. Rouillard, 'Les taxes maritimes et commerciales d'après les actes de Patmos et de Lavra', *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, i (Paris, 1930), 277–89, esp. 288–9; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades* (Paris, 1940), pp. 477–8 and 'Douanes et commerce dans les

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The treaty gave the Venetians total exemption from payment on corn, pearls, precious stones and both worked and unworked gold and silver. Although the recovery of agriculture in Asia Minor in the early thirteenth century is well attested both in the Greek empire of Nicaea and in the Seljuk lands,[1] there seems to be no other reference to the export of corn by the Seljuks until late in the century, when Canale mentions the Turks, together with many other peoples, as suppliers of corn to Venice in the famine of 1268.[2] Pegolotti, writing in the first half of the next century, implies that corn was exported to the west from Asia Minor.[3] It was perhaps to stimulate trade in a surplus of corn that the sultans allowed the Venetians to carry it duty free. The import of corn into the growing city of Venice was an important consideration in the minds of the Venetian authorities.[4]

The exemption of the other categories – pearls, precious stones, gold and silver – is perhaps to be explained by the fact that these served on occasion as a substitute for coinage. The Polos, for instance, carried jewels both as a medium of exchange and as a repository of value.[5] Pearls and precious stones and metals were commonly exempted from payment of duty or given special rates in treaties with the Muslim powers.[6] These total exemptions together with the low, standardized rate, must have given the Venetians an edge over their competitors in the Seljuk lands.[7]

Other clauses accorded protection to Venetian vessels shipwrecked in Turkish waters or seeking refuge in Turkish ports. Venetian subjects aboard non-Venetian ships were promised similar protection. Even non-Venetian pilgrims falling into Turkish hands were to be set free. Reciprocal clauses gave similar assurances in the event of Turks falling into Venetian hands, and the Venetians undertook to respect Turkish property in the event of death and to make amends for any losses the Turks might sustain through theft while in places under Venetian jurisdiction. While similar provisions

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ports méditerranées de l'Égypte médiévale d'après le Minhadj d'Al-Makhzumi', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vii (1964), 217–314, esp. 242 and 291 ff. and Riley-Smith, pp. 113 and 117.

1. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, pp. 155–9; M. Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile: government and society under the Lascarids of Nicaea* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 103–4, 116: after the coming of the Mongols in 1243 the Seljuks imported corn from the empire of Nicaea.

2. Martin da Canal, *Les estoires de Venise* ed. A. Limentani (Florence, Civiltà veneziana, fonti e testi, xii, serie terza, 3, n.d.), pp. 326–9.

3. Pegolotti, pp. 56, 58.

4. In 1210 the Despot of Arta (Epirus) allowed the unrestricted export of corn to Venice, Tafel–Thomas, ii. 122. The importance of Crete to Venice was due not only to its geographical position but to its corn, *ibid.* ii. 132, 140, 163, 245; Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, p. 137.

5. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ed. H. Yule (London, 1871), i. 2. See also, Bertelé, p. 4.

6. Tafel–Thomas, ii. 64, 339, 452 and 487.

7. These competitors are known to have included Pisans (mentioned in the treaty itself), Provençals and Genoese, Heyd, i. 303.

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are to be found in some other commercial treaties of the period, the pledges given in the treaty of 1220 were more extensive than was usual: the degree of security afforded to Venetian merchants must have encouraged them to venture into Seljuk markets.[1] The protection promised to Turks on board vessels falling into Venetian hands perhaps reflects, like the building of the celebrated arsenal at Alanya (the former Kalonoros), a growing Turkish involvement in maritime affairs.[2]

By the agreement, the sultan conceded certain judicial privileges to the Venetians in his domains: in any dispute arising between Venetians and other Latins – the Pisans are mentioned by name – judgment was to be given by appropriate Venetian officials, unless the case was one of assault with a weapon, or theft. In these cases judgment was reserved to the sultan's court. This clause ensured that commercial cases involving only Latins would be settled by the Venetians. Nowhere else did the Venetians obtain a comparable advantage; although frequently enjoying special legal privileges, these privileges extended in other instances only to the settlement of disputes between the Venetians themselves, between those living in Venetian quarters, or between the Venetians and the subjects of the ruler who made the concession.[3] The legal standing *vis-à-vis* their rivals secured by the Venetians in this agreement was superior to any they enjoyed in the Levant outside their own colonies. However, the treaty gave the Venetians no right to property, no possession of *fondaco*, mill, church or bath such as they held in many eastern cities, both Christian and Muslim[4]; nor was there any assurance, such as the Venetians enjoyed at Aleppo, that the Venetian merchant

1. The right to plunder a shipwrecked vessel was of course taken for granted, *cf.* Usāmah ibn-Mundiqh, *Kitāb al-I'tibār*, trans. P. K. Hitti, *Memoirs of an Arab-Syrian gentleman* (edition of Beirut, 1964), p. 61. For examples of treaties affording protection in the event of wreck, Tafel–Thomas, i. 87, 134; ii. 122, 206, 232, 273, 276 and 484. The Seljuk–Cypriot agreement of 1216 promised protection in case of wreck but implies that such protection was unusual, Lampros, p. 49. In other treaties rulers reserved their full or partial rights to wreck, for example, Leo III of Armenia in 1271 (Tafel–Thomas, iii. 116). The ruler of Aleppo retained 15 per cent of salvage in a treaty of 1225, Tafel–Thomas, ii. 257.

2. Lloyd and Rice, pp. 16–18; Cessi, iii. 125.

3. The *pactum Warmundi* of 1123 assigns commercial cases between Venetians and cases where the defendant is a Venetian to a Venetian court, but carefully reserves cases where a Venetian is plaintiff to the royal court, Tafel–Thomas, i. 87. In a privilege of 1201 Leo II of Armenia reserves all cases between Venetians and others to the royal court, *ibid.* i. 384. See also the privileges granted to the Venetians in Constantinople by Alexius III Angelus in 1198, Tafel–Thomas, i. 273–6, and the comments of C. M. Brand, *Byzantium confronts the west* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), pp. 202–3. The Venetians in Saone had the right to settle internal disputes, Tafel–Thomas, ii. 273. In Antioch all cases in which a Venetian appeared as defendant were resolved in their own court, *ibid.* i. 134. In his report, the Venetian *bailli* in Syria in 1243 stoutly upheld the right to judge non-Venetians in the Venetian quarter of Tyre, *ibid.* ii. 358. In Beirut however John of Ibelin retained jurisdiction in all criminal cases, *ibid.* ii. 231.

4. For example, in a Christian city, Acre, *ibid.* i. 85; in a Muslim city, Aleppo, *ibid.* ii. 65, 276.

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community would not be punished for the misdeeds of one of its members.[1]

The provisions of the commercial agreements made by the Mediterranean powers often appear arbitrary, complex and difficult to interpret in their details. They perhaps represent compromises reached after hard bargaining. This treaty gave the Venetians very favourable tariffs, security and a strong legal position: in short, the concessions most likely to benefit merchants seeking to penetrate relatively new markets. The absence of rights to property and of explicit provision for the settlement of disputes among the Venetians themselves and of protection for the community against reprisals for the action of its members, support this view that in the Seljuk lands the Venetians were only few in number and ill-established. They had as yet no need of the communal and property rights so assiduously sought and obtained elsewhere. If the treaty shows the Venetians as poised to exploit the potential of the Seljuk markets, the agreement was no doubt equally acceptable on the Turkish side. All the eastern rulers profited greatly from the commerce that passed through their territories and the Seljuk rulers were, more than most, concerned to foster and promote mercantile activity in their domains.[2]

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1. *Ibid.* ii. 276.

2. Riley-Smith, *passim*, shows the benefits accruing to the rulers of Latin Syria who fostered trade. Ibn Bibī was aware how often the Seljuk sultans acted from commercial motives, *e.g.* (trans. Duda), pp. 44–46, 68, 130–2, 138–9 and 142–3. Also, Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, pp. 122–3 and 126.

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CROSSING THE WATER

THE VENICE LAGOON FROM ANTIQUITY THROUGHOUT THE CENTURIES

Edited by
Maddalena Bassani, Giuseppe D'Acunto, Fantina Madricardo

«L'ERMA» di BRETSCHNEIDER

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coordinati da

Lorenzo Braccesi

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NOTE TO CASSIODORUS, *VARIAE* XII, 24

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The letter by Cassiodorus published here[1], deserves a note of comment, not because it is representative of the author's intellectual profile and a remarkable example of high literary quality, which it is (*fig. 1*), but because of the extraordinary amount of information we can derive from the short text[2].

The letter is addressed to the *Tribuni Maritimi* and dated after 1 September 537. First of all, a definition of the term "tribunus" in the institutional lexicon of the time is called for. The term, since the first decades of the 4th century AD, defines the role of an apical figure of the cohorts of "civic police" appointed to control the regular development of urban commercial and social activities. Specifically, the figure of the *Tribunus Fori Suarii*, attested by the times of Maxentius and Constantine, was in charge of supervising the expensive swine market (*caro suina*). In the Constantinian period other "tribunus" figures were also attested and their roles, as evidenced by the title, would have referred to the protection of order and public safety[3]. In our case, the *Tribuni Maritimi* to which Cassiodorus addresses his note, are obviously an administrative body and, unlike the other "tribunati" known at the time, they are a collegial body. The powerful *Praefectus*

[1] For the edition for the Latin text, the reference is Barnish 1992; a new edition and translation in Giardina *et alii* 2016, pp. 108-11. We publish here the text in a new translation, by the author of this contribution.

[2] On the historical figure and role of Cassiodorus, see Cardini 2009; on his political role, with specific attention to the Epistolary, see also Giardina 2006, in particular, see the chapter "Cassiodoro politico e il problema delle *Variae*".

[3] On the definition of the "tribunus" role in late Antiquity, see Radaelli 2020, pp. 3-6, with Bibliography.

Fig. 1 – Frontispiece showing Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus, fo. 2r of Leiden ms. vul. 46 (*Gesta Theodorici*), Fulda 1176/7. Leiden, University Library (©wikicommons).

praetorio Italiae questions the Tribunes with competence on the coasts of the "Venetiae" to promptly prepare to ensure safe transfer of food from Histria to the Ravenna headquarters, as required by the previously issued order (§1: *data pridem iussione*).

According to the letter, the *Tribuni maritimi* reside in the "Venetiae" area, and Cassiodorus addresses them with a tone of complicity, highlighting his direct knowledge of the territory (§3: *perspeximus*). And it is precisely the direct experience of the Author in relation to geography, social customs, and the local economy that makes his testimony so precious.

From our perspective, the precise definition provided of the territory is crucial: the "Venetiae" to which Cassiodorus refers, do not define, as in almost all the other ancient sources, the wide region that includes the Po valley and reaches as far north as Histria, as far south to include at least Adria, and *also* includes the coastal territories that overlook the large northern gulf of the Adriatic. Instead, these "Venetiae" administered by the *Tribuni Maritimi*, at least for that which concerned the commercial and transport aspects, are specifically the Venice lagoon, understood in a broader sense as the system of the upper Adriatic lagoons.

At the heart of the representation is a hybrid landscape: a fluid matrix of land and water, in which the shallow waters of a sea-non-sea, respond to the gravitational pull of the moon, generating a tidal force that alternatively reveals and conceals the fragmented profiles of the emerged lands (§3: *alternus aestus egrediens modo claudit, modo aperit faciem reciprocal inundatione camporum*), that shelter boats and structures from storms and waves. The hydrogeological characteristics of the lagoon neutralize the devastating and ruinous effects of storm surges. The houses scattered throughout the small insulae do not have solid foundations but are anchored to precarious wicker supports, made of rattan poles. Nonetheless those apparently fragile materials (§4: *tam fragilis munitio*) are sufficiently adequate, and most suitable for the specific function because, unlike solid earth, they have the qualities of flexibility and elasticity which are necessary in the lagoon. The materials need to be structurally complicit with the discontinuous motion of the waters. The ensemble of the constructed houses depict a profile of an anthropized archipelago, that mirrors a miniature image of the Cyclades islands, scattered over the sea (§3, §4).

In the Venice Lagoon, as in the Greek sea, Nature can only be responsible for the delightful frame, but what is pictured on the canvas mostly depends on the care of Man (§4: *quae natura protulit, sed hominum cura fundavit*). The urban landscape of the Lagoon is a constellation in which the lines of conjunction do not pass through natural elements but are traced between the buildings. Nevertheless, the architecture, designed according to the specific local style, recalls an universal style that characterises insular architecture, at any latitude. Among these houses, resting on land accustomed to appearing and disappearing with the tides, boats can be seen passing by, and to the eye of a distant spectator, they seem to float over the meadows, due to the flat and horizontal perspective that conceals the channel on which they travel (§2: *putantur eminus almost for prata ferri, cum eorum contingit alveum non videri*). The vivid image Cassiodorus conjures from a different time and dimension, is exactly the same as that which any citizen of contemporary Venice would behold, as they see passenger ships passing between the roofs of the city, with amused amazement – or with horror, in the case of monstrous cruise boats similar to floating skyscrapers that reach and exceed the height of the bell towers.

Cassiodorus does not reproduce the topoi taken from all the ancient sources, regarding the fertility of the places and the benignity of the climate of the Venetian lagoons. If the surrounding territory, Histria for example, produces particularly abundant harvests of wine, oil and wheat, in the Lagoon there is only fish to eat, and the only investment is in the salt pans from which the local dish is made. The coin minted in Venice is extraordinary, because it only serves to live "here" where man has little other to invent. In other words, in the Venetian Lagoon, Man has made the wise choice of supporting what nature offers him, a unique and pleasant

form of life and having in return the collaboration of nature itself in his "art", in a setting in which the waves themselves collaborate in the production of resources (§6: *Arti vestrae omnis fluctus addictus est*). A concrete example: in "Venetiae" salt is worth more than gold, not only for its market value, but because salt makes any food tasty. Salt is considered not only as an elementary currency and form of economic investment, but as a factor of pleasure. In this context, techniques and experiences were also developed, such as the nautical expertise of the inhabitants of "Venetiae" to which the Prefect reserves considerable recognition: specifically, the *Tribuni Maritimi* are entrusted with the task of organizing transport by sea of foodstuffs towards Ravenna, and the Tribunes will certainly be able to complete the mission, given that they move in the sea as if they were at home and that they are accustomed to many other, and longer, crossings (§1: ... *ad vicina, qui saepe spatia transmittitis infinita*).

And it is precisely starting from these physical and material, geographical and economic, assumptions, that Cassiodorus also exercises his political contemplation, and with a notable conceptual leap, highlights the particularity of the extraordinary forms of social and political life in "Venetiae": the unique food resource (the fish), the very aspect of the houses, and the construction techniques naturally caused the elimination of social and economic differences. Everyone eats the same fish, everyone lives in similar houses: therefore, poverty coexists with wealth, indeed poor and rich people are indistinguishable and there is no reason for envy among individuals, or social classes. There is nothing to be envied in a society where everyone lives in the same type of house and eats the same fish. In fact, a sort of 'democracy by nature' has been established in "Venetiae", induced by the same geophysical conditions of the territory, which we can consider the harbinger of the institutional structure of the Serenissima Repubblica.

Cassiodorus gives the name of "Venetiae" to this landscape and its social, economic and political system, and this "Venetiae", in a text dated within the first half of the VI Century, is presented as already famous and prestigious, with a history and a past in which it was inhabited by noble people (§3: *Venetiae praedicabiles*, *quondam plenae nobilibus*). Cassiodoro's letter is the first testimony of a consolidated urban structure, the unprecedented description of a reality undoubtedly presented as already mature and advanced under all profiles – architectural, social, economic, technical, administrative, and institutional.

Nevertheless, the letter is also an official document, an exhortation to the *Tribuni* to be ready to do their job. The ring composition of the text is construed with great skill: if in the first paragraph we find the image of the ships controlled by the *Tribuni* accustomed to navigating the sea as if they were "at home", in the last paragraph we find the urgent invitation to put those boats to use, rather than keep them tied to the walls of the buildings "as if they were animals", to

make haste and prepare them for the journey, without wasting time. In Ravenna, they are waiting and the *Tribuni* will certainly be able to find the shortest way, among the endless untracked paths of the sea, taking into account the climatic factor in the days in which the transport will take place. "Make haste" (§1, §7: *Estote… promptissimi […] Festinetis excurrere*): the institutional, strong and authoritative voice of the *Prefectus Pretorio Italiae* sounds peremptory. It is a role that Cassiodorus will keep for just a while longer. Shortly thereafter, the phase of his progressive marginalization from institutional posts begins, leading to the definitive retirement in his homeland, Calabria. Here, the "the first humanist[4]" will endeavor to accomplish his visionary utopia, an anticipation of the activity of recovery and conservation of classic texts that the intellectuals of the Renaissance will undertake nine centuries later: the grandiose cultural enterprise of the *Vivarium*, where the aim will be to collect and "raise" not fish but books.

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[4] "Cassiodoro primo umanista" is the brilliant title of the recent work by Ghisalberti – Tarzia 2021.

THE LETTERS OF CASSIODORUS. A CONDENSED TRANSLATION OF THE VARIAE EPISTOLAE OF MAGNUS AURELIUS CASSIODORUS SENATOR

XII, 24 TRIBUNIS MARITIMORUM SENATOR PPO.	
[1] *Data pridem iussione censuimus ut Histria vini, olei vel tritici species, quarum praesenti anno copia indulta perfruitur, ad Ravennatem feliciter dirigeret mansionem. Sed vos, qui numerosa navigia in eius confinio possidetis, pari devotionis gratia providete ut quod illa parata est tradere, vos studeatis sub celeritate portare. Similis erit quippe utrisque gratia perfectionis, quando unum ex his dissociatum impleri non permittit effectum. Estote ergo promptissimi. ad vicina, qui saepe spatia transmittitis infinita.*	[1] We have already established with a previous order that Histria will beneficially send to Ravenna headquarters wine, oil and wheat which this year is in great abundance. Now, you, who have numerous ships on the borders of the region, get busy with the same zealous liberality, as soon as possible, to transport the goods that are ready for shipment. In fact, the benefit of completing the mission will be an advantage for both of us, since none will be able to accomplish it. So, you who usually cross immense distances, be very ready to reach nearby shores,
[2] *Per hospitia quodammodo vestra discurritis, qui per patriam navigatis. Accedit etiam commodis vestris quod vobis aliud iter aperitur perpetua securitate tranquillum. Nam cum ventis saevientibus mare fuerit clausum, via vobis panditur per amoenissima fluviorum. Carinae vestrae flatus asperos non pavescunt: terram cum summa felicitate contingunt et perire nesciunt, quae frequenter inpingunt. Putantur eminus quasi per prata ferri, cum eorum contingit alveum non videri. Tractae funibus ambulant, quae stare rudentibus consuerunt et condicione mutata pedibus iuvant homines naves suas: vectrices sine labore trahunt et pro pavore velorum utuntur passu prosperiore nautarum.*	[2] In a sense, you travel through your own abodes, as the navigation is within your homeland. This also is to add to your advantages: another route is open for you, that is peaceful and always safe. Indeed, when the sea route could be closed by raging winds, a way is opened to you through the wonderful rivers landscape. The hull of your boats does not fear the harsh winds: it lands safely and, even if they frequently run aground, they should not be destroyed. Beholders from afar, believe that ships are carried across the meadows, when, as happens, the channels they are travelling is not visible. The ships move pulled with cords, which thanks to the ropes are held steady. In essence, with reversed parts, it is the men who help their boats with their feet: they drag the transport boats effortlessly and, on avoiding sails, the captains exploit the more useful step of their sailors.

[3] *Iuvat referre quemadmodum habitationes vestras sitas esse perspeximus. Venetiae praedicabiles quondam plenae nobilibus ab austro Ravennam Padumque contingunt, ab oriente iucunditate Ionii litoris perfruuntur, ubi alternus aestus egrediens modo claudit, modo aperit faciem reciproca inundatione camporum. Hic vobis aquatilium avium more domus est: nam qui nunc terrestris, modo cernitur insularis, ut illic magis aestimes esse Cycladas ubi subito locorum facies respicis immutatas.*	[3] It is worth remembering the situation of your dwellings, as I myself have seen them. The prestigious Venetiae, once full of nobles, reach Ravenna and the Po on the South, while on the East they enjoy the delightsomeness of the Ionian shore, where the alternating tide now discovers now hides the face of the fields, depending on the ebb or flow of waters. There, your dwellings are similar to the waterfowl ones. Here, he who just now was terrestrial, suddenly appears as an islander: and you might believe that they are the Cyclades, where at every moment you see the appearance of the places changing.
[4] *Earum quippe similitudine per aequora longe patentia domicilia videntur sparsa, quae natura protulit, sed hominum cura fundavit. Viminibus enim flexibilibus illigatis terrena illic soliditas aggregatur et marino fluctui tam fragilis munitio non dubitatur opponi, scilicet quando vadosum litus moles eicere nescit undarum et sine viribus fertur quod altitudinis auxilio non iuvatur.*	[4] Just like in the Greek islands, your dwellings appear scattered amid the wide expanse of the open sea, produced by Nature, but built by the care of man. In fact, there the solidity of the ground is strengthened with flexible wicker bound together, and so fragile a defense undoubtedly manages to counteract the waves of the sea, since the shallow seabed is unable to produce a mass of waves, and the waters rise without force, unsupported by the sea depth.
[5] *Habitatoribus igitur una copia est, ut solis piscibus expleantur. Paupertas ibi cum divitibus sub aequalitate convivit. Unus cibus omnes reficit, habitatio similis universa concludit, nesciunt de penatibus invidere et sub hac mensura degentes evadunt vitium, cui mundum esse constat obnoxium.*	[5] Therefore, the inhabitants have only one resource, gorging themselves on fish only. There, poverty coexists with the rich, in a regime of equality. A unique kind of food feeds all, a single type of dwelling is the same for all. They do not have matter to envy each other's homes, and, thanks to this sober lifestyle, they escape the vice to which the rest of the world is subjected.
[6] *In salinis autem exercendis tota contentio est: pro aratris, pro falcibus cylindros volvitis; inde vobis fructus omnis enascitur, quando in ipsis et quae non facitis possidetis. Moneta illic quodammodo percutitur victualis. Arti vestrae omnis fluctus addictus est. Potest aurum aliquis minus quaerere, nemo est qui salem non desideret invenire, merito, quando isti debet omnis cibus quod potest esse gratissimus.*	[6] On the other hand, every effort is aimed at exploiting the salt pans; instead of plows and scythes, you roll your cylinders. This is where your whole crop comes from, since you enjoy a resource that you have not produced by yourselves. Thence the money you need to live is coined, so to speak. Each wave is at the service of this art of yours. Maybe there is someone who is not interested in looking for gold, but there is no one who does not want to find salt, because it is thanks to it that any food can become very pleasant.

[7] *Proinde naves, quas more animalium vestris parietibus illigatis, diligenti cura reficite, ut, cum vos vir experientissimus Laurentius, qui ad procurandas species directus est, commonere temptaverit, festinetis excurrere, quatenus expensas necessarias nulla difficultate tardetis, qui pro qualitate aeris compendium vobis eligere potestis itineris.*	[7] Therefore, repair very carefully the ships that you keep tied to the walls of your houses, as if they were animals, so that when the experienced man *Laurentius* who was sent by you to get goods, will urge you, you will hurry to get to work, so as not to interfere with any delay in the necessary expenses, and so that, depending on the climate, you can choose the shortest route.

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Abstract

The article offers an in depth focus on the famous letter XII, 24 of Cassiodorus, written in 537 AD to the "Tribuni maritimi" of the Venetiae. Starting from a new translation of the text and a grounded lexical analysis, the article emphasizes some important aspects related to the perspicuous characters of the Venice Lagoon: the legal role of the "Tribuni" in the control and management of the lagoons; the description of the landscape; the aspect of the buildings peculiar of the lagoon context, and the life in the islands; the solid government of the area based on the Roman administrative structure and jurisdiction. Thanks to this new interpretation, Cassiodorus' testimony appears of great importance for reflecting on the Venetian lagoon in a crucial phase at the end of Antiquity and the beginning of Venetian rule over the territory.

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The Greek Exploitation of Egypt

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Will this Psalm make an easy introduction into Latin for a first year Latin student? Will it be easy for a second year Latin student? Or for a third year Latin student? Will the queer capitalization and punctuation add to the ease of interpretation? Will even the advanced scholar find it easy to interpret some of the expressions? Will any one find it easy to fit the familiar English version to the Latin?

(To be concluded)

CHARLES KNAPP

THE GREEK EXPLOITATION OF EGYPT[1]

A modern student who attempts to understand the economic life of the ancient Greeks and Romans is handicapped in two particular ways. Immediately he is confronted by the fact that up to the present it has been impossible to write an adequate consecutive history of ancient economics. Many intensive and difficult detailed investigations of special subjects and places must be made, especially in the field of archaeology, before such an economic history can be attempted with any hope of success. Lacking the comprehensive knowledge which could be obtained from such a trustworthy survey, the modern scholar carries with him into the study of antiquity the economic preconceptions of his own day, of which he can divest himself only with the greatest effort. Unless he is constantly on his guard his figures will fit themselves into this background. Then the result will be that his ancient people and ancient life will be exaggeratedly modern, and untrue to themselves. If, on the other hand, the present-day scholar is too conscious of his own economic modernity, his actors and their actions tend to appear as detached from any economic background, or as bizarre figures which react much too primitively to the stimuli of historic life, their doings unmotivated by the fundamental economic necessities which assuredly influenced them.

The second difficulty arises out of the 'classical' training in the Greek and the Latin languages and literatures which is the essential equipment of any man who ventures into the field of ancient economic research to-day. In its better forms this training is excellent as an induction into the methods of a critical approach to historical sources. It tends, however, to be highly subjective and even idealistic, so much so that one is justified in speaking of a 'classicistic attitude' toward ancient culture. The ancient historian must, therefore, marshal to his aid a degree of sane realism, which is equally necessary and more easily maintained in other fields of historical investigation. Alma-Tadema's painting, A Reading from Homer, which hangs in reproductions upon the walls of so many of our Secondary Schools, is aesthetically and in point of composition a rather notable work of art. It is also a drastic example of the worst form of classicism. As a symbol of the culture of the ancient Greeks, it is sentimentally idealistic, inept, misleading, and even dangerous. The ancient Hellenes had little enough time to lie prone beside the wine-colored sea, with chins propped on their hands, listening raptly to readings from Homer. One knows their life and their appreciation of Homer much better by a simple reading of the Ion of Plato, and by allowing, even there, for a certain amount of idealization. Crassly stated, the painting of Alma-Tadema would be an equally applicable symbol of the productive energy of the ancient Hellenes if the roll from which the rhapsodist is reading were a business document, and if the subject of rapt attention were the possibility of a profit of twenty-five per cent a year, instead of the deep-sounding harmonies of Homeric hexameter.

The study here presented arose partly as a corrective to what may be called 'hyperbolic classicism'. More particularly it was suggested by the obvious consideration that the conquest of Western Asia and Egypt by Alexander was followed by an intensive economic penetration and exploitation of this great area by Greeks and Macedonians, and that the thoroughness of that exploitation is only to be explained by definite advantages and superiorities of the conquering people which surpassed the bounds of mere military efficiency. The problem was therefore clearly set, namely, to determine, if possible, what advantages lay with the Hellenes of the fourth and the third pre-Christian centuries over their non-Hellenic contemporaries which enabled them to dominate so completely the economic and political world of that day and sphere.

Expansive energy was one of the most notable characteristics of the Greek people throughout the first pre-Christian millennium, just as it is to-day. The details of their earliest voyages of discovery into the Black Sea and westward to Italy and Sicily appear to us only in mythological form. In the wake of exploring adventurers[2] came those Greeks who colonized all the northern stretches of the Mediterranean littoral. The causes of early Greek colonization will probably always remain conjectural. The facts and the results upon the ancient world are entirely historical. In his recent brilliant article upon 'Alexander and Hellenistic Economic Life' Ulrich Wilcken has depicted Alexander the Great as one of the great historic explorers of the world[3]. In this sense Alexander was a typical Greek, however sincerely Demosthenes may have denounced his father, Philip, as un-Hellenic, a barbarian. Alexander accompanied his conquests with intensive colonization which was assuredly economic as well as military in its purpose, and quite consciously economic in Alexander's mind[4].

The first period of Greek colonization was followed by an intensive exploitation of the commercial opportunities afforded by the opening-up of new lands to

[1] <This paper was read at the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held at Swarthmore College, May 1–2, 1925. By arrangement with the author and with the editors of the Political Science Quarterly, it was published first in the latter periodical, 40.517–539 (December, 1925), virtually as it was presented to the Association. It is reprinted here with such changes only as are necessary to bring it into harmony with the style-sheet of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY. C. K. >.

[2] Julius Beloch, Geschichte Griechenlands², I, 1,229–230.

[3] Alexander der Grosse und die Hellenistische Wirtschaft, in Schmoller's Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung 45 (1921), 357.

[4] *Ibid.*, 355.

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Greek energies. The hundred years stretching from the advent of Pericles as leader of Athenian politics to the accession of Philip II as King of Macedon are filled with bloody strife among the Greek city-states, accompanied by great losses in economic goods throughout the area of Hellenic control. Even these losses did not break the general economic prosperity of the Greek world. The trade with Lower Russia in Greek *objets d'art* in gold and silver remained unimpaired throughout the fourth century[5]. The Hellenic cities of Sicily and those of Asia Minor were expanding commercially. Only in Italy were the Greek cities declining in the face of the growing political power and economic advance of the native Italians[6].

The second period of Greek colonization, begun by Alexander, extended over a period of some sixty years. The Greek commercial exploitation which accompanied it and followed it differed from that of the Hellenic period subsequent to the colonization of the Black Sea and the Northern shore of the Mediterranean. In the earlier period, in so far as imperialism is to be found among the Hellenes, it had confined itself in the main to attempts on the part of the city-states to widen their dominion so as to include other Greek city-states of the same *ethnos*[7], or, at the most, more distant kin of the same Greek stock. Their exploitation of non-Hellenes had been commercial only, unaccompanied by the necessity of political domination. Within the area of inter-Hellenic city-state strife the struggle for commercial advantage enforced the bitterness already developed by differences of political viewpoint. This new combination of political and commercial causes of war found ruthless expression in Athenian politics in the year 431 B. C. in the total expulsion of the Aeginetans from their native island[8]. If Thucydides was the realist and clear thinker that he is generally supposed to have been, we may assume that, at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, official circles at Athens had wearied of any attempt to conciliate by just treatment the antagonism of the members of the Delian League to the imperialistic hegemony of Athens. The Athenian mission to Sparta in 432 B. C. expressed the conviction that Athens would have then been in a stronger position had it consistently used *force majeure* as its policy in the Delian League. The Athenians had come to the conclusion that compulsory rule, even if based on injustice, was a less galling form of imperialism than exploitation by a State which attempted to preserve the appearance of political equality[9]. Expressed in terms of international politics of the twentieth century, the idea is that States which, theoretically speaking, are being developed toward democracy under the mandate system will be more troublesome than those ruled under compulsion as dependencies.

Political and territorial imperialism within the circle of the Greek city-states is certainly a characteristic of the fifth and the fourth centuries B. C. The Hellenistic world is distinguished from the preceding period by one fundamental difference. Commercial exploitation had, in the previous period, been based upon the custom of tapping the resources of the Black Sea and Western Mediterranean areas by coastal colonization without actual conquest of the natives. The Macedonian-Greek colonization of Alexander and his successors was inland penetration; and its advantages for exploitation were conditioned upon, and intensified by, Macedonian dynastic control which consciously threw open to Greek business shrewdness and capacity the exploitation of great subjected areas.

If political-territorial imperialism was the basis for tremendous business advantages falling to the Macedonians and the Greeks, the capacity to extract the most out of this favored business situation lay in their great industrial-technical skill and in the superior powers of business organization which they had already developed. From 450 B. C. onward specialization of labor in the manufactories of the Hellenic urban-industrial centers had greatly increased. Here we have the testimony of Xenophon[10]:

'It is impossible for a man who is a jack-of-many-trades to do all things well. In large cities, because of the fact that many persons need each commodity, a single trade suffices for making a living, and often not even one complete trade; but one workman makes men's sandals, another women's. One person makes his living exclusively by stitching sandals, another by cutting them out. One man is exclusively a cutter of *chitons*. Another takes no part in this work, but merely puts the pieces together'[11].

With this superiority in the technique of manufacturing over the more primitive contemporary artisanship of the Persian Empire the Greeks combined a marked superiority in commercial organization. Greek commerce was founded upon and facilitated by a widespread use of coined money. In the Persian Empire the adoption of money coinage and its spread had been slow as compared with the rapidity of its acceptance in the Greek spheres of Mediterranean trade. The coinage of the Great King of Persia was not extensive. The precious metals still lay heaped up in his treasuries, to be coined only as particular necessity required. In the central districts of the Persian Empire and throughout the plateau of Iran the traditional system of barter economy still prevailed. Only on the western periphery of Asia, where Greek enterprise prevailed, or in Lycia, Cilicia, Cyprus, and along the Phoenician and Palestinian coasts, was the use of coined money extensive[12]. Egypt as a Persian province had had no separate coinage of its own before Alexander's advent[13],

[5]M. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks in Southern Russia, 69 (see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 18.34–36).

[6]Beloch, Gechichte Griechenlands², III, 1,305, 314–315. For Italy see 307–308. For a different point of view with respect to the economic situation in the fourth century see Eduard Meyer, Kleine Schriften, 133. Against Meyer's view it may be said that impoverished governments and prosperous industrialists and merchants may go hand in hand. The growth of many individual fortunes, which is commonly reckoned as prosperity, often appears along with a mass increase in misery.

[7]W. S. Ferguson, Greek Imperialism, American Historical Review 33.763.

[8]Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft, 1.967.

[9]Thucydides 1.77.

[10]Xenophon, Cyropaedia 8.2.5.

[11]See further G. Glotz, Le Travail dans la Grèce Ancienne, 265–276 (Paris, 1920).

[12]Eduard Meyer, in Conrad's Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften³, 6.828–829. Compare the abbreviated statement in the fourth edition, 6.678.

[13]U. Wilcken, Grundzüge der Papyruskunde, lxiii.

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except for one issue by a satrap, to whom authority to mint had been delegated by the Great King[14].

The beginning of private banking as seen at Athens in the fourth century B. C., modest enough, as it actually was, is none the less symptomatic of Greek business capacity as developed under the little city-state form. The Athenian banker Pasion was much more than a mere *trapezites*, a money-changer. His business, however, was not yet a completely specialized banking business, since he was also a manufacturer. But he did receive deposits and he paid interest upon them. He made loans to merchants on sea-trade projects; and payments were made through his bank in mercantile enterprises. Deposits and withdrawals were made only in the presence of witnesses. The only written act in connection with his business was that of keeping the bank accounts of deposits and withdrawals. There was no arrangement of current accounts from which sums could be obtained, except by payment of bar money. There was, of course, no checking system, as is sometimes assumed[15]. Despite its primitive form and its very limited use of accumulated deposits, the bank of Pasion was a departure which augured well for the continuation of Greek business supremacy in the Mediterranean world.

It is also worth noting that in the century preceding Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire the Hellenes had had experience of the pecuniary advantage to be derived from a monopolistic control by their city-states of the right to sell certain products. Such sale-monopolies, which customarily had to do with the grain supply, were usually dictated by immediate financial need and were only temporary and local in their application[16]. Yet it is clear that Aristotle was thoroughly conscious of the advantage in price-fixing to be derived from the creation of a monopoly. 'Therefore', he says[17], 'some of the cities make this a practice when they lack money. For they make a monopoly of goods for sale'. Many conditions in the world of the Greek city-states made it impossible for the development of monopolistic control of single commodities in any complete sense of the term. Yet the Greek political writer was conscious of the methods and the results of the sale-monopoly and had invented the technical term for its expression which we still use.

The technique of shipbuilding had advanced in the fourth century throughout the Mediterranean, among the free Greeks as well as among the Greeks, the Syrians, and the Phoenicians subject to Persia[18]. When Alexander conquered Western Asia Minor and the Syrian-Palestinian coast, three of the five great centers of the shipbuilding and shipping industries of the civilized world of that day were under Macedonian-Greek control. In the Western Mediterranean two centers remained, the one at Carthage, the other among the disunited Greeks of Lower Italy, Sicily, and Lower Gaul. It is a significant feature, as well as an explanation, of the Macedonian-Greek commercial exploitation of Southwestern Asia, Egypt, and the Eastern Mediterranean lands in the third pre-Christian century that a fairly complete control of shipbuilding facilities in that area then lay in the hands of the Macedonians and the Greeks.

To the evidences already suggested of the business superiority of the Greek people in the period preceding Alexander's conquest one may now add the technical development of harbor construction. A recent German study, based primarily on archaeological evidence, has brought proof that the type of harbor enclosed within the city wall is specifically a Greek development[19]. The changes of the pre-Alexandrian period had been toward the construction of moles which could serve as fortifications as well as for protection of shipping from heavy seas, and toward the construction of connected artificial double harbors. It was a harbor fortified and otherwise constructed after Greek models which helped the Syrians defy Alexander for so long in Tyre; the harbor of Sidon, and that of Carthage as well, were built on the Greek system[20].

There is no doubt that Greek engineers in the days of Philip and Alexander held the highest place in their profession, both in the theory of engineering and in its practical applications. A high degree of specialization is not to be assumed in the engineering field except in the sense that certain engineers became particularly famous in some one branch of the profession. The general term for an engineer was still, and so remained, *architecton*, or master-builder. Archytas, philosopher and statesman of Tarentum, friend and associate of Plato, was regarded in antiquity as the founder of the science of mechanics. Hippodamus of Miletus laid out the streets of the Peiraeus in the time of Pericles. Though Hippodamus developed in that and similar undertakings the type of city-plan which dominated the ancient world for centuries[21], he also bears only the general appellation of *architecton*. The city-plans of numerous colonies established by Alexander and his successors are based ultimately upon his system, as is demonstrable in the cases of Alexandria and Priene[22]. Dinocrates of Macedon, who made the measurements for the city of Alexandria, was likewise an *architecton*, and was likewise working on the system devised by Hippodamus. In engineering practice there are, indeed, indications of a small degree of specialization. Alexander assigned the work of cleaning out the underground outlets of Lake Copais to Crates of Chalcis, who is called a *metalleutes* or miner[23]. It is very doubtful that the sinking of the ventilation shafts, the deepest of which was two hundred and sixteen feet, and the original plan of the work can be ascribed to Crates. But the work assigned to him was an am-

[14]G. F. Hill, Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins, 84, and note 2 (London, 1899).
[15]See B. Laum's corrections, in Philologische Wochenschrift 42 (1922), 427–432, of the conclusions drawn by J. Hasebroek in Hermes 55 (1920), 113–173. See also Laum's article in Conrad's Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften[4], 2.166–167.
[16]Kurt Riezler, Ueber Finanzen und Monopole im Alten Griechenland, 50–51.
[17]Politics 1259 a 20.
[18]See Julius Beloch, Geschichte Griechenlands[2], III, 1, 460–461, for the technical advance in battleship construction.
[19]Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, Die Antiken Hafenanlagen, Klio, Beiheft 14.65 (Leipzig, 1923).
[20]*Ibid.*, 93.
[21]H. Erdmann, Hippodamus von Milet, Philologus 42.193–194.
[22]Pauly-Wissowa, 8.1733.
[23]See Strabo 9.407.

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bitious drainage project, involving to a high degree both empirical and scientific knowledge.

With great advantages, based upon superiority in business skill, technical knowledge, and mental habits of inquiry and experimentation, the Macedonians and the Greeks penetrated Western Asia and Egypt along the route of Alexander's march. What might be accomplished in the field of business enterprise with such equipment when that equipment was combined with absolute power was soon shown in the wheat manipulations of Cleomenes of Naucratis, so-called 'Satrap of Egypt', by appointment of Alexander himself[24]. As financial governor he turned to account his complete control of the grain rents and the taxes, in the following manner. In Greece a dearth of grain existed. Cleomenes forbade the export of grain from Egypt, thereby driving up prices in the cities of Greece and lowering them in Egypt. By virtue of his official position Cleomenes himself was not affected by the decree forbidding export, while the competition of the independent exporters was eliminated. Cleomenes bought up the Egyptian grain at the market price. He established a system of private communication through his agents by which knowledge of a fall in price in any given place came to them quickly. In such cases the laden ships would be diverted from those cities to which they had been originally consigned and would be sent to other localities where the price remained high.

With superiority in enterprise and in business organization the Macedonians and the Greeks flocked into Egypt in the reigns of the first two Ptolemies. They were made welcome and given every opportunity of service, in the army as mercenary soldiers, in the bureaucratic service in all manner of positions, from the highest offices to the head clerkships of the central administration. These two rulers, Ptolemy Soter and Ptolemy Philadelphus, ruled Egypt for three-quarters of a century. The first Ptolemy gives every indication of having been a man characterized by energy combined with an outstanding prudence and sense of realities. He was never tempted by the dream of Antigonus the One-Eyed to control in his single hand the great empire of the dead Alexander. At Alexander's death it was he who counselled straightway the division of the Empire among Alexander's generals[25]. It is probably to his thoroughgoing realism and common sense that we should ascribe the initiation of the economic and political policies which mark the course of the early Ptolemaic régime in Egypt.

Through the recovery of important papyri of the middle of the third century B. C. we are in a position to follow in considerable detail the methods and the plans of the second Ptolemy, and of the Greeks of all degrees who assisted him in the process of making the most of the advantages which Egypt offered them. Two outstanding sources of knowledge are the Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus and the fortunate recovery of the archives of a Greek fortune-hunter named Zenon, who hailed from Caunus in Caria[26].

Zenon went into the service of Apollonius, the Dioecetes of Egypt, remaining with this powerful man for fifteen years, from 261 to 246 B. C., at first as a courtier in his retinue. From the year 257–256 onward he was engaged with affairs on a large estate in the Fayum which was held by Apollonius as gift land from King Ptolemy. Zenon's service was that of general manager in charge of the development and organization of this great farm, which was newly reclaimed land[27]. From 246 to 238 B. C., after the death of Ptolemy II and the disappearance of Apollonius, Zenon still appears as a prosperous man engaged in large affairs of his own in the Fayum. In the Zenon correspondence we see an amazing number of Greeks who revolve about the central figure of Apollonius, all engaged in a complicated round of business activities. It is difficult to separate their activities, official, semi-official, and private, one from the other. These Greeks were not producers. They were managers of official departments, exploiters of the wealth of Egypt and of the labor of its people, whether as officials or lining their own nests. One of the more recent letters published by Edgar indicates how these Greeks followed one another into the Arsinoite Nome (the Fayum), as into a land of golden opportunity. There was no fixed immigration quota to bar anybody.

Plato to Zenon greeting. The bearer of this letter to you is Demetrius. It seems that his father happens to be making his living in the Arsinoite Nome. The lad therefore wishes also to get some employment there; and as he has heard that you were a kindly man, some of his friends have asked me to write to you regarding him in order that you may appoint him somewhere in your district. Please therefore do me this favor and see that he gets something to do, whatever you may judge him fitted for; and look after him otherwise if he is useful to you[28].

This lad Demetrius did not begin at the bottom, as do the Demetriuses who come to us, and work upward. He started near the top. It is worth noting that the approach of this lad to Zenon was through a man who knew neither Demetrius himself nor his father. It was through friends who knew Plato, who in turn stood in close business relations with Zenon, that he obtained his recommendation.

(To be Concluded)

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY W. L. WESTERMANN

[24]The sources are Pseudo-Aristotle, Oeconomica; Demosthenes, Against Dionysodorus; and the Athenian decrees in honor of Heraclides of Salamis (see Dittenberger, Sylloge[3], 1.304). The situation is summed up by Kurt Riezler, Ueber Finanzen und Monopole, etc., 33–34.

[25]It may also be true, as alleged by Q. Curtius Rufus 10.6.15, that he advocated a federation of the rulers of the separate territorial parts in the form of a Council which should decide upon matters of common interest, with the power to make binding decisions.

[26]Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus, edited by Bernard P. Grenfell (Oxford, 1896). The Zenon letters are widely scattered; but the greatest number of them have been published by C. C. Edgar, in the Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, XVIII-XXIV (Cairo, 1919–1924: cited as P. Cairo Edgar), and in the Papiri Greci e Latini, Publicazioni della Società Italiana, IV-VII (Florence, 1917–1925).

[27]M. Rostovtzeff, A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B. C.: A Study in Economic History, 39–41 (Madison, Wisconsin, 1922: see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 16.110–112).

[28]P. Cairo Edgar, No. 102. Compare No. 82, a letter of introduction from Amyntas to Zenon, given to a young man named Zopyrus who hailed from Zenon's native city, Caunus, in Caria.

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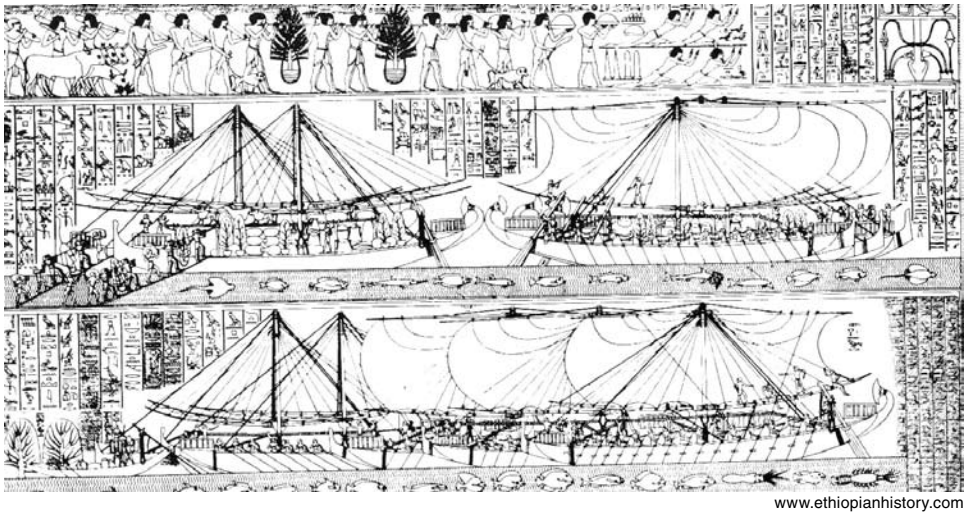
Where Is Punt, the 'Land of God'?

by Rick Sanders

In late 2006, archaeologists excavating man-made caves on the coast of the Red Sea found well-preserved cedar timbers, together with limestone block-anchors, curved cedar steering oars, rigging ropes of sea-going vessels dating back 3,800 years old, buried at what is today called Wadi Gawasis, near what was a port on the Red Sea in pharaonic times.[1]

Also found were references to the "Land of God," or Punt, which caused more than a little excitement, since the very existence of Punt had become obscured in the mists of the time.



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Egyptian boats depicted on the wall of the funerary temple of Queen Hatshepsut in the Eighteenth Dynasty (1540-1304 B.C.). The largest expedition during her dynasty had at least five large ships, with 30 oarsmen in each, on a journey that lasted three years.

The question that has not yet been answered is: Where is Punt? Egyptian scholars do not agree on its location: The University of Cairo says it's Yemen, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, or Sudan. Others add Zimbabwe, Hadhramaut, or India. But in our judgment, even India is too close, for none of these destinations would require a return trip of three years, which is the time agreed upon by most Egyptian historical sources for the journey to and from Punt. Nor would you need 10,000 men, the number cited by historical sources.

And then there's the question of the minerals that the Egyptians brought back from Punt—antimony and gold. The nearest antimony to Egypt is only 3,000 miles away, in Madagascar. But where did the gold come from?

As you will see below, the late Paul Gallez, an ancient map scholar, believed that the land of Punt was in the Puno region of Peru. The geographer, historian, intellectual troublemaker, and Barry Fell associate, George F. Carter[2] translated a work from German by H. Quiring, who believes that Punt was the island of Sumatra, where the Egyptians mined gold between 1200 and 500 B.C.

Quiring mentioned two French sinologists, Pauthier and Bazin, who reported that in 1113 B.C., the Chinese emperor Chou-Kung received ambassadors from the kingdom of Ni-li, probably Egyptians, who had made a long voyage in "swimming houses" and who could determine their position by means of observation of the Sun and heavenly bodies. Carter then did a calculation, taking the average speed of a ship during the 1600s (from Francesco Carletti's *My Voyage Around the World*), and concluded that in three years you could go around the world at a leisurely pace. Therefore, Punt could be half the world away.

Nito Verdera, the Ibizan journalist and indefatigable investigator of Christopher Columbus, has summarized the theory of his historian friend, the now deceased Paul Gallez,[3] which he has given us permission to include here.

Nito Verdera: The Egyptian Theory

"In *La Cola del Dragón,* Paul Gallez tells us that the theory referring to the earliest travels to distant lands as yet not identified with total certainty, is that of the expeditions to the Land of Punt (Richard Hennig, *Terrae Incognitae,* 4 vols, Leiden, Brill 1950, in vol. I, pages 5-13). The first known voyage to this region is that organised by the pharaoh Sahure of the fifth dynasty (circa 2550 B.C.). His ships brought back incense, myrrh, gold, silver, precious woods and slaves from Punt and the many other lands and islands they called at during the voyage. Not all these items came from the Land

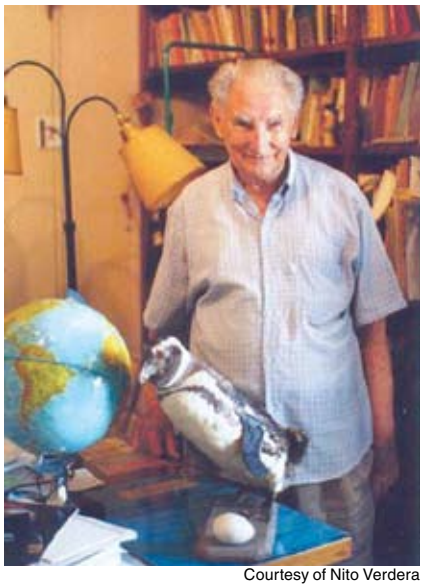
1. For a description of the expedition, see http://www.eurekalert.org/pub_releases/ 2006-03/fsu-wos030606.php .

2. Carter wrote *Pleistocene Man at San Diego* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1957) and *Earlier Than You Think: A Personal View of Man in America* (College Station: Texas A. and M. University Press, 1981). See also Carter's article, "Egyptian Gold Seekers and Exploration in the Pacific," *The Epigraphic Society Bulletin,* Vol. 2, No 27 (Feb. 1975).

3. Paul Gallez's book *La Cola del Dragón*, The Tail of the Dragon, (Bahía Blanca, Argentina, 1990), was reviewed in the Winter 2005-2006 *21st Century,* Winter 2005 ("A Pre-Columbus View of the Americas," by Rick Sanders, p. 70).

Courtesy of Nito Verdera

Nito Verdera, lecturing on Christopher Columbus.



Courtesy of Nito Verdera

Paul Gallez, an expert in ancient maps, located Punt in Peru.

of Punt, so we do not have to look for just one country producing all these riches.

"The pharaoh Asa (Isesi) followed Sahure's example, and around 2400 B.C. he also sent out his fleets to the Land of Punt. One of the princesses of the sixth dynasty was placed in her tomb, ready for her journey to the Land of the Dead, wearing a lip colouring with an antimony base, though this metal was totally unknown in Egypt and any of its neighbouring countries. The stone on the tomb of Knemhopet, a pilot from the island of Elephantine who had been on eleven voyages to the Land of Punt, dates back to the same period. . . ."

"The best-known and possibly the most fruitful voyages, are those organised by Queen Hatshepsut (also called Hacheput, Hatcheposut, Huschpeswa, Hatashopsitu, Hachepsowe, Hatasuput and Hatscheposut, 1501-1482 B.C.) whose deeds are engraved in the temple of Deir-el-Bahari, which she herself ordered to be built in Thebes to honour Amen-Ra. Hatshepsut's main expedition was made up of at least five large ships with thirty oarsmen in each of them. They sailed from somewhere on the Red Sea and were away for three years.

"One of the inscriptions in the temple of Deir-el-Bahari reads: *'The inhabitants of Punt asked: How have you reached this country unknown to man? Have you flown here through the sky, or have you sailed across the Great Ocean from the Land of the Gods?'* (Richard Hennig: *Terrae Incognitae,* 4 vols, Leiden, Brill 1950, I, 5, Ophir). . . .

"How can one not feel tempted by interpretations that immediately spring to mind and would seem to give each other mutual support? The expression 'Great Ocean' is what we know today as the Pacific Ocean. The Land of the Gods is the name given to the West in all mythologies, which would place the Pacific to the west of Punt and would therefore place Punt in America.

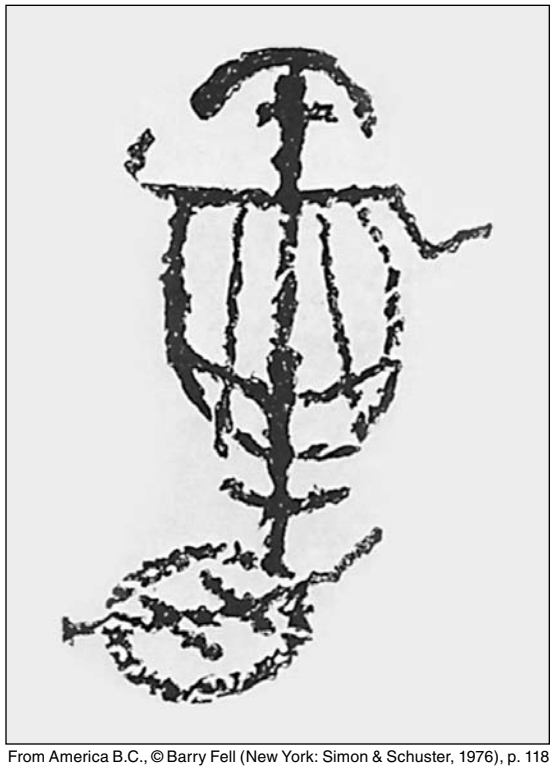
"According to the tales of the life of Ramses IV in the Harris Papyrus kept in the British Library, the pharaoh Ramses III sent an expedition of 10,000 men to Punt in 1180 B.C. The last expedition that we know of, which set off at around the middle of the second century B.C., was arranged with the help of traders and bankers from Massilia, our modern-day Marseilles (Hans Philip: article on "Massilia" in Pauly's *Real-Encylopädie der classichen Altertumswissenschaft*/ XIV/2, Stuttgart, Druckenmüller,1930).

"The Egyptian ships built for ocean going were about thirty meters long and up to eighty-five tons in capacity. Under favorable weather conditions, their flat bottoms enabled them to sail at great speed. When the wind dropped, the oarsmen would take over the job of propelling the vessel, so that the voyage could continue without having to wait for a change of wind.

"Egyptian scholars do not agree on the location of the Land of Punt. Some of them suggest Eritrea, others Somalia, Zimbabwe, Hadhramaut, or India. However, all these places are far too close to the Red Sea to justify the length of the voyage; three years according to all the relevant Egyptian records.

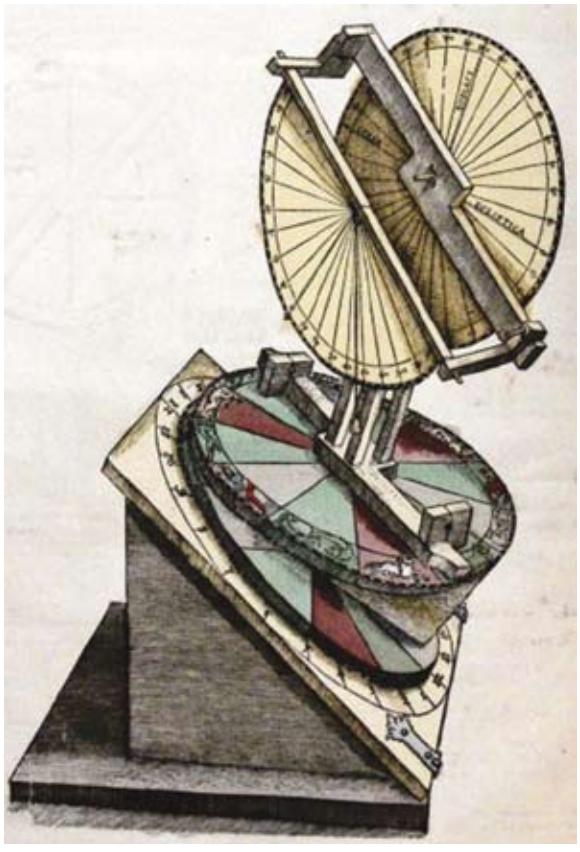
Paul Gallez: Punt Is in Peru

"In his article 'Trois thèses de predecouverte de l'Amerique du Sud par le Pacifique' (*Gesnerus* 33, 1976, Aarau, Zurich), Paul Gallez offers a new interpretation. He locates the Land of Punt in South America, probably, in the Puno region of Peru, on the shores of Lake Titicaca. 70% of Peru's annual gold pro-



From America B.C., © Barry Fell (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1976), p. 118

This drawing by Maui of his tanawa or calculator, was found in the Caves of the Navigators, Sosorra, Irian Jaya (West New Guinea). The tanawa serves as an analog computer, integrating three different measurements.



The tanawa, or torquetum, as pictured centuries after Maui.

Rick Sanders

The degree circle on a recent torquetum built by the author. The torquetum was used to determine longitude and the equatorial circumference of the Earth using lunar distances.

duction comes from there, together with antimony, mercury, zinc, tin, and cobalt. Old gold and antimony mines can be found in the area, though archaeologists disagree as to their exact age. The boats used to sail on Lake Titicaca, made of *cat-tail* (a long-stemmed, reed-like, grassy plant of the Typhaceous family with a cylindrical ear) are so similar to those used in ancient Egypt that Thor Heyerdahl went to Puno to recruit workers to build him his papyrus boat Ra II on the banks of the Nile."

Astrogation

We need not be surprised at all this since as long ago as the 19th Century B.C., Pharaoh Senusret II built a canal that connected the river Nile to the Red Sea, a canal which has survived until the present day as an irrigation canal. Herodotus tells us that the pharaoh Necho II (circa 600 B.C.) sent out a fleet which took three years to circumnavigate Africa (clockwise).

There is much other evidence of Egyptian voyages to the Americas, as *21st Century* has reported in previous issues.[4]

In 232 B.C., Captain Rata and Navigator Maui set out with a flotilla of ships from Egypt in an attempt to circumnavigate the Earth. The Maui expedition was under the guidance of Eratosthenes, the great scientist who was also the chief librarian of the library at Alexandria.

This expedition left cave drawings discovered in modern times, showing one of the navigational instruments, a tanawa (or torquetum as it later became known) which Maui had brought with him, along with an inscription deciphered in the 1970s by epigrapher Barry Fell: "The Earth is tilted. Therefore, the signs of half of the ecliptic watch over the south, the other (half) rise in the ascendant. This is the calculator of Maui."

At that time, Eratosthenes had just measured the polar circumference of the Earth. Finding your latitude is easy, but finding your longitude, and the cir-

4. Among many articles on this topic are:

Julian Fell, "Barry Fell, Epigrapher: Biography of a Renaissance Man," *21st Century,* Winter 1999-2000.

Marjorie Mazel Hecht, "Eratosthenes in Action: The Decipherment and Discovery of a Voyage to America in 232 B.C.," *21st Century,* Winter 1998-1999.

_____, "Eratosthenes' Astronomical Instruments Guided Maui's Voyage in 3rd Century B.C.," *21st Century,* Spring 1999.

Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., "On Eratosthenes, Maui's Voyage of Discovery, and Reviving the Principle of Discovery Today," *21st Century,* Spring 1999.

Ross Perfect, "Pitcairn Island Petroglyph Deciphered," *21st Century,* Winter 2001-2002.

Ross Perfect, "Pitcairn Island Petroglyph Shows Knowledge Of Lunar Eclipse for Finding Longitude," *21st Century,* Winter 2001-2002.

Sentiel Rommel, Ph.D., "Maui's Tanawa: A Torquetum of 232 B.C.," *21st Century,* Spring 1999.

Rick Sanders and Bertram Cooper. "Building and Using Maui's Tanawa," *21st Century,"* Fall 2001. http://www.21stcenturysciencetech.com/articles/fall01/Tanawa/tanawa.html

Rick Sanders, "Ancient Navigators Could Have Measured Longitude," *21st Century,* Fall 2001 http://www.21stcenturysciencetech.com/ articles/fall01/navigators/navigators.html

_____, "When Thor Heyerdahl Was Delighted to Be Wrong: The Case of the Guara or Centerboard," *21st Century,* Fall 2003.

_____, "Was the Antikythera an Ancient Instrument for Longitude Determination?," *21st Century,* Spring 2003 http://www.21stcenturysciencetech.com/ articles/Spring03/Antikythera.html

Stonehenge: Remnants of an orderly circular arrangement of posts and marker stones, dating to about 2600 B.C., give evidence that Stonehenge was a sophisticated luni-solar observatory, capable of eclipse prediction among other measurements. Imagine the half-degree marks on the edge of the torquetum's equatorial circle as each representing a vertical post in the Stonehenge observatory.

cumference of the Earth near the equator, as a function of your latitude and the equatorial circumference, is difficult. We know that Maui was thinking about this, because his cave drawings also include a proof of Eratosthenes' experiment to measure the Earth's circumference.

Our hypothesis is that the torquetum was used to determine longitude and the equatorial circumference of the Earth using lunar distances. To do that job, the navigator would have to carry with him an almanac that gave the lunar distances from prominent places for each relevant night of the year, for about 19 years.

Ancient Observatories

We have no proof yet that those almanacs existed, but we do know that the data required could be provided by a conceptual use of the Great Pyramid in Egypt and the Stonehenge, built so close to each other in time (2450 and 2300 B.C. respectively), and of some of the South American pyramids built in the same rough time frame. Imagine the little lines representing the half degrees on the edge of the torquetum's equatorial circle as all representing huge vertical posts or stones.

The torquetum could also be used to gather data sufficient to predict eclipses, which are a relatively easy way to find your relative longitude (unfortunately, they are very infrequent). All you have to have is a relatively precise local *time* of observation of the eclipse at two points, east and west of each other.

The most famous example of finding relative longitude is the eclipse which took place during the battle of Arbela (in ancient Assyria), Sept. 20, 331 B.C., recorded at both Arbela and Carthage (Tunisia)—at the "fifth hour" at Arbela and the "second hour" at Carthage, which would put Carthage at the approximately correct 45 degrees west of Arbela.

Now, if you can predict eclipses, you can send out expeditions to observe them and kindred events as we have done many times in the last 500 years. Kepler's Rudolphine tables predicted the transit of Mercury for Nov. 7, 1631, and he encouraged observers to be on the lookout for it. Because of the bad weather, only three people saw it, but that was the first time in human history.

Captain Cook's long trip to the South Seas (1769) to observe the transit of Venus is another case in point. These events can be used to determine longitude, and to evaluate various methods used to determine longitude; and also measure the absolute distance of the planets from the Sun.

So do not look around the corner for the land of Punt; it might be halfway around the world. Man, as Lyndon LaRouche keeps reminding us, and as his Youth Movement has demonstrated, is not a monkey.

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Pastoral Nomadism in Arabia: Ethnoarchaeology and the Archaeological Record—A Case Study

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Over the course of approximately two decades, archaeologists have suggested that the archaeological record of much of the Arabian peninsula *sensu lato* has left for us traces of the origin and development of pastoral nomadism. We have suggested elsewhere (Zarins 1989, in press) that this development can be seen in four broad phases: 1. Origin (6000–4000 B.C.), 2. Early Florescence (4000–2000 B.C.), 3. Transition (2000–1000 B.C.), and 4. Arab Bedouin (1000 B.C.–present). The confirmation of this development has been reinforced both by historical sources, the geological record, faunal/floral studies, and by on-going archaeological work peripheral to pastoral nomadism itself.

Our understanding of the cultural process within the peninsula has been hampered by the lack of detailed studies concerning the modern Bedouin from an ethnoarchaeological point of view and the lack of appropriate ethnological models for perceived lifestyles in the distant record beginning ca. 6000 B.C. Concerning the first point, only recently have we seen any attempt to address the specific needs of the archaeologist vis-à-vis pastoral nomads.

The now-classic studies of ethnoarchaeology have dealt with primarily hunter-gatherers such as the Bushmen (Yellen 1977), the Australian aborigines (Gould 1980) and the Eskimos (Binford 1978; Chang 1988) or even sedentary agriculturalists (Longacre 1970; Hill 1970). Recent refinements on the nature and meaning of the discipline have been building in ever-increasing crescendos (Gorecki 1985; Binford 1985; Gould 1985). Regarding pastoral nomads, one of the earliest studies involved a study of the Lur of southwest Khuzistan (Hole 1978). Here the author attempted to link the modern sheep/goat pastoralists of the region to an 8,000 year old archaeological record (Hole 1972, 1979). Subsequent work in the region has operated along the same guidelines and assumptions (Henrickson 1983; Zagarell 1982; Gilbert 1983; Alizadeh 1988). Ethnoarchaeological studies of camel bedouin have been even rarer. Initial opinions on cultural process were based on ethnographic study or historical data modeling (Dostal 1959, 1979; Eph'al 1981; Bulliet 1975; Briant 1982). The actual work of examining North Arabian camel nomads from the ethnoarchaeological perspective has been sporadic. Studies in the Negev, the Beidha area of Jordan (Banning and Köhler-Rollefson 1983; Köhler-Rollefson 1987), Qatar (Montigny 1978) and the Najd (Zarins et al. 1980: pl. 11) have defined modern campsites but have spent little effort in relating the living population to the material record (Lancaster 1981:10–14, Figures 1, 2). In addition, selected ^{14}C dates from sites in the Jebel Qara (sixteenth century A.D.), the recovered archaeological data from amorphous sites, and the historical data from the Sinai

(Bailey 1985) open up the real possibility of sketching a tentative cultural model for the north Arabian camel bedouin spanning at least a millennium (Zarins et al. 1980: 20–23).

Our principal concern involves an attempt to comprehend the archaeological record from more remote periods, but still within the defining framework of pastoral nomadism. Therefore the Southwest Asian Pastoral Technocomplex which we defined requires an appropriate ethnographic response in order to suggest a reconstructible life pattern for the period involved. Since the data we are seeking are disparate in time and space, the analogy method is the one utilized most often for investigation (Stiles 1977: 94–95). Based on this approach, we hope to examine the hypothesis that the pastoral technocomplex essentially revolved around cattle pastoralism. Clearly, our attempts to evaluate this thesis will center around a vastly different geomorphological, ecological and climatic scenario. To this end, examining some of the only non-Arabic speaking Semitic populations of the peninsula holds real promise. Some five different linguistic groups occupy today what is part of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and Oman and our attention will be focused on the largest group, the Mehri who today number over 60,000 (Figure 1; Lonnet personal communication; Bergstrasser 1983:151–160; Johnstone 1975). We hope that an analysis of the particular geographical and ecological factors governing their way of life will shed significant light on the early archaeological record of the larger northern Arabian peninsula.

The Southwest Asian Pastoral Technocomplex

As the result of work begun in the 1950s but largely brought into proper focus during the 1970s, we were able to discern an archaeological cultural area delimited by the presence of the current 250 mm rainfall isohyet (Zarins 1989a, Figure 14.2). This "technocomplex" (Clarke 1968:338-43) consists of many archaeological facets, some of which can be said to constitute the backbone of the entire period in question.

Stone circles are most common and, as expected, vary widely in type and construction. They may be simple or complex, incorporating internal subdivisions and/or attached external lines. They can be part of larger, designed, interlocking structures such as an integrated circle or form very large isolated circles of more than 60 m in diameter. In their smallest configuration they form a "homestead" in which two or three joined circles form the basis of a site. At the other extreme, elements can stretch as one seemingly coherent site for over four km. Individual circles vary in size from 3 to 5 m in diameter with walls composed of two to ten courses of stone built in dry wall fashion. Many have a semi-subterranean effect. Vertical slabs were used for the definition of the doorway, threshold, and internal subdivisions. Stone pillars in the center suggest a base for support of a superstructure.

Tumuli are a second major component, occurring as isolated tomb fields or as integral parts of stone circle complexes. Many are placed on convenient stone outcrop plateaus or on prominent ridgelines visible from long distances. Their typology can be broken down into several conventional types. Perhaps the most spectacular aspect of the region are the large-scale structures called *"Desert Kites,"* so-named because from the air their configuration appears to most closely resemble a flying kite with a tail. Single kite structures with walls over 1 km long and an enclosing head have been found in isolation or incorporated in a series of attached kites which could be linked for over 20 to 50 km. Although their function remains problematic, many researchers suggest they served as game traps. A more exotic aspect of the technocomplex includes *"pillars"* and *"platforms."* These structures were noted at many sites occurring with the other structural elements. Often, stone-built platforms filled with stones and cleared pavements also seem to be related.

Rock art in a number of distinctive phases is also associated with the broad spread of the technocomplex. To properly interpret the functions of these structures and reconstruct a viable way of life for the people of the area requires not only a detailed analysis of the data but also a suitable ethnographic model. Therefore, the Mehri, a group perhaps stretching back historically to the early centuries A.D., may represent a compromise solution in terms of structural analysis.

The Mehri—Cattle Pastoralists of the Southern Arabian Peninsula

The Mehri occupy a small, but significant territory in Dhofar principally along the seaward slope of the Dhofar range (Figure 1). Their settlement takes advantage of the humid, monsoon climate and their way of life is largely dominated by the monsoonal pattern. The cool mountain climate and the precipitation generated by the three month monsoon is essential to their survival. The presence of good grazing land on the plateaus allows extensive cattle breeding, a unique phenomenon currently on the Arabian peninsula. The Mehri, based on these factors, engage in a limited vertical, short-range pastoralism. According to Janzen (1986), the annual round can be broken down as follows:

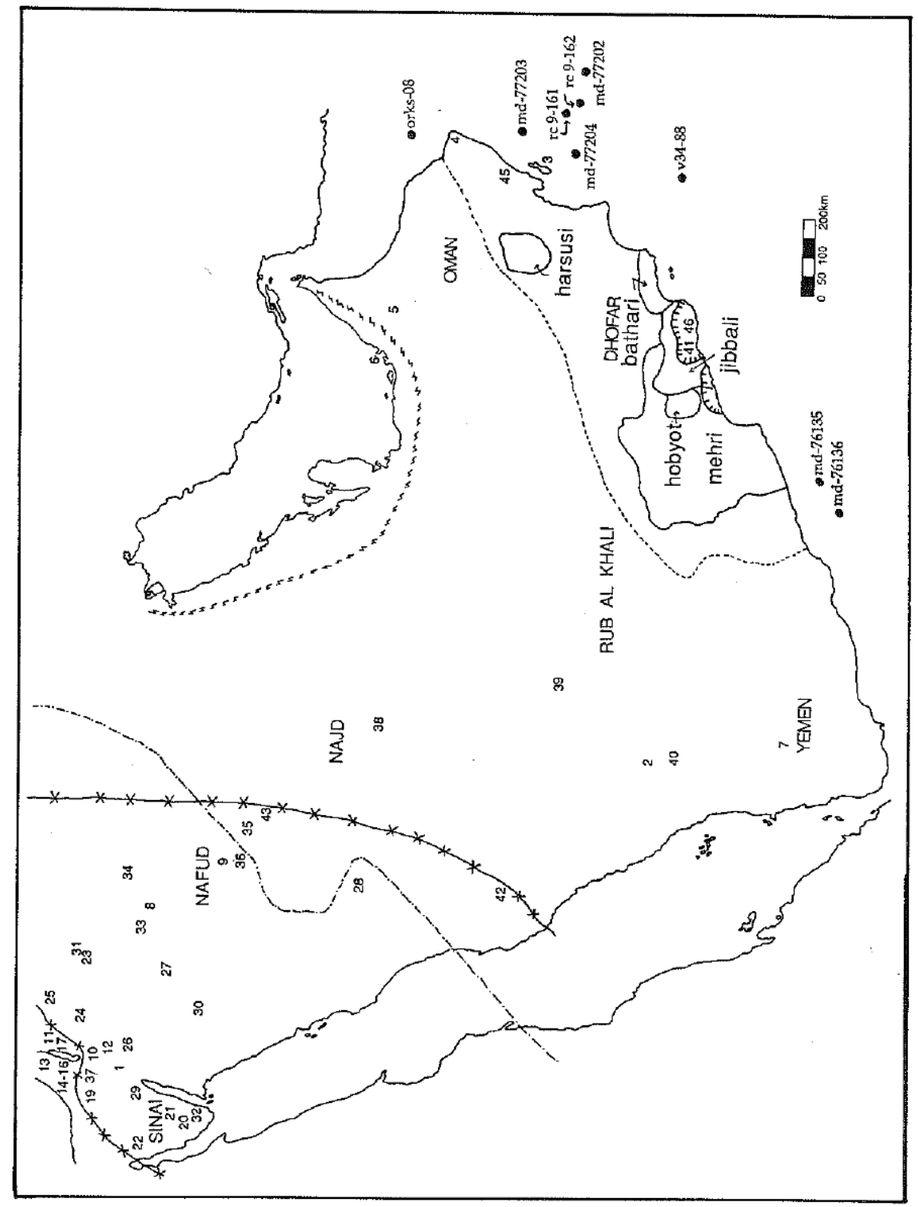


Figure 1. The Mehri and Related Archaeological and Geomorphological Locations within the Arabian peninsula, 7000-1000 B.C. 1. Beidha 2. Jabal Qara 3. Masirah Island 4. Ras al Junayz 5. Hili 6. Umm an Nar 7. WyWii and WY1 8. Rajajil 9. Jubba 10. Masad Mazzal 11. Ain Ghazal 12. Beidha 13. Jericho 14. Arad 15. Bir-es-Safadi 16. Abu Matar 17. Bab edh Dhra 18. Azraq 19. Bir Resisim 20. Sheikh Muhsein 21. Wadi Tbeik 22. Wadi el Fogeiya (Sinai 688) 23. Dhuweila 24. Jilat 7 (Dhobai) 25. Jawa 26. J24 27. Kilwa 28. Hanakiya 29. Wadi Huwara 30. Wadi Fuhah 31. QMJ 14J/ QMJ 22 32. Sheikh Awad/Nabi Salah 33. 201-56 34. 201-15 35. 206-1 36. 205-8 37. Nahal Divshon 38. Dawadmi 39. W. Dawasir 40. Najran 41. Salalah 42. 210-49 43. 206-40 44. Shatt al Arab 45. Wahiba Sands 46. Arqetan, Kefoz Theroz, Hidhalm.

June-September	Monsoon period (fixed, main settlement)
September-November	Post-monsoon season (temporary camp)
November-March	Dry winter months (fixed, main settlement)
April-June	Pre-monsoon months (temporary camp)

In essence, while four moves are made, the focus is on two distinct settlements—a temporary camp used twice during the year and a main fixed camp for the remainder. The principal animal herded, short-horned *Bos taurus* is used essentially for the procurement of secondary products which vary in quantity during the year depending on climatic conditions. The maintenance of approximately fifty head of cattle per family seems to have been the norm prior to the last civil war in the region.

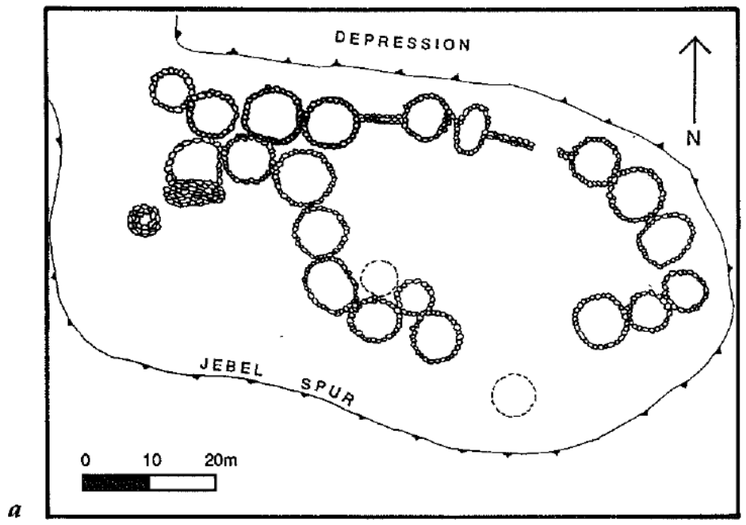
Based on the type of animal herded and the strategy necessary to obtain constant water and fodder, the Mehri have developed two different architectural styles and plans for their settlements. The fixed, main, or permanent settlements are to be found on the edge of wadis and favored plateaus. Particularly favorable locales are protected rises in wadi floors. Group settlements predominate in communal, extended family economies. The compact, massed formations allow cattle free access to individual homesteads and still allow space for communal feeding and milking. The group settlement is surrounded by stone or thorn brush banks to prevent cattle straying. Each house is circular and approximately 4–5 m in diameter. It contains a single nuclear family averaging five members. The base wall is 80 cm high constructed of large stones and earth. The house has a central post well dug into the ground. Strong, gnarled branches are the roof bearing members with the lower ends on the base wall and the upper ends locked on the center post. Gaps are filled with thinner, cross-wise branches. Thick grasses cover the rounded roof in a thatch. Dung is often mixed in and extra stones and wood are added for weight. One door is present with a near-by hearth. The house is compartmentalized into a larger sleeping area and a smaller storage and kitchen area (Figures 2b, 3a).

The cattle byres are somewhat different. Three types are found. Byres for large and small calves match the size of the human dwellings but those for adult cattle are much larger. For the latter, byres in excess of 20 m in diameter are not rare. These are capable of accommodating 100 cattle. An average 10 m byre can hold 40–50 head of cattle. The byres are distinguished in construction from human houses by a flatter roof, more dung in the roof to conserve body heat and several posts. Base walls are thicker and cut into the limestone floor. The three types of byres are found in close proximity to each other in order to save labor and conserve heat. The youngest calves' byres are placed between the largest byre and the owner's home due to the extra care required for their maintenance. Unusually large byres are placed outside the homestead for reasons of space and insect control. Byres are also owned by a single family and only the largest are communal property for ease of milking, feeding, and care (Figures 2b, 3a).

The temporary camps have a somewhat different arrangement and construction. The homesteads are nuclear and surrounded by a bank of thorn twigs. Inside the hedge are three buildings—the largest is the living quarters (3–4 m diameter) and the other two are calf byres. Mature cattle are kept in the open during the temporary camp season and are herded at night into the communal area for milking. The structures here are very light and temporary. A wooden framework is made of poles rammed into the ground in a circular pattern. The tops are tied together and twigs are interwoven for the sides. A grass cover is often added. Hearths are built outside the dwellings (Figure 3b).

A final unique feature of the Mehri system is the presence of monsoon-rain fields. While at first glance they look like cattle enclosures, they are large irregular areas enclosed by thick walls 1 m high to keep cattle out. The wadi edges are seen as favorable locales having fine soil easily aerated. Headlands are preserved for cattle grazing. The fields are several hundred m in size and planted by digging stick in mid-June to mid-October. After the crop, often sorghum or millet, is harvested, the cattle are driven onto the field for dung fertilizer and fodder (Figures 2b, 3a).

While the present-day Mehri occupy a small and unique range, Dostal has suggested on the basis of linguistic reconstruction that for the prior 1,000 years their territory may have been considerably larger, especially in the Oman direction (Dostal 1967: Figure 19 and historic summary: 123–135) (Figure 1). Certainly this might mean that the summer monsoon influenced the area more effectively than present (see below; Warren et al. 1987). In fact, recent archaeological work suggests that the Mehri way of life may have its roots along the eastern shores of the Arabian peninsula. The stone circle complexes of Masirah Island (A. Shanfari 1987) and Ras al Junayz (site RJ1; cf. Mariani 1985:36–41; Biagi 1988:5–10) may provide the more immediate archaeological parallels for the third and second millennia B.C. Cattle pastoralism along the southern coast of Arabia may well have come from one of two different sources. First,



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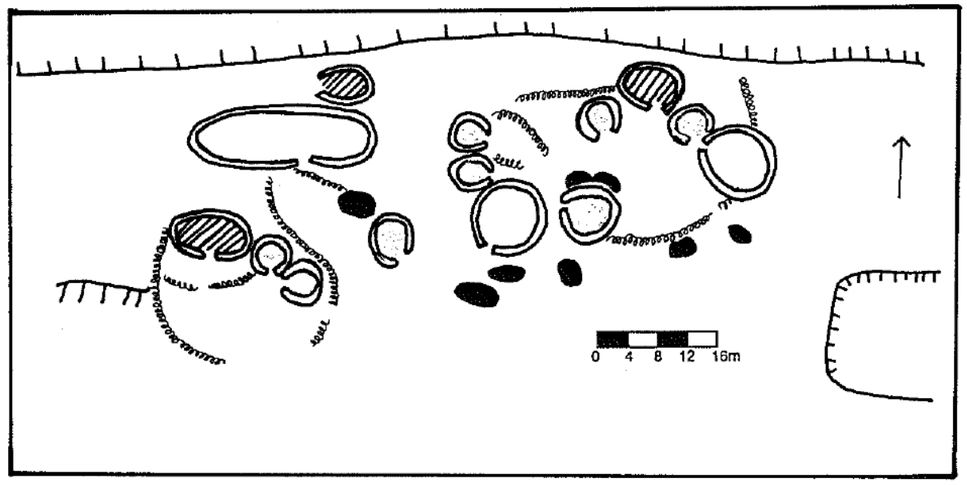

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Figure 2. a) Site 200-108, Wadi Fuhah, Midian. b) Arqetan, Mehri Monsoon and Winter Settlement (after Janzen 1986:Figure 30. Slash marks = dwellings; remaining structures = animal pens; black areas = dung heaps; looped lines = brushwood enclosures).

domestic cattle are known from the Ubaid period settlements of Eastern Arabia *sensu lato* from at least the middle fifth millennium B.C. (Zeder in Masry 1974) and are also attested from Ras al Junayz possibly as early as the late fourth millennium B.C. (Bökönyi n.d.). Domestic cattle were also identified at the oasis site of Hili beginning from the early third millennium B.C. (Cleuziou 1982:19). Thus, domestic *Bos taurus* may have filtered into the southern coast from a northeastern direction as suggested by Dostal's reconstruction of Mehri place names (Dostal 1967: Figure 19). The other possibility involves the direct transference of *Bos indicus* from India. According to Hoch, the cattle remains at Umm an Nar are the zebu type and would date to the midddle third millennium B.C. (Hoch 1979:613–616). In either reconstruction,

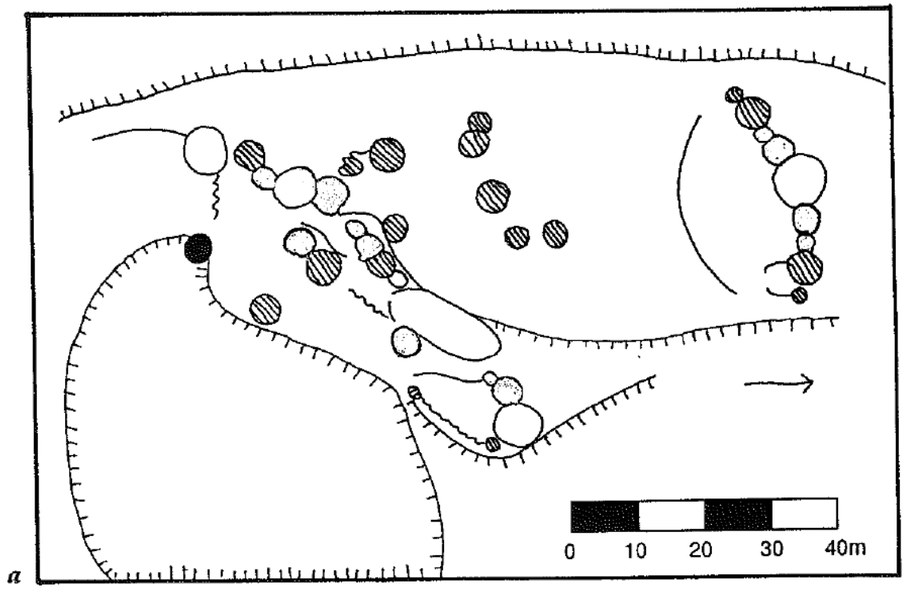

Figure 3. a) Kefoz Theroz. Mehri Monsoon and Winter Settlement (after Janzen 1986: Figures 31-32. Slash marks = dwellings; open circles = animal pens; black circle = ruined building). b) Hidhalm. Mehri Pre- and Post-Monsoon Camp. (after Janzen 1986:Figure 34).

Mehri cattle pastoralism represents a way of life derived from the northeast via Oman, and one specially adapted to the summer monsoon.

Archaeological Considerations

The linchpin on which Mehri life hinges is the summer monsoon (Figure 1). Without the ameliorating effects of this phenomenon, cattle pastoralism could not be practiced in the region. Therefore, to suggest that distant prehistoric pastoral nomads of the peninsula practiced a similar way of life based on cattle pastoralism, would invite an examination of the past effects of the summer monsoon on the peninsula.

In a series of papers Kutzbach and colleagues projected a significant improvement of the summer monsoon over India and Arabia based on the earth's orbital variations and solar radiation changes (Milankovitch forcing) in varied periods of the earth's past (Kutzbach 1981; Kutzbach and Otto-Bliesner 1982:1181–1182; Kutzbach and Street-Perrott 1985; Prell 1984). The last major period of improved summer monsoon circulation was suggested to span the early Holocene ca. 8000 B.C. to 3000 B.C. This modelling has been largely reinforced by a series of independent marine and land observations. A study of the western Arabian Sea core MD 76 135 (Figure 1) concluded that during the early Holocene ca. 6000 B.C. the climate was characterized by highly increased amounts of humid tropical and Sudano-Sahel savannah taxa indicating a stronger southwest monsoonal flow over Arabia. The associated planktonic assemblage pointed to lower sea surface temperatures at the time and thus again a stronger southwest monsoonal air flow (Van Campo et al. 1982:57–59). Separate studies of sea cores on the western shores of India again confirmed the idea that the peak of the monsoonal activity in the western Arabian sea occurred at 6000 B.C. (Van Campo 1986:385).

Several studies on the wadi systems and lake beds of the Rub al Khali and the southwestern Arabian plateau support these conclusions. McClure notes that "a northerly displacement of the southwest monsoon in the Holocene resulted in a sub pluvial phase in the Rub al Khali from 7000–4000 B.C. (McClure 1978:262; 1984:209–211; see also El Moslimany 1983:171, 174, 186, 188). Examination of the Wahiba sands of southern Oman along the Arabian Sea found alluvial fans (Wadi Batha), raised channels (Wadi Andam), and raised terraces. These have been attributed to a humid phase, ca. 9000–6000 B.P. possibly associated with the increased summer monsoon (Warren et al. 1987:66). Whitney, examining the wadi and lake deposits in western Arabia, principally the tufa, fine grain alluvium, soil carbonates and lacustrine deposits, noted that the southwest monsoon caused an increased moisture zone from south to north and that the monsoon had been deflected north from its present path (Figure 1). The moisture effects in the summer were gentle and persistent rains enhancing the local ground water tables. The time frame suggested for this climatic improvement lies between 7000–3000 B.C. (Whitney 1983:43, 50, 56, 76, 81). How far north within the peninsula were these effects felt? According to Whitney, the monsoon may have had an effect as far north as the southern Nafud. This suggestion was made on the basis of prevailing wind patterns in North Arabia and the geometry of the current 50 mm isohyet in the northern Hijaz (Whitney 1983:76). A radiocarbon date for the active lake deposits at Jubba in the southern Nafud may support this conclusion (Garrard et al. 1981:139–141). Further to the northeast, within the Shatt al Arab region of the Persian-Arab Gulf, el-Moslimany suggests that the remains of diatoms and pollen from ponds and lakes suggests that increased summer precipitation was due to the southern monsoonal system which extended as far north as the head of the Gulf (1983:133, 142; 1984:115–6). (Sarnthein [1978:45] proposes that this northern limit of the southeastern monsoon was maintained until 3000 B.C.). This phenomenon may have occurred due to intensified summer insulation (El Moslimany 1984:115).

Finally, while we may suggest that the summer monsoonal pattern may have extended its effects as far north as the Nafud and Persian Gulf, the considerable climatic amelioration in the Negev/Sinai and Jordan may be explained by other climatic forces emanating from the Sahara monsoon and Eastern Mediterranean cyclonic systems (Goodfriend 1987:389–90; Rosen 1987:48). However, in contrast to examining the effects of the summer monsoon on the Arabian peninsula, the climatic work on Negev/Sinai sites suggests that it was winter precipitation which was the key to enhanced transhumant pastoralism (Cohen and Dever 1978:40–41; 1980:57; 1981:66, 74). Similarly, Betts proposes that the main eastern Jordanian sites were principally occupied during the winter (Betts 1988:9; 1989:13). Work in the Sinai suggests a model based on stable, larger winter settlements and high elevation, smaller, flimsier summer settlements (Bar-Yosef 1984:151, 157; Beit-Arieh 1986:45). It would be most interesting then to examine the relationship between possibly divergent lifestyles based on the precipitation cycles of north Arabia vs. south Arabia. Possibly the line of separation would have paralleled our original southern technocomplex line (Zarins 1989a:Figure 14.2). Thus, the technocomplex, as we outlined it would have been characterized

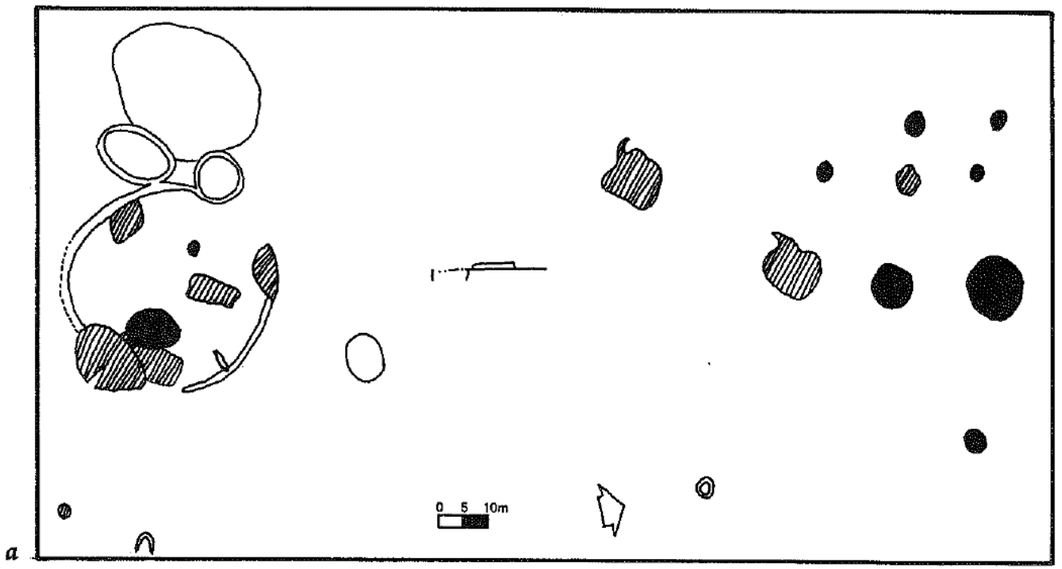

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Figure 4. a) Waqir, 210-49, Hejaz (after Zarins et al 1980:plate 9). b) Unit A at WYi, Yemen (after De Maigret 1984:Figure 10).

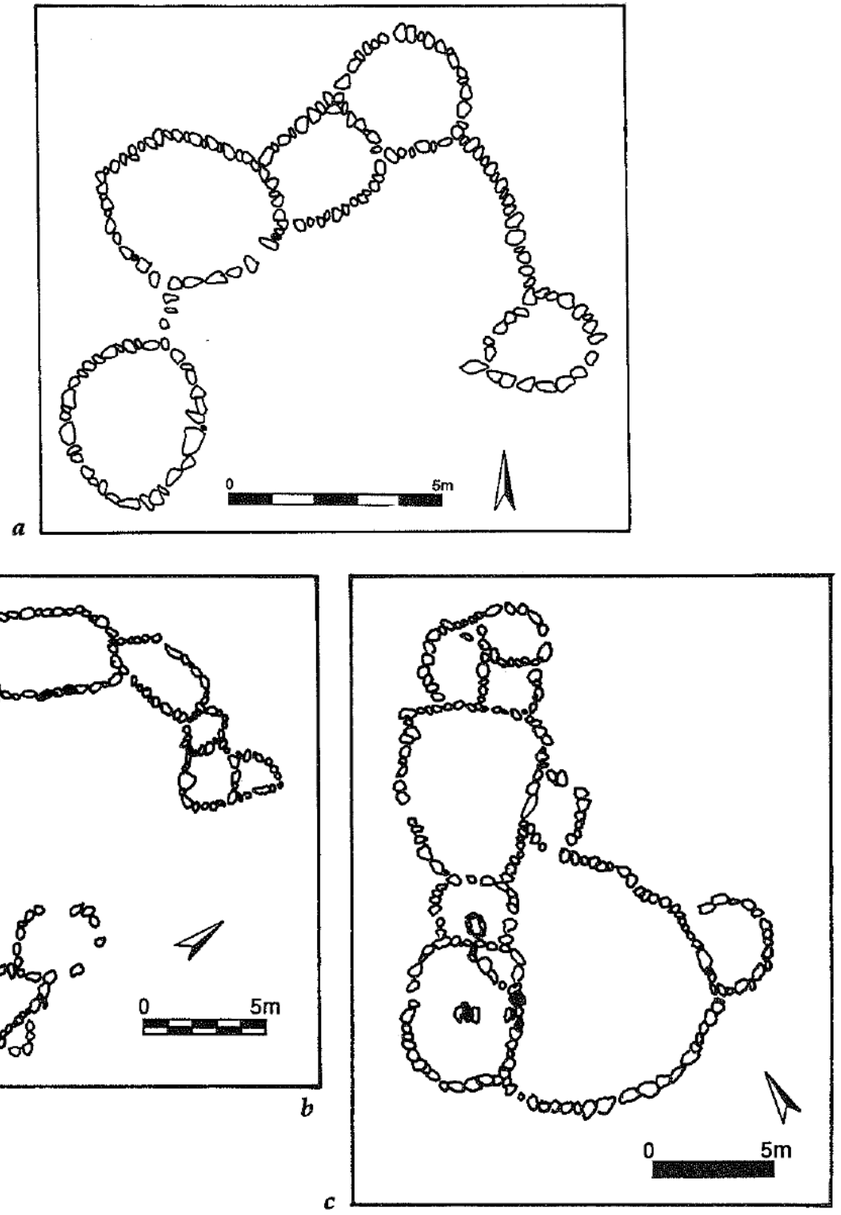

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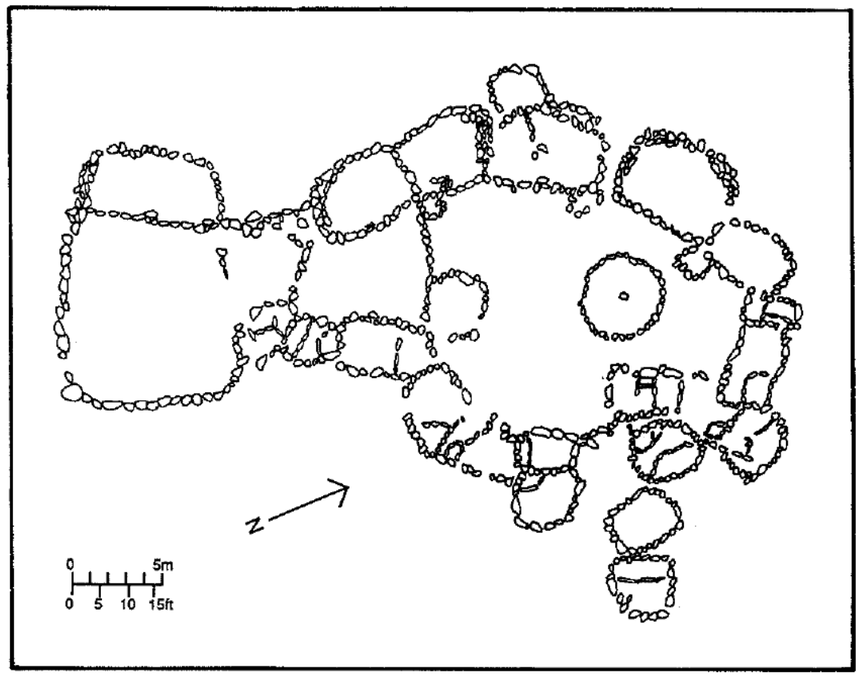
Figure 5. a) Unit D at Sheikh 'Awad, Sinai (after Beit-Arieh 1981:Figure 23). b) Unit D at Nabi Salah, Sinai (after Beit-Arieh 1981:Figure 10). c) Unit B at Sheikh Muhsen, Sinai (after Beit-Arieh 1981:Figure 13).



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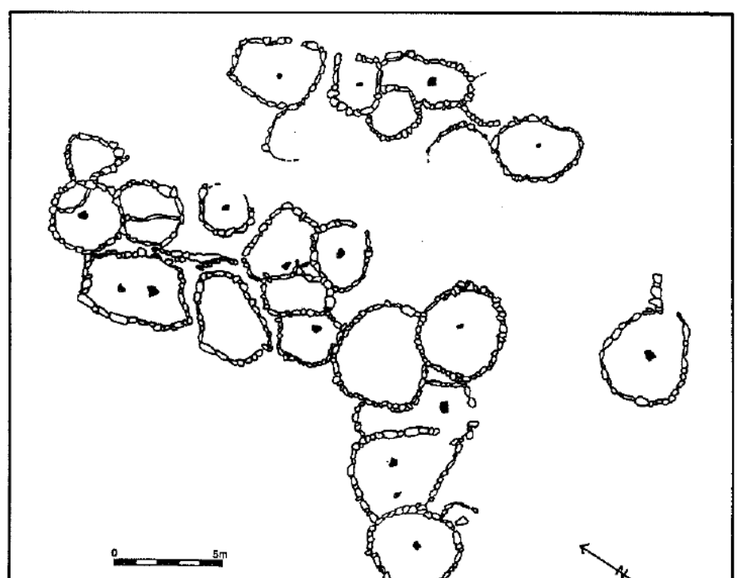

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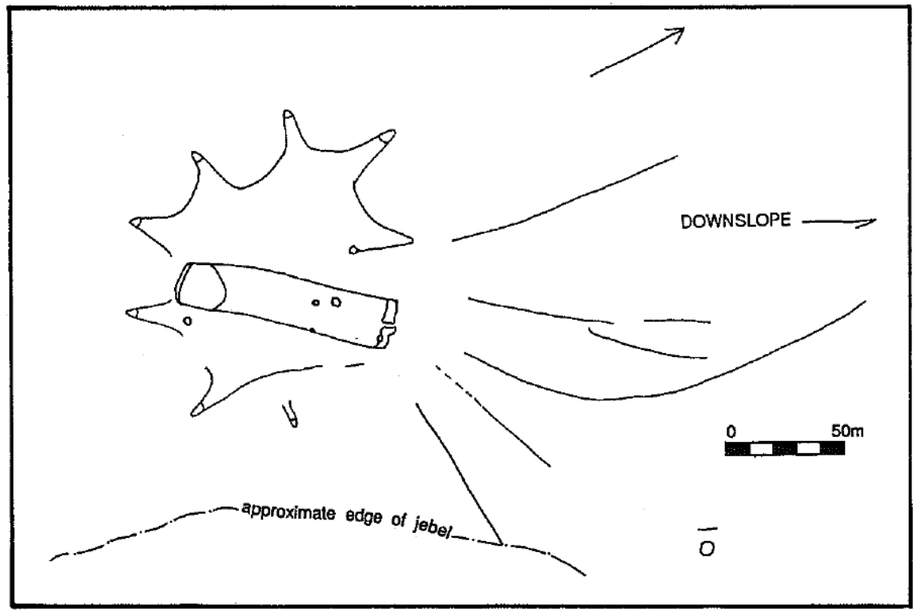
Figure 6. a) EB II Structure at Nabi Salah, Sinai (after Beith-Arieh 1974:Figure 4). b) Bir Resisim, Area A, Negev (after Cohen and Dever 1980:Figure 6).



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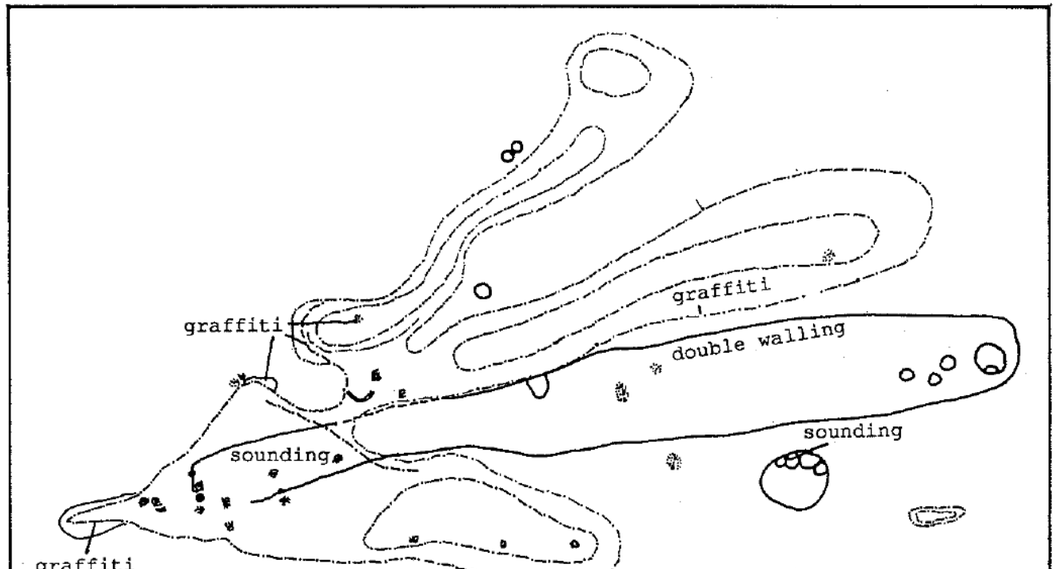

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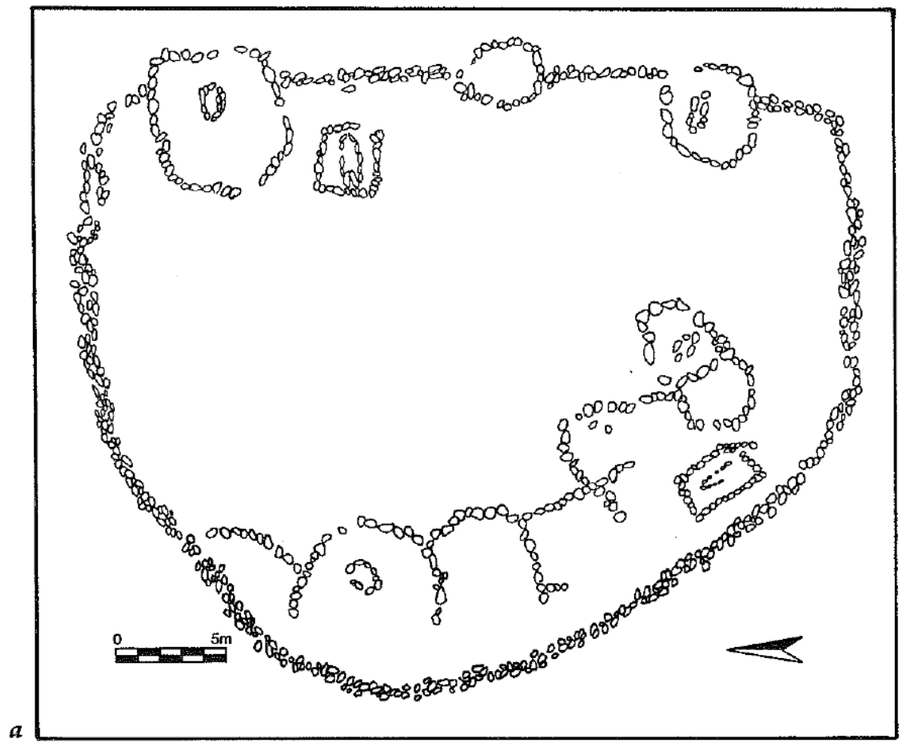
Figure 7. a) Site 205-8, Nafud (after Parr et al 1978: pl. 22b). b) Site 206-1, Hail (after Adams et al 1977:plate 11).



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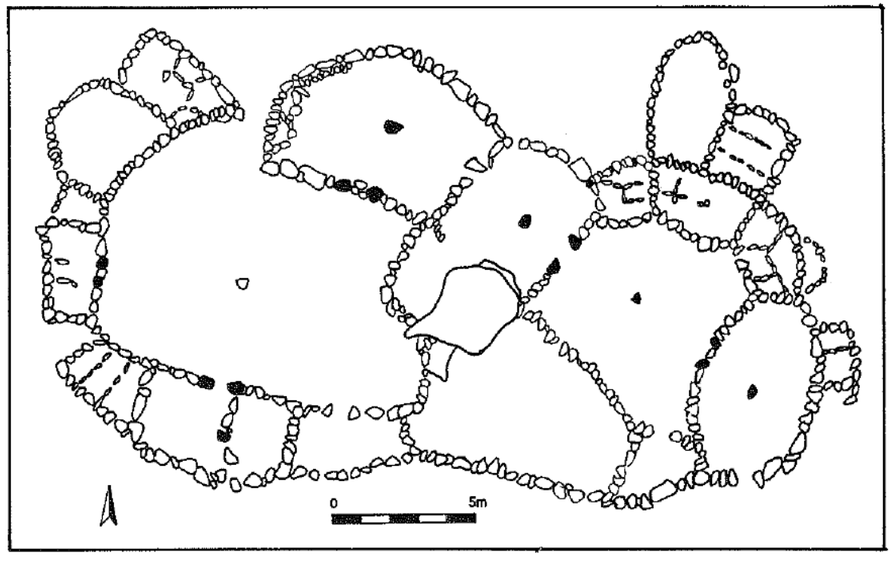

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Figure 8. a) Unit C at Nabi Salah, Sinai (after Beit-Arieh 1974: Fig. 7). b) Unit A at Sheikh Awad, Sinai (after Beit-Arieh 1981:Figure 21).

pattern in the archaeological examples? The Sinai, Arabian, and Yemen examples appear to confirm this idea, especially in the differential size of adjoining circles (Figures 2a, 4b, 5b-c, 6a, 8b,). Another interesting point is the observation by Janzen that the large mature cattle byres were often placed away from the camp site. The jellyfish as defined by Betts may be the large byres with the actual campsites located further away surrounding the byre (see the aerial photo layout in Betts 1980:89). Even more relevant parallel structures have been recorded from central Arabia, situated on identical headland locations, but they may date in most cases to later periods than that discussed here (Zarins et al. 1979:pl. 7; 1980:pl. 5).

The second type of structural patterning can be exemplified by the Mehri site of Kefoz Theroz (Figure 3a). In this case, the camp consists of agglutinative groupings interspersing residences with cattle dwellings of different sizes. The major sites of 201-56 in the Wadi Sirhan and 201-15 in the Arar drainage may be representative (Parr et al. 1978:38; Adams et al. 1977:pl.18c). In these cases, the large central circle with attached smaller interlocking circles may reflect the Kefoz Theroz type of central cattle byre and smaller units for calves of various types. This type is also found in the Sinai (Figures 5a, 5c). From the Negev (Figure 6b), at Bir Resisim, a similar pattern can be suggested based on excavations. The larger structures which may be the mature cattle byres had as many as four pillars.

The smaller and more temporary Mehri sites such as Hidhalm (Figure 8b) may be paralleled by smaller clusters of stone circles such as those at 206-40 in the Arar area, and not representative of the jellyfish or interlocking style. They can be considered flimsier and therefore may be the summer type (Bar-Yosef 1984:157). Similar small encampments can be found in the Sinai and Negev (Figure 5c; Beit-Arieh 1986:45).

Structural comparisons also include observations on construction. Janzen noted the many details of construction involving both organic and inorganic materials. Bar-Yosef suggests that the S. Sinai Neolithic examples had an organic superstructure and occasionally stone shelves in the side walls. Betts in eastern Jordan noted that the structures in some cases retained the corbelled effect and on occasion had stone roofs (Betts 1988:25; 1983:10). The three-season excavations at Bir Resisim yielded detailed information on construction techniques in the EB IV period and suggested a roof constructed of both timbers and flat stones (Cohen and Dever 1981:58ff.).

Finally, the Mehri summer monsoon rain fields which have enclosure walls to keep out cattle may be duplicated at 206-1 in the Hail area (Figure 7b). Here the large, irregular enclosed area sits between two jebels providing maximum runoff. The re-used kite, 205-8, south of the Nafud may also belong here (Figure 7a). In the Negev, while the investigators postulated the presence of agricultural fields at Bir Resisim, no similar structures have been reported (Cohen and Dever 1979:44; 1981:70).

Comparisons and Conclusions

Having looked at the Mehri example and studied the archaeological evidence from the northern Arabian peninsula, what can we say which would resolve the question of species specific pastoralism within the northern part of the peninsula? Before a final decision is attempted, it may well serve us to review a similar problem from the eastern Sahara, in a similar ecological zone, in a similar time period, and under similar circumstances. McHugh has suggested that based on his particular model, cattle nomadism was practiced in the Gilf-Uweinat area of the Sahara, a region which today receives less than 50 mm of rainfall. His reconstruction calls on an examination of four ethnographic examples from semi-arid African plains (McHugh 1974a:239). Based on these four societies, he concluded that four factors enabled cattle pastoralism to exist:

1. An annual minimum rainfall of 400 mm and 600 mm in dry season refuges.
2. Distinctive topography to preserve water sources.
3. Rejuvenation of wet season ranges.
4. Induced rainfall through special environmental circumstances.

If less than 400 mm of rainfall occurred, special circumstances were necessary to preserve water (dams, tanks, bores). In areas of 200-400 mm of rainfall, ovicaprid and camel herding were more common (McHugh 1974a:241).

Interestingly, McHugh's idea that domestic cattle were present in the Gilf-Uweinat area is based solely on rock art stylistic grounds (McHugh 1974a:237). Therefore, he continues, the area must have sustained an early Holocene rain pattern of 200–600 mm annually in a graded isohyet pattern (Gabriel postulates 300–400 mm rainfall annually in the central Sahara for a similar time period 1977:66). While McHugh states that he cannot determine if the remains of the site belonged to a winter or summer occupation, he suggests that in the dry season, the cattle herds would have concentrated in the wadis where the highest annual rainfall fell and that they fanned out in small scale settlements during the rainy season. The latter settlements would have been quite transitory, lasting

only as long as pasturage and surface water held out. At the end of the rains, the movement would have been back to the core areas of reliable water (McHugh 1974a:241-2).

The Mehri way of life diverges from the McHugh model in several important ways. First, if we analyze rainfall and topography using McHugh's data set, we would not suspect that the Mehri were cattle pastoralists. The rainfall data supplied by Janzen (1986:Figure 10) only averages 97 mm per year with the median at 70 mm. This pattern contrasts sharply to the figures supplied by McHugh. Similarly, a cursory examination of pastoralists who occasionally herd cattle within the coastal plain of the Horn of Africa, suggests an annual rainfall between 10–150 mm annually (Brandt and Carder 1987:204). In addition, the Mehri population and settlement pattern is opposite to that construed by McHugh. The permanent settlement is during the wet season and small scale and dispersed settlement occurs during the dry season. Finally, there is virtually no evidence of permanent structures in the Gilf-Kebir area (McHugh 1975:34), a fact noted also by larger surveys of the Sahara (Gabriel 1976:34; 1977:65; Connor 1982) and the Horn of Africa (Brandt and Carder 1987). Thus, African archaeological structural parallels cannot be compared either to the Mehri or the North Arabian pastoral complex (for an ethnoarchaeological study of the Tuareg in the al-Hoggar of Algeria, see Gallay 1988).

In summary, we would suggest that the North Arabian technocomplex represents the remains of cattle pastoralists, based on the ethnographic information derived from the Mehri of the southern coast. In terms of climatic improvement, we would note that winter precipitation for the area was certainly greater, but the cumulative effects of the summer monsoon have yet to be effectively analysed. The lifestyle of the people was almost certainly transhumant with the large winter aggregates contrasting to the small-scale summer homesteads. The structures in terms of size and layout may parallel the Mehri examples. They then would suggest small nuclear family dwellings interspersed with cattle (and ovicaprid?) shelters defined by size and function. The entire settlement would have specific kinship relationships as defined by the layouts described by Janzen. The specific way of life defined by the technocomplex comes to an end in stages between 2300–1900 B.C., but it now appears that the sites of the second millennium B.C. of central Arabia bear little resemblance to the northern technocomplex. In other words, the Mehri do not represent a southern continuum of a specific way of life which originated in the northern Arabian peninsula. Rather, as we have suggested, the specific comparisons between the Mehri and the technocomplex point only to similar lifestyles revolving around the domestication of cattle.

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17

Survey of Deserted Bedouin Campsites in the Negev Highlands and its Implications for Archaeological Research

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Years afterwards it is still possible to recognize an old campsite, Marh al 'Arab. The fireplace hollowed out in the man's compartment; the small piles of ash and clay; the three scorched stones by the fireplace in the women's compartment... all these awaken memories in the mind of the solitary traveller. (Musil 1928:78)

This picturesque description by the Czech explorer, Alois Musil, from his research on the Rwala bedouin tribes, illustrates the central theme with which this paper deals: the archaeological definition of nomadic activity remains, and the utilization of data received from surveys of recent nomadic campsites as a source for archaeological comparison and interpretation.

Traditional archaeological research in Palestine pays little attention to the material culture of nomads. The complex of relationships between nomads and sedentary settlements in peripheral desert regions is explained in most historical and archaeological discussions as a continual conflict (Juli 1978:29; Banning and Kohler-Rollefson 1986:152–153). Processes of urban decay in the peripheral areas of Palestine were seen as the result of violent intrusions of nomads who left no archaeological evidence and who, following their conquest, would either integrate into the existing population or disappear as though they had never been (for example Kenyon 1960:135–137 on the Middle Bronze period; Negev 1967, 1969, 1976:345; Sharon 1977:199–202; Parker 1987:41–47; Bowersock 1971:227-228; Caskel 1954; Vasiliev 1956 on the first to seventh centuries C.E.).

Modern anthropological research examining the mutual relationship between nomads and sedentary peoples emphasizes, rather, the interconnections between the two groups (e.g., Barth 1961:93–100, 1973; Swidler 1973; Hole 1978; Khazanov 1984:3). From these works it is evident that nomadic societies are dependent economically, socially and politically on nearby sedentary settlements. Lancaster (1981:44–45) notes that the modern Rwala Bedouin need stable urban centers in close proximity as part of their economic base. Banning (1986:44–45) emphasizes the mutual connections and co-existence prevailing between nomads and the sedentary population in Transjordan during the Roman-Byzantine period.

Various studies involving the identification and interpretation of activities of ancient nomads based on archaeological remains have been undertaken recently in the Middle East. These works, and especially the intensive surveys carried out in various places, can assist us to define the material connections between nomadic and sedentary cultures through different periods. One of the central problems which the studies tackle is the extent to which one can identify evidence of nomadic cultures from archaeological remains. Some scholars suggest that as nomads leave no significant material or architectural vestiges it is impossible to differentiate nomadic settlement using archaeological techniques (e.g. Finkelstein 1984:188–189; Finkelstein and Prevolotsky